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THE AUTHORS OF SUMBUMS

by
LOKESH CHANDRA
New Delhi

Besides the Holy Kanjur and Tanjur, the Tibetan language has an immense literature extending to about one hundred thousand titles, ranging from one or two pages to thousands of pages. Thus the sacred Canon forms only 5% of this enormous literature. After the Canon comes another very important literary genre, that of *sumbums* (spelt as *gsuṅ ḥbum*), which are the collected works of great saints and thinkers of Tibet, China, Inner Mongolia, Mongolian People's Republic (i.e., Outer Mongolia), Buryat Mongolian Autonomous Republic of USSR., the Kalmuks, and others. The sumbums are the collected works of Their Holinesses the Dalai Lamas, the Panchen Lamas, the Lcaṅ-skya Hutuktus, the Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pas, the Thu-kwans, the Akyas, and other incarnations, besides numerous men of erudition and wisdom. These collectanea have been held in the highest veneration by the literati of the various Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese peoples. The last element (*ḥbum*) of the compound *gsuṅ-ḥbum* denotes one hundred thousand (100,000), which is also the abbreviated title for the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna, one of the greatest figures in Mahāyāna Buddhism. As pointed out by a Mongolian Lama to me, the use of *ḥbum* points to the esteem which the sumbums enjoy in the Lamaistic church. Moreover, the sumbums are of prime importance for evaluating the contributions of the Tibetans and Mongolians to every field of the Five Sciences.[1] Further they constitute invaluable original and elucidative texts, unavailable elsewhere, which shed light on Buddhism, ritual, philosophy, history, and the secular sciences known to the ancient world.

A few sumbums were catalogued for the first time by Prof. Y. Kanakura, Prof. R. Yamada, Mr. Tokan Tada, and Prof. H. Hadano in *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai, Japan, 1953). It contains the catalogue of only 17 sumbums. Besides it, there has been no major effort in this direction in spite of its tremendous importance for the understanding of the

[1] TUn. introd. § 1 pp. 1,2; § 3 pp. 4–6.

manifold aspects of the history of a great part of the people of Asia. In the present article an effort has been made to collect together as far as possible all the names of the authors of sumbums, available in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, as well as the Tohoku University and the International Academy of Indian Culture. This material has been collected during trips made by my father Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira to China in the summer of 1955, to the Soviet Union in 1955–56, to the Mongolian People's Republic in the winter of 1955, and by myself to the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic last year in April and May.

The USSR and the MPR possess the biggest collections of Tibetan works at Leningrad and Ulanbator (former Urga). The Leningrad University Library has a minor collection of over a thousand titles. The Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad has the biggest collection in the USSR. It is subdivided into the following: (1) the "Old Collection", (ii) the "New Collection" (which belonged to the Institut Buddhiiskoi Kulturi, Институт Буддийской культури), (iii) Baradiin Collection, (iv) the Tsibikov Collection, and (v) the Uncatalogued Collection. The Old Collection is classified according to the size of the xylographs as A and B. Each size has a different numbering. It is listed in three registers as follows:

Register	size A	size B
1.	1–1296	1–2040
2.	1297–1969	2041–2777
3.	1970–2331	2778–4091

The New Collection consisting of 3374 titles is listed in seven registers as follows: (i) 1–474, (ii) 475–862, (iii) 863–1501, (iv) 1502–1906, (v) 1907–2481, (vi) 2482–3066, (vii) 3067–3374. This list contains the names of authors and the titles of works. Sometimes the extent is also indicated. For the first few numbers the name of the publishing monastery has also been given. This collection consists mainly of sumbums, whether they are complete, semi-complete, or only a small part of the whole.

The titles in the Baradiin Collection are listed in a register which starts from no. 1460 and goes up to 1620. A general idea of this can be had from its account in the *Notices of the Asiatic Museum*, vol. VII, Nr. 32.

The Tsibikov Collection has no title-list. Its general inventory was published in the *Notices of the Asiatic Museum*, IV (1904). It consists almost entirely of sumbums.

The Unlisted Collection contains about twenty thousand titles accord-

ing to the estimate of Mr. Boris J. Pankratoff. Its inventory is under preparation. It will give the title, extent (or number of folios), the author, and the name of the publishing monastery. It may be ready in manuscript within the next five years. Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira is the only foreign scholar who has worked in this collection for four weeks through the courtesy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He prepared a list of the authors of sumbums in this collection, besides collecting a lot of other material which will be detailed in his forthcoming report of his scientific research-trip to the USSR. It is indicated in this article as OI.u.

The richest collection of ancient and modern Mongolian, as well as Tibetan literatures is on the shelves of the State Library housed in the Committee of Sciences, at Ulanbator (MPR). According to the library authorities it contains 98,000 Tibetan titles, which are indexed in the modern way on cards giving the author, title, number of volumes if necessary, and in the case of collected works the volume-indication. In April-May 1957, I, my wife Dr. Sharada Rani and my sister Mrs. Dr. Sudarshana Singhal had the unique opportunity of making a pilgrimage to this great treasure-house of learning, as guests of the Committee of Sciences. His Excellency Prime Minister U. Tsedenbal honoured us by granting an interview, and laid me under a deep debt of gratitude by affording facilities of working at this library,[2] and also of visiting a number of historic and modern places, whose illustrated account I intend to publish in the near future. Mr. Gombochab (Tib. Mgon-po-skyabs) is in charge of the Tibetan section. A learned and saintly figure, he showed us roof-high stacks after stacks containing historical works, magnificent editions of holy texts (embroidered, written with gold in relief on silver plates, written with ink prepared out of nava-ratnas, superbly calligraphed in golden ink on thick dark black paper, editions belonging to Their Supreme Holinesses the Jebcundampas, etc.), different editions of the Holy Kanjur and Tanjur, numerous sumbums, astronomical,

[2] Here I have also to thank Mr. Shinje, the vice-president of the Committee of Sciences, the eminent scholar Prof. Dr. Rinchen and his wife Mrs. Ratna Rinchen, Prof. Damdin Suren, Prof. Lobsang Vandan, Mr. Bira, Mr. Myagmarjab (Mig-dmar-skyabs = Skt. Maṅgalaśaraṇa) of the Ministry of Culture, Abbot Khampo Erdenipil (Mkhan-po Erdeniḥphel = Skt. Ratnavardhana), Venerable Lama Gombodo (Mgon-po-rdo-rje = Skt. Nāthavajra), Venerable Yishithabkhai (Ye-śes-thabs-mkhas = Skt. Jñānopāyapaṭu), Ven. Dambadarje (Bstan-pa-dar-rgyas), and other lamas of the Gandang Monastery, Mr. Horlo our scholar-companion deputed by the Committee of Sciences, Mr. Perle the archaeologist, Mr. Chouloun Bat our interpreter, and numerous other friends in Mongolia whose affection and helpfulness made our stay comfortable and useful.

philosophical, ritual, and a host of other texts of different genres. Among historical texts the *Rgya-gar-chos-ḥbyuṅ* of Tāranātha, *Rgya-nag-chos-ḥbyuṅ*, the three different *Hor-chos-ḥbyuṅ* of Sumpakhampo, of Dharmatāla (281 folios), and of Rtsa-ba-rta-mgrin, and the *Gser-gyi-deb-ther* were exhibited on the show-table. The *Hor-chos-ḥbyuṅ* of Rtsa-ba-rta-mgrin is entitled *Byaṅ-phyogs hor-gyi yul-du dam-paḥi-chos rin-po-che ḥbyuṅ-tshul-gyi gtam-rgyud bkra-śis chos duṅ bzhad-paḥi sgra-dbyaṅs.*[3] It was printed in a monastery in Gobi. The author was a personal friend of His Supreme Holiness the Dalai Lama XIII. He was highly venerated in Mongolia as well as Tibet as a foremost scholar and as one who knew all the original texts of the Holy Canon, on account of which he came to be famed as *rtsa-ba* "one who [knows all] the originals". He passed away in 1936. The *Gser-gyi-deb-ther* is a handwritten work in six parts (*ka-cha*), a compilation from various ancient sources. The State Library has seven editions of the Tibetan Kanjur: Narthang, Peking, Urga,[4] ms. written with gold, ms. written with silver, magnificient ms. written with nava-ratna inks, and a 14th-century ms. of Rgyal-rtse (?Rgyal-rtse thes-sbar-ma). There are three editions of the Tanjur, viz. Narthang, Derge, and a ms. written with gold. The State Library is unusually rich in sumbums, many of which are given in the following list.

In Ulanbator is the Gandang Monastery, with a rich library (*Dgaḥ-ldan-theg-chen-gliṅ gi dpe-mdzod lha-khaṅ*) of unique, rare, and valuable Mongolian and Tibetan canonical as well as non-canonical works. The Tibetan division of this library is arranged in the ancient classical way into: (1) the Holy Canon: Kanjur and Tanjur, (ii) *Phar-phyin-gyi skor*, (iii) *Dbu-maḥi skor*, (iv) *Ḥdul-baḥi skor*, (v) *Mdzod-kyi skor*, (vi) *Rnam-ḥgrel-gyi skor*, (vii) *Sṅags-kyi skor*, (viii) *Cho-gaḥi skor*, (ix) *Rtsis-kyi skor*, and (x) *gsuṅ-ḥbum*. Except the first, the other sections contain mostly non-canonical literature including the Tibetan writings of eminent Mongolian scholars of the past centuries. Each section-name is painted and encircled by jvālāmaṇḍalas on the artistically decorated portals of the wooden almirahs. In the case of sumbums, the name of each author is individually indicated, except of those limited to one or very few

[3] A copy of it was presented to me by Ven. Lama Gombodo, Grand Gesgui of the Gandang Monastery at Ulanbator.

[4] Only two copies of the Urga edition were printed near about 1924, out of which one is in the State Library and the other is at the International Academy of Indian Culture, presented by His Excellency Prime Minister Tsedenbal to Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira during his visit to Ulanbator in December 1955. I am preparing a detailed account of this edition and also its catalogue.

volumes. Besides, there is a big dkar-chag of sumbums, a number of which are not in this library.

The accompanying list of 125 sumbums gives the name of the author of each sumbum followed by the name of the library or libraries where it is deposited. The names of authors have been cross-referenced in their conventional and abbreviated forms, as well as forms prolonged with their degrees, designations and the like. Cross-references have also been given under incarnational designations, so that one can find out at once, for instance those Panchen Lamas who have written sumbums.

The abbreviations used are:

Gd.	= Library of the Gandang Monastery, Ulanbator
Gdk.	= Dkar-chag in the Gandang Monastery, Ulanbator
IAIC.	= International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi
Kr. or Kloṅ-rdol	= *Bkaḥ-gdams-pa daṅ dge-lugs bla-ma rag-rim-gyi gsuṅ-ḥbum mtshan-tho* "A catalogue of the works written by Lamas of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa and Dge-lugs-pa sects" compiled by Lama Kloṅ-rdol (TUn. no. 6555).
OI.	= Oriental Institute of the Akademia Nauk of the USSR, Leningrad
OI.bu.	= The New Collection of the OI, which belonged to the Institut Buddhiiskoi Kulturi
OI.Tsib.	= The Tsibikov Collection of the OI.
OI.u.	= The Uncatalogued Collection of the OI.
SL.	= State Library, housed in the Committee of Sciences, Ulanbator.
TUn.	= *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism*, edited by Y. Kanakura, R. Yamada, T. Tada, and H. Hadano (Sendai, Japan, 1953).

My forthcoming catalogue of sumbums will contain all the titles in the following list, of course leaving out those included in the TUn. It will contain about ten thousand items. It will help in forming an idea of the vast extent of non-canonical Tibetan literature written by Tibetan and Mongolian peoples.

Karma Ṅag dbaṅ yon tan rgya mtsho = no. 30.
kun mkhyen sku goṅ ma = no. 41.

kun mkhyen ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa = no. 41.
kun mkhyen ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa rje btsun dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po ye śes brcon grus grags paḥi sde *see* no. 42.
kun mkhyen ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rje = no. 41.
kun mkhyen ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rje dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = no. 42.
Kun mkhyen bla ma *see* Hjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa (no. 41).
Kun gzigs lṅa pa chen po = no. 23.
Keḥu tsaṅ Books = no. 76.
Kye rdor gyi mkhan po = Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ mkhas grub (no. 22).
Kloṅ rdol (bla ma) = Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ (no. 21).
Kloṅ rdol rin po che = no. 21.
1. Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan. Listed by Kr. under Sṅags chen rdo rje ḥdzin pa ~. Two copies of it exist in Leningrad: OI.u. 3 and OI.bu. 2898–2921. *Dist.* Ratnadhvaja, another polymath.
dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa II (no. 42).
dkon mchog Bstan paḥi sgron me = no. 48.
Bkra śis lhun poḥi Paṇ chen sku phreṅ bzhi pa Dpal ldan ye śes (Panchen Lama IV) = no. 84.
Bkra lhun duṅ dkar dkaḥ chen du grags pa chos rje Blo bzaṅ śes rab dpal bzaṅ po = no. 93.
Skal bzaṅ rgya mtsho = Blo bzaṅ Bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama VII) = no. 73.
sku goṅ ma = Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa I (no. 41).
sku ḥphreṅ bdun pa = Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (no. 73).
sku bar ba = Dkon mchog ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa II (no. 42).
Skeḥu tshaṅ sprul sku = no. 76.
skyabs mgon Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa rje btsun blo bzaṅ Dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaṅ po = no. 84.
Skyabs rje bkaḥ drin zla med khaṅ gsar rdo rje ḥchaṅ chen po *see* no. 2.
Skyid śod sprul sku Ṅag dbaṅ bstan ḥdzin ḥphrin las = no. 18.
Skyid śod zhabs druṅ Bstan ḥdzin blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho = no. 51.
°Bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama VII) = no. 73.
2. Khaṅ gsar rdo rje ḥchaṅ chen po: there is a list of his sumbum in Gdk. 35 (Skyabs rje bkaḥ drin zla med ~).
khri chen Blo bzaṅ bstan pa = no. 78.
khri chen Blo bzaṅ bstan paḥi ñi ma = no. 79.

Khri pa bla ma Blo bzaṅ rdo rje = no. 82.
mkhan chen chos rgyal = no. 37.

3. Mkhan chen rdo rje (an incarnation of Inner Mongolia) OI.u. 46.
mkhan zur chos rje Ṅag dbaṅ Blo bzaṅ don grub = no. 81.
mkhar rdo Bzod pa rgya mtsho = no. 105.

4. Mkhas grub (disciple of Tsoṅkhapa). Listed in TUn. IV (~ Dge legs dpal bzaṅ po), Kr. (~ smra baḥi ñi ma Dge legs dpal bzaṅ po), and Gdk. (~ thams cad mkhyen pa). Its copies are found in OI.u. 16, Tsib. 2. (~ rje), Gd. (~ rje), and IAIC.
mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzaṅ gi dṅos slob spyan lṅa Blo gros rgyal mtshan = no. 71.
Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzaṅ po = no. 4.
mkhas grub chen po Akya yoṅs ḥdzin rin po che = no. 123.
Mkhas grub rje = no. 4.
Mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pa = no. 4.
Mkhas grub smra baḥi ñi ma Dge legs dpal bzaṅ po = no. 4.
mkhas paḥi dbaṅ po A lag sha Bstan dar lha rams pa = no. 46.

5. Guṅ thaṅ (perhaps = Bstan paḥi sgron me *q.v.*). Copies of his sumbum are in Gandang and OI.u. 38.
Guṅ thaṅ gi dkon mchog Bstan paḥi sgron me = no. 48. (*cf.* no. 5).

6. Grags pa rgyal mtshan (ḥdul ba ḥdzin pa ~). A well-known teacher in the Blo-bsal-gliṅ tradition. His sumbum is listed by Kloṅ-rdol.

7. Dge ḥdun grub (Panchen Lama). His sumbum is listed in the Gdk. 8 (lha miḥi rnam ḥdren paṇ chen ~). *Dist.* the Dalai Lama of the same name.

8. Dge ḥdun grub pa (Dalai Lama I). His sumbum is listed in TUn. V (°grub), Kr. (rgyal ba Dge ḥdun grub). Three copies exist in Leningrad: OI.bu. 311–335 (~ dpal bzaṅ po), Tsib. 4 (rgyal ba ~), and OI.u. 57.
~ dpal bzaṅ po = no. 8.
°Dge legs dpal bzaṅ po = no. 4.

9. Dge ḥdun rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama II). Listed in TUn. VI, and Kr. (rgyal ba ~). Two copies are in Leningrad: OI.bu. 336–378, and Tsib. 5 (rgyal ba ~).
dge ldan sñan brgyud kyi gdams paḥi gter mdzod rje bla ma Pra dzñaḥi mtshan can = no. 66.
ḥgrub paḥi dbaṅ phyug Rig ḥdzin gzi brjid rdo rje = no. 112.

10. Rgyal mkhan pa. His sumbum exists in OI.u. 56.
rgyal ba

~ sku bdun pa phyag na padma Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho = no. 73.
~ (b)skal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama VII) = no. 73.
~ Dge ḥdun grub pa (Dalai Lama I) = no. 8.
~ Dge ḥdun rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama II) = no. 9.
~ Blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama V) = no. 23.
rgyal baḥi yoṅs ḥdzin pa khri chen Ṅag dbaṅ mchog ldan = no. 17.
Rgyal dbaṅ lṅa pa = no. 23.
Rgyal tshab rje = no. 11.

11. Rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen (disciple of Tsoṅkhapa). Listed in TUn. III, Kr., and Gdk. (Rgyal tshab rin po che). Three copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 23 (Rgyal-tshab), OI.bu. 265–310 (ka, kha, ga, ca, cha, ja, ña), Tsib. 3 (Rgyal tshab rje). The International Academy of Indian Culture owns this sumbum in the Kumbum edition.

Rgyal tshab rin po che = no. 11.

12. Rgyal mtshan seṅ ge: OI.u. 22.
13. Sgra tshad pa rin chen rnam rgyal (diciple of Bu ston). TUn.IB. sgrub khaṅ Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims = no. 88.
14. Ṅag gi dbaṅ po (Ḥjog ri pa ~): OI.bu. 2825–51.
15. Ṅag dbaṅ grags pa (ḥjam dbyaṅs gcaṅ ba bdun rgyud kyi drug-pa rje blo gros brtan paḥi slob ma dvags po ~). Listed by Kloṅ rdol.
16. Ṅag dbaṅ chos kyi rgya mtsho (rje btsun bla ma thuḥu bkwan pa ~). Listed in Gdk. 31.
17. Ṅag dbaṅ mchog ldan (rgyal baḥi yoṅs ḥdzin pa khri chen ~).
18. Ṅag dbaṅ bstan ḥdzin ḥphrin las (Skyid śod sprul sku ~ "incarnation of Skyid śod"). Listed in Kr. and Gdk. (Skyid śod sprul paḥi sku ~).
19. Ṅag dbaṅ dpal ldan (chos rje ~). Listed twice in Gdk. 39 and 48.
20. Ṅag dbaṅ byams pa. Listed in TUn. XI (known as: "Phur lcog Books"), Kr. and Gdk. 16 (Phur lcog byams pa rin po che). Exists in OI.bu. 1870–1918 (~ rin po che), Tsib. 23.

~ rin po che = no. 20.

21. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ = Kloṅ rdol bla ma. Listed in TUn. XV (Kloṅ rdol bla ma ~), and Gdk. 21 (Kloṅ rdol). Three copies in Leningrad: OI.bu. 1754–81 (Kloṅ rdol), OI.u. 31,44 (Kloṅ rdol rin po che), and Tsib. 20 (Kloṅ rdol bla ma).
22. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ mkhas grub = Kye rdor gyi mkhan po. One copy in SL. 24 f. 67 (ka-ca). *Dist.*: Śā kyaḥi btsun ma mkhan po no moṅ haṅ ~, whose list of works (ṅag rtsom dkar chag) is given in Gdk. 47.

23. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama V). Listed in TUn. VII, Gdk. 9–10 (thams cad mkhyen pa lṅa pa chen po, and kun gzigs lṅa pa chen po). Four copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 28 (rgyal dbaṅ lṅa pa), OI.u. 40 (Blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho), OI.bu. 379–497 (Blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho – in the dkar chag His Holiness is mentioned as thams cad mkhyen pa lṅa pa), Tsib. 6,24 (Rgyal ba Blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho).
24. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma bstan ḥdzin dbaṅ phyug. A copy in SL. 20 f. 66 (vols. ka-di).
25. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos ldan dpal bzaṅ po (lcaṅ skya rin po che sku goṅ ma ~). Listed in Kr. and Gdk. 40. Three copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 2 (Ṅag dbaṅ chos ldan), Tsib. 35 (lcaṅ skya Ṅag dbaṅ chos ldan), and OI.bu. 2145–2207 (lcaṅ skya Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos ldan).
26. Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan. Listed in Gdk. 56 (btsun pa ~).

    Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ don grub *see* Blo bzaṅ don grub (no. 81).
27. Ṅag dbaṅ brtson ḥgrus (rje ~) = rje ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rjeḥi mtshan. Listed in Kr.
28. Ṅag dbaṅ tshe riṅ (chos rje ~): SL. 25 f. 67–68.
29. Ṅag dbaṅ ye śes thub bstan (rab byams pa ~ dpal bzaṅ po). Listed in Gdk. 61.
30. Ṅag dbaṅ yon tan rgya mtsho (karma ~): OI.bu. 2794–2824.

    Dṅul chu Books = no. 95.
    Dṅul chu pa Dharma-bhadra = Dharma-bhadra (no. 57).
    Dṅul chu pa Dbyaṅs can grub paḥi rdo rje = no. 95.
    Sṅags chen rdo rje ḥdzin pa Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan = no. 1.
    Lcaṅ skya Ṅag dbaṅ chos ldan = no. 25.
    Lcaṅ skya Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos ldan = no. 25.
    Lcaṅ skya Ye śes bstan sgron = Rol paḥi rdo rje (no. 114).
    Lcaṅ skya rin po che sku goṅ ma Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos ldan = no. 25.
    Lcaṅ skya Rol pa = Rol paḥi rdo rje (no. 114).
31. Lcaṅ luṅ paṇḍi ta. Two copies in Ulanbator: SL. 11 f. 59 and Gd.
32. Cha har dge bśes. One copy in SL. 12 f. 59–61 (vols. ka-tha).

    Chiṅ su cig thu = no. 77.
33. Chu bzaṅ bla ma Ye śes rgya mtsho = no. 106.
34. Chos kyi grags pa (Paṇ chen ~): OI.u. 42.

    °Chos kyi rgya mtsho (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 16.
    Chos kyi rgyal po śar Tsoṅ kha pa Blo bzaṅ grags paḥi dpal = no. 98.

35. Chos kyi rgyal mtshan: Gandang Library, OI.bu. 555–610 (Se ra rje btsun ~), Tsib. 8 (Se ra rje btsun ~). *Dist.* Paṇ chen Chos kyi rgyal mtshan.

°Chos kyi ñi ma (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 75.

36. Chos grags ḥod zer (ḥjam dbyaṅs bla ma ~). OI.bu. 1813.
37. Chos rgyal (mkhan chen ~): SL. 4 f. 19–20 (vols. ka-ṅa).

Chos rje°

~ Ṅag dbaṅ dpal ldan = no. 19.

~ Ṅag dbaṅ Blo bzaṅ don grub = no. 81.

~ Ṅag dbaṅ tshe riṅ = no. 28.

~ Blo bzaṅ don grub = no. 81.

38. Chos mdzad bla ma (of Takhure): Gdk. 53, OI.u. 4.
39. Chos ḥdzin chos rje: SL. 19 f. 65 (vols. ka, kha).

Jaya-paṇḍita = Dza ya paṇḍi ta (no. 99).

Ḥjam gon: OI.u. 18 (According to Lama Chimpa it refers to some Dalai Lama).

40. Ḥjam dpal rgya mtsho: listed in Kr. (slob dpon ~ ḥam, *mtshan gzhan* ("alias") Ḥjam dbyaṅs bde baḥi rdo rje).

Ḥjam dbyaṅs dgaḥ baḥi blo gros *see* Dbyaṅs can dgaḥ baḥi blo gros (no. 96).

Ḥjam dbyaṅs gcaṅ ba bdun rgyud kyi drug pa rje blos gros brtan paḥi slob ma° *see* no. 15.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = no. 42.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs bde baḥi rdo rje = Ḥjam dpal rgya mtsho (no. 40): Kr.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs ḥphrin las. Three copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 33 (rje Ḥjam dbyaṅs ḥphrin), OI.bu. 1919–1974, and Tsib. 25.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs bla ma chos grags ḥod zer = no. 36.

°ḥjam dbyaṅs smon lam (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 76.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa of Bkra śis ḥkhyil:

41. I. Sku goṅ ma (the usual Tibetan designation of the first incarnation of Bla braṅ bkra śis ḥkhyil monastery in Amdo). Listed in Gdk. 24 (kun mkhyen ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rje). Several copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 8 (kun mkhyen ~), 14 (kun mkhyen sku goṅ ma), 27 (sku goṅ ma), 34 (ḥjam bzhad sku goṅ ma), 35 (~), OI.bu. 1817–45, 47–48, 50–52 (~ °ḥi rdo rje), Tsib. 22 (~ °ḥi rdo rjeḥi sku goṅ ma). OI.u. 12 (kun mkhyen bla ma) probably refers to this "Incarnation". Kun mkhyen is a well-known epithet of the Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa incarnation.

42. II. Sku bar ba (the second incarnation ḥjam dbyaṅs chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun Dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po, A.D. 1728–1791: *see* "The Author of the Hor chos ḥbyuṅ" by G. N. de Roerich, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 194).
Listed in Kr. (ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi sprul sku dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po), and in Gdk. 25 (sku bar ba or kun mkyen ~ °ḥi rdo rje dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po). Copies in : Gd. (Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po), OI.u. 7 (sku bar ba).
The Gdk. 32 B lists the sumbum of kun mkhyen Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad pa rje btsun dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po ye śes brcon grus grags paḥi sde.

Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rje = no. 41.
Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rjeḥi sku goṅ ma = no. 41.
Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi rdo rjeḥi mtshan (rje ~) = no. 27.
Ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi sprul sku dkon mchog Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = no. 42.
Ḥjam bzhad sku goṅ ma = no. 41.
°ḥjigs med bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 79.
Ḥjigs med dbaṅ po = no. 42.
Ḥjog ri pa Ṅag gi dbaṅ po = no. 14.
rje = Tsoṅ kha pa (no. 98).
rje Ṅag dbaṅ brtson ḥgrus = no. 27.
rje Ḥjam dbyaṅs ḥphrin las = no. 43.
rje ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi Rdo rjeḥi mtshan = no. 27.
rje Thuḥu bkwan rin po che Blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma dpal bzaṅ po = no. 75.
rje spyan sṅa rin po che Blo gros rgyal mtshan = no. 71.
rje bla ma = Tsoṅ kha pa (no. 98).
rje Tsoṅ kha pa = Tsoṅ kha pa (no. 98).
rje btsun Tā ra nā tha = Tā ra nā tha (no. 43).
rje btsun bla ma thuḥu bkwan pa Ṅag dbaṅ chos kyi rgya mtsho = no. 16.
rje btsun bla ma rdo rje ḥchaṅ gser tog chos kyi rgyal po Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims rgya mtsho dpal bzaṅ po = no. 87.
rje btsun bla ma Dbyaṅs can grub paḥi rdo rje = no. 95.
rje btsun Blo bzaṅ ḥjam dbyaṅs smon lam dpal bzaṅ po = no. 76.
rje btsun blo bzaṅ Bstan ḥdzin dpal ḥbyor = no. 51.
rje btsun Blo bzaṅ thugs rje dpal bzaṅ po = no. 80.
rje btsun Blo bzaṅ ye śes = no. 91.
rje btsun Ratnadhvaja = no. 110.

rje btsun bśad sgrub Bstan dar dpal bzaṅ po *see* no. 45.
rje rin po che = Tsoṅ kha pa (no. 98).
rje Rol paḥi rdo rje = no. 114.
rje gsuṅ ḥbum ("Tsoṅ kha pa's sumbum") no. 98.

43. Tā ra nā tha. Listed in Gdk. 14 (rje btsun ~). Three copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 11, OI.bu. 1108–1329, and Tsib. 15.
Rta tshag pa Ye śes blo bzaṅ bstan pa (ḥi mgon po) = no. 109.

44. Stag pu yoṅs ḥdzin ye śes: OI.bu. 2691–2741.
°bstan brgyan (Akya°) = no. 122.
Bstan dar

According to my informant and friend Lama Chimpa there were two persons of this name: (i) one of Sera, and (ii) the other of Alaksha. The allocations given hereunder are not certain.

45. (i) Listed in Gdk. 49 (Bśad sgrub ~), and Gdk. 60 (rje btsun Bśad sgrub ~ dpal bzaṅ po). Copies in Leningrad: OI.bu. 611–651 (Se ra mkhas grub ~ ba) and Tsib. 9 (Se ra mkhas grub ~).

46. (ii)[5] Listed in Gdk. 57 (mkhas paḥi dbaṅ po A lag śa ~ lha rams pa). One copy in SL. 3 f. 19–20 (~ lha rams pa, vols. ka-chi, one volume usually contains one work), and another in OI.u. 54 (~ lha rams pa). The International Academy of Indian Culture has his Tibetan-Tibetan Glossary.
Bstan dar lha rams pa = no. 46.

47. Bstan pa rab rgyas. Two copies in Leningrad: OI.bu. 1642–1702 (no mon han ~) and Tsib. 18 (no mon han ~).
°bstan paḥi rgyan mtshan (Akya°) = no. 122.

48. Bstan paḥi sgron me. Listed in Gdk. 27 (guṅ thaṅ gi dkon mchog Bstan paḥi sgron me). A copy in OI.u. 49. See no. 5 which is perhaps the same. Dr. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz while referring to one of his works in *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, p. 602 no. 194, gives his name as Dkon mchog ~ of Amdo.
°bstan paḥi ñi ma (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 79.

49. Bstan paḥi dbaṅ phyug. Two copies in Leningrad: OI.bu. 1069–1107 (Paṇ chen ~), Tsib. 14 (Paṇ chen ~).

50. Bstan ḥdzin chos mdzad: SL. 22 f. 66 (vols. ka-ca).

51. Bstan ḥdzin dpal ḥbyor: OI.bu. 2501–2533, Tsib. 41 (rje btsun blo bzaṅ ~).
°bstan ḥdzin ḥphrin las (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 18.

[5] [Editorial note] Information about this author and a list of his works have been given by F. I. Ščerbatskij, *Saṃtānāntarasiddhi* (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XIX, Petrograd, 1916), pp. III–XII.

52. Bstan ḥdzin blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Skyid śod zhabs druṅ ~). Listed by Kr.
°Bstan ḥdzin dbaṅ phyug (Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma°) = no. 24.
thams cad mkhyen pa lṅa pa (chen po) = Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho (no. 23).
53. Thub bstan: SL. 23 f. 66 (vols. ka-ṅa).
Thuḥu bkwan
Ṅag dbaṅ chos kyi rgya mtsho (no. 16).
Dharma badzra (= Skt. Dharmavajra) (no. 56).
Blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma (no. 75).
Dalai Lama *see* rgyal ba.
Dad pa mkhan po = no. 80.
54. Dam tshig rdo rje: SL. 13 f. 62–63 (vols. ka-ma), and Gd. Listed in Gdk. 51 (rdo rje ḥchaṅ ~ dpal bzaṅ po).
55. Don yod mkhas grub. Listed in Kr. (Dgaḥ ldan byaṅ rtse ba Zhog pa ~), and Gdk. 15 (Śo pa ~). Note the variant spellings Zhog and Śo, name of a place in Kham. Byaṅ trse ba is a sect.
56. Dharma badzra (thuḥu bkwan ~): SL. 9 f. 51–52 (vols. ka-ma + supplement on rtsis skor).
57. Dharma bhadra. Listed in Gdk. 17 (rje btsun bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa Dharma bhadra dpal bzaṅ po), TUn. XIII A (Dharmabhadra). In both Gdk. and TUn. this sumbum is followed by that of Dbyaṅs can grub paḥi rdo rje. Three copies exist in Leningrad: OI.u. 24, OI.bu. 1330–1471 (Dṅul chu pa ~), and Tsib. 16 (Dṅul chu pa ~).
58. Dhvadza siṅha: OI.u. 36. *Dist.*: Rgyal mtshan seṅge OI.u. 22.
59. Gdoṅ drug grub paḥi rdo rje: OI.bu. 2208–2280 (no mon han ~), Tsib. 37 (bakṣi no mon han ~).
ḥdul ba ḥdzin pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan = no. 6.
60. Rdo rje ḥchaṅ chen po°: Gdk. 7.
rdo rje ḥchaṅ Dam tshig rdo rje dpal bzaṅ po = no. 54.
Rdo rjeḥi mtshan (rje ḥjam dbyaṅs bzhad paḥi ~ *gzhan* rje Ṅag dbaṅ brtson ḥgrus) = no. 27.
61. Sde pa tshaṅ: OI.u. 25 (one of the "Four Golden Pillars" of Bla braṅ in Amdo - G. de Roerich, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 192 n. 1).
62. Rnam gsal rin pa: OI.u. 19.
63. Pā ri rab gsal: listed in Gdk. 28.
Paṇ chen
~ Dge ḥdun grub (Paṇchen Lama) = no. 7.

~ Chos kyi grags pa = no. 34.
~ Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (Panchen Lama I) no. 74.
~ Bstan paḥi dbaṅ phyug = no. 49.
~ Dpal ldan ye śes (Panchen Lama IV) = no. 84.
~ Blo bzaṅ Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (Panchen Lama I) = no. 74.
~ blo bzaṅ Dpal ldan ye śes (dpal bzaṅ po) (Panchen Lama IV) = no. 84.
~ Bsod nams grags pa (Panchen Lama) = no. 120.

64. Pi che chi chos rje: listed in Gdk. 58.
65. Pra dzñā sā ga ra: OI.u. 37.
66. Pra dzñaḥi mtshan can (dge ldan sñan brgyud kyi gdams paḥi gter mdzod rje bla ma ~): listed in Gdk. 30.
67. Dpal ldan bla ma: OI.u. 52. *Cf.* Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan (a lama of Urga).
°dpal ldan ye śes (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 84.
spyan sṅa Blo gros rgyal mtshan = no. 71.
spyan sṅa rin po che Blo gros rgyal mtshan = no. 71.
Phur lcog byams pa rin po che = no. 20.
68. Phyogs las rnam rgyal: OI.bu. 932–1068 (Paṇ chen ~), Tsib. 13 (Paṇ chen ~).
69. Bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen grub. Listed by Kr. and TUn. I (Bu ston rin chen grub).
70. Byams pa rab rgyas: OI.u. 43. *Cf.* no. 20.
Byams pa rin po che = no. 20.
Bra ti dge bśes Rin chen don grub = no. 113.
71. Blo gros rgyal mtshan: listed in Kr. (mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzaṅ gi dṅos slob spyan lṅa ~), and Gdk. (rje spyan sṅa rin po che ~). Copies at Leningrad: OI.bu. 2084–2144 (spyan sṅa rin po che ~), and Tsib. 34 (spyan sṅa ~). *Cf.* no. 72.
72. Blo gros mtshan ma: OI.u. 50. *Cf.* no. 71.
73. Blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama VII). Listed in TUn. VIII, Kr. (rgyal ba sku bdun pa phyag na padma ~), and Gdk. (rgyal ba Bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho, sku ḥphreṅ bdun pa). Copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 9 (Skal bzaṅ rgya mtsho), OI.bu. 498–554 (Skal bzaṅ rgya mtsho), Tsib. 7 (rgyal ba Skal bzaṅ rgya mtsho).
°blo bzaṅ mkhas grub (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 22.
Blo bzaṅ grags paḥi dpal = Tsoṅ kha pa (no. 98).
°blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho = Ṅag dbaṅ° (Dalai Lama V) = no. 23.
74. Blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan (Panchen Lama I). Listed in TUn. IX, Kr. (Paṇ chen ~), and Gdk. 4 (Paṇ chen ~). Copies in

Leningrad: OI.bu. 652–754 (Paṇ chen ~), and Tsib. 10 (Paṇ chen Chos kyi rgyal mtshan). *Dist.* (Se ra rje btsun) Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (no. 35).

75. Blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma: listed in Gdk. 32A (rje thuḥu bkwan rin po che ~ dpal bzaṅ po). G. N. de Roerich, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 196 gives his date as A.D. 1737–1802.

°blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma bstan ḥdzin dbaṅ phyug (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 24.

°blo bzaṅ chos ldan (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 25.

76. Blo bzaṅ ḥjam dbyaṅs smon lam: listed in TUn. XIV (known as "Keḥu tsaṅ Books"), and Gdk. (Skeḥu tshaṅ sprul sku, rje btsun ~ dpal bzaṅ po).

77. Blo bzaṅ ḥjigs med bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan: SL. 10 f. 59 (vols. ka-ña. Chiṅ su cig thu, ~).

78. Blo bzaṅ bstan pa: OI.u. 41 (khri chen ~). He may be the same author as the next one (no. 79).

°blo bzaṅ bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 26.

79. Blo bzaṅ bstan paḥi ñi ma (khri chen ~): SL. 1 f. 19–20 (vols. ka-ṅa). *Cf.* no. 78.

Blo bzaṅ Bstan ḥdzin dpal ḥbyor (rje btsun ~) = no. 51.

80. Blo bzaṅ thugs rje: listed in Gdk. 22 (Dad pa mkhan po, rje btsun ~ dpal bzaṅ po).

81. Blo bzaṅ don grub: listed in Gdk. 63 (mkhan zur chos rje Ṅag dbaṅ ~). A copy in SL. 27 f. 69 (vols. ka-ña). Two copies in Leningrad: OI.bu.2534–61, and Tsib. 42 under the title Dben sa pa ~.

82. Blo bzaṅ rdo rje: Gdk. 62 (Khri pa bla ma ~).

83. Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan (Ḥor ga chiḥi bla ma ~): SL. 17 f. 65 (vols. ka-cha). *Dist.*: Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaṅ po (Panchen Lama IV).

84. Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes (Panchen Lama IV): listed in Kr. (Bkra śis lhun poḥi Paṇ chen sku ḥphreṅ bzhi pa Dpal ldan ye śes), and Gdk. 5 (skyabs mgon Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa rje btsun ~ dpal bzaṅ po). Copies in: Gd. (Dpal ldan ye śes), OI.u. 26 (Paṇ chen Dpal ldan ye śes), OI.bu. 784–931 (Paṇ chen ~ dpal bzaṅ po), 1846 (~), Tsib. 12 (Paṇ chen Dpal ldan ye śes).

Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin = no. 85.

85. Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las: IAIC. (vols. ka-ṅa), SL. 7 f. 51–52 (Dza ya paṇḍi ta ~), Gd. (Dza ya paṇḍi ta), OI.u. 59 (Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin).

86. Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims: OI.bu. 2561–2574 (yoṅs ḥdzin ~), 2742–88 (sgrub khaṅ ~), Tsib. 45 (yoṅs ḥdzin ~).

87. Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims rgya mtsho: listed in Gdk. 52 (rje btsun bla ma rdo rje ḥchaṅ gser tog chos kyi rgyal po ~ dpal bzaṅ po). Copies in SL. 26 f. 68–69 (gser tog ~), Gd. (gser tog rin po che), and OI.u. 58 (Tshul khrims rgya mtsho).
88. Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan: OI.bu. 2870–97.
89. Blo bzaṅ zhi ba: SL. 2 f. 19–20.
90. Blo bzaṅ ye śes (Panchen Lama): listed in Gdk. 6 (Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa chen po rje btsun ~ dpal bzaṅ po). Copies in Leningrad: OI.bu. 755–783 (Paṇ chen ~ dpal bzaṅ po), Tsib. 11 (Paṇ chen ~). *Dist.* Blo bzaṅ ye śes (no. 91).
91. Blo bzaṅ ye śes bstan pa rab rgyas: TUn. XII (known as "Rva sgreṅ Books"), IAIC. (rje btsun Blo bzaṅ ye śes). *Dist.* Blo bzaṅ ye śes (Paṇchen Lama).
92. Blo bzaṅ śes rab ñi ma: SL. 6 f. 61–62 (Med gen mkhan po ~, vols. ka-ḥa).
93. Blo bzaṅ śes rab dpal bzaṅ po: Gdk. 38 (Bkra lhun duṅ dkar dkaḥ chen du grags pa chos rje ~).
94. Dbal maṅ (spelling?): OI.u. 13,63.
Dben sa pa Blo bzaṅ don grub = no. 81.
95. Dbyaṅs can grub paḥi rdo rje: listed in TUn. XIII B (known as Dṅul chu Books), and Gdk. 18 (rje btsun bla ma ~). One copy in OI.bu. 2636–90 (Dṅul chu pa ~).
96. Dbyaṅs can dgaḥ baḥi blo gros: listed in TUn. XVII (known as "Akya Books"). The author of OI.bu. 1791–1801, 1803–1812 is Ḥjam dbyaṅs dgaḥ baḥi blo gros, who can be a different person. *Cf.* Akya yoṅs ḥdzin.
97. Ma ṇi pra dzña (= Maṇiprajña): SL. 14 f. 63 (vols. ka-ca).
Med gen mkhan po Blo bzaṅ śes rab ñi ma = no. 92.
smra baḥi dbaṅ phyug Śā sa na dhva dza = no. 115.
98. Tsoṅ kha pa. Listed in TUn. II (~ Blo bzaṅ grags paḥi dpal), Gdk. (rje rin po che), and Kr. (chos kyi rgyal po śar Tsoṅ kha pa Blo bzaṅ grags paḥi dpal). Copies in Gd. (rje rin po che), OI.u. 5 (rje rin po che), 17 (rje bla ma), OI.bu. 1–3 (Tsoṅ kha pa), Tsib. 1 (~ chen po). The International Academy of Indian Culture has a copy of this sumbum (rje gsuṅ ḥbum) printed in Kumbum (Amdo).
~ chen po = no. 98.
~ Blo bzaṅ grags paḥi dpal = no. 98.
99. Rtsa ba rta mgrin: SL. 8 f. 51–52 (vols. ka-ja). He belonged to Urga (now Ulanbator).

°tshul khrims rgya mtsho (Blo bzaṅ°) (no. 87).
°tshul khrims bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan (Blo bzaṅ) = no. 88.
Dza ya paṇḍi ta (Jayapaṇḍita) = Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las (no. 85).
Dza ya paṇḍi ta Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las = no. 85.

100. Zha luḥi mkhas grub rnams kyi gsuṅ ḥbum: OI.bu. 2282–2500, Tsib. 40. This collectanea contains various sumbums of the scholars of Zhalu.

101. Zhi pa śriḥi thu: listed in Gdk. 55. He is a highly venerated Incarnation among the Mongols. He was the resident of Zhi, a place near Chone.

Zhog pa Don yod mkhas grub = no. 55.

102. Bzhad pai rdo rje: Gd.

103. Za hor dge bśes: OI.u. 47. *Cf.* Za hor bande (no. 104).

104. Za hor bande: OI.bu. 2612–35. *Cf.* Za hor dge bśes (no. 103).

105. Bzod pa rgya mtsho (mkhar rdo ~): listed in Kr. Mkhar rdo is a place in Kham according to my informant and friend Lama Chimpa.

Ḥor ga chiḥi bla ma Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan = no. 83.

106. Ye śes rgya mtsho. TUn. XVI (Chu bzaṅ bla ma ~), OI.bu. 2789–93. Chu-bzaṅ is a splendid monastery near Kumbum (Amdo).

107. Ye śes rgyal mtshan: listed in TUn. X (known as Tshe mchog bsam gtan gliṅ Books), and Kr. (bla ma ~). Three copies in Leningrad: OI.u. 48, OI.bu. 1472–1641, Tsib. 17.

Ye śes bstan sgron = Rol paḥi rdo rje (Kr.).
°ye śes bstan pa rab rgyas (Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 91.
°ye śes thub bstan (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 29.

108. Ye śes dpal ḥbyor (S.C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*) = Sum pa mkhan po; IAIC. (Sum pa mkhan po).

109. Ye śes blo bzaṅ bstan pa: OI.bu. 1703–53 (Rta-tsag pa ~), Tsib. 19 (Rta tshag pa ~ paḥi mgon po).

Yel gvo saṅ = no. 125.
Yoṅs ḥdzin *see* no. 123.
Yoṅs ḥdzin Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims = no. 86.
°yon tan rgya mtsho (Ṅag dbaṅ°) = no. 30.
Rva sgreṅ Books = no. 91.

110. Ratnadhvadza (=Ratnadhvaja): listed in Gdk. (rje btsun ~). One copy in OI.u.1. *Dist.* Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan.

rab byams pa Ṅag dbaṅ ye śes thub bstan dpal bzaṅ po = no. 29.

111. Ri khrod pa blo bzaṅ: SL. 5 f. 19–20 (vols. ka-ri, vols. ga and ña each twice).

112. Rig ḥdzin gzi brjid rdo rje: listed in Gdk. 64 (ḥgrub paḥi dbaṅ phyug ~). A copy in SL. 15 f. 63–64 (vols. ka-ca).
113. Rin chen don grub (Bra ti dge bśes ~): listed in Kr. Bra ti is a place in Tibet.
114. Rol paḥi rdo rje: listed in Kr. (Lcaṅ skya Ye śes bstan sgron *nam* ~), and Gdk. Copies in Gd., SL. 28 f. 69–70, OI.u. 29 (Lcaṅ skya rol pa), 30 (Rol pa rdo rje), 61 (rje ~).
115. Śā sa na dhva dza (Śāsanadhvaja): Gdk. 36 (smra baḥi dbaṅ phyug ~), OI.u. 45.
116. Śes rab rgya mtsho: SL. 16 f. 64 (A khu chiṅ ~. vols. ka-ña), OI.u. 20,21 (A khu chiṅ rin po che). A khu chiṅ is a toponym.
°śes rab ñi ma (Med gen mkhan po Blo bzaṅ°) = no. 92.
Śo pa Don yod mkhas grub = no. 55.
bśad sgrub Bstan dar = no. 45.
117. Bśad sgrub miṅ can: OI.u. 55.
118. Saṅs rgyas ye śes: OI.bu. 2575–2610.
119. Su ma ti dharma: OI.bu. 1849.
Sum pa mkhan po = Ye śes dpal ḥbyor (no. 108).
Se ra mkhas grub Bstan dar (ba) = no. 45.
Se ra rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan = no. 35.
gser tog Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims rgya mtsho = no. 87.
gser tog rin po che = no. 87.
120. Bsod nams grags pa: listed in Kr. (Paṇ chen ~). Copies in OI.bu. 1782–1790, 1802, 1814–16, Tsib. 21.
121. Bsod nams rgya mtsho: SL. 21 f. 66 (vols. ka-cha).
lha miḥi rnam ḥdren Paṇ chen Dge ḥdun grub = no. 7.
A lag śa Bstan dar lha rams pa = no. 46.
Akya Books = no. 96.
122. Akya bstan brgyan: OI.u. 62, Gdk. 42 (Akya bstan paḥi rgyan mtshan).
Akya bstan paḥi rgyan mtshan = no. 122.
123. Akya yoṅs ḥdzin: listed in Gdk. (mkhas grub chen po ~ rin po che). Copies in OI.u. 6, OI.bu. 2922–69 (the sumbum does not seem to end at 2969). OI.u. 32 (yoṅs ḥdzin) is most probably the same author (Akya yoṅs ḥdzin is popularly referred to as simply yoṅs ḥdzin "preceptor").
A khu chiṅ rin po che = no. 116.
A khu chiṅ Śes rab rgya mtsho = no. 116.
124. Anta-dhvadza (= Antadhvaja): OI.u. 51.
125. Artha-siddha (yel gvo saṅ): SL.18 f. 65.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

K. L. Janert, Rigveda-Studien 85

Lokesh Chandra, The Authors of Sumbums 110

Hans Hensgen, Die Fauna bei Kālidāsa, II. 128

H. W. Bailey, Iranica et Vedica. 149

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Nyáñcanī- "refuge" Ath. S. V. 5. 2d (F. B. J. Kuiper) 158

REVIEWS

F. A. Bischoff, *Contribution à l'étude des divinités mineures du Bouddhisme tantrique* (J. W. de Jong). 159

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

Publications Received 163

Contributors to this Issue 164

MOUTON & CO., PUBLISHERS, The Hague (Holland)

Recent publications:

J. Gonda
Some Observations on the Relations between "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda
a propos of the phrase *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*
(Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, I)
1957. 116 pages. f 9.—

J. C. Heesterman
The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration
The Rājasūya Described according to the Yajus Texts and Annoted
(Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, II)
1957. 243 pages. f 20.—

Çikshāsamuccaya
A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching,
compiled by Çāntideva, chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtras
Edited by C. Bendall M.A.
(Indo-Iranian Reprints, I)
Photomechanic reprint. 1957. 482 pages. f 32.—
for subscribers to the Indo-Iranian Journal: *f* 28.—

Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā
Sūtra du Mahāyāna, publié par L. Finot
(Indo-Iranian Reprints, II)
Photomechanic reprint. 1957. 96 pages. f 8.—
for subscribers to the Indo-Iranian Journal: *f* 6.—

Kun Chang
A Comparative Study of the Kaṭhinavastu
(Indo-Iranian Monographs, I)
1957. 120 pages. f 12.—

Avadānaçataka
A Century of Edifying Tales, belonging to the Hināyāna
Edited by Dr. J. S. Speyer
(Indo-Iranian Reprints, III)
Photomechanic reprint. 1958. 760 pages. f 48.—
for subscribers to the Indo-Iranian Journal: *f* 40.—

BOROBUDUR: A NEW INTERPRETATION

Lokesh Chandra

Borobudur is the monument par excellence of the Sailendras. The type of Śailendra Buddhism has not yet been determined in a definitive manner. From a variety of evidence assembled here, we find that it was the Buddhism of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, which are two of the four divisions of *tantras*.

1. Four divisions of *tantras* and their distinguishing characteristics

The *tantras* are classified into four broad divisions: (i) *kriyā-tantras*, (ii) *caryā-tantras*, (iii) *yoga-tantras*, and (iv) *annutara-yogatantras*.

1.1 Each division is presided over by a distinctly differentiated Buddha. They are as follows:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Vairocanābhisambodhi (one face, *dhyāna mudra*)
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana (four faces, *cakra* in hand)
anuttara yogi tantras	Guhysamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara yoginī tantras	Cakrasaṁvara

1.2 Every division has its fundamental and explanatory *tantras*. As the Borobudur pertains to the *yoga-tantras*, so we will detail them only. The teaching of the *yoga* division of *tantras* is set forth in "two works, the fundamental tantra Tattvasaṅgraha (Toh. 479), and the explanatory tantra Vajraśekhara (Toh. 480). They have primary commentaries by three men who are famed in India as being learned in yoga, namely, Śākyamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Ānandagarbha".[1] Buddhaguhya, who wrote the fundamental commentary Tantrārthāvatāra (Toh. 2501) on the Tattvasaṅgraha lived in the middle of the eighth century as is attested by his letter (Toh. 4194) to the Tibetan King Khri-sron-ldeḥu-btsan who reigned from A.D. 755. His date is important as it lends weight to the fact that the eighth century was the golden age of *yoga-tantras*, a fact corroborated by other historic events.

1.3 The third specific characteristic of the *yoga-tantras* is that its *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is surrounded by the Thousand Buddhás. A glance over the complete set of 132 *maṇḍalas* of the Rgyed-sde kun-btus comprising all the classes of the *tantras* reveals that only the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* has the Thousand Buddhas shown in the outer enceinte. The Tibetan *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, which follows to every detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit original, is the classical *maṇḍala*, and it has 1037 (1000 + 37) deities.[2]

1.4 Among the fundamentals of tantric realisation were the Generation of the Residence[3] (*ādhārotpatti*) and the Invitation to the deities to be

Resident (*ādheya*) therein. The *ādhāra* was in the form of a four-sided Sumeru mountain, above it a canopy (*vitāna*), on top of the canopy the *kūṭagāra* 'eaved palace' and within it seats for the deities. The first five stories are the five terraces of the Sumeru mountain. In the worship of *maṇḍala*, the first step is evocation of the Sumeru, which is *ādhārotpatti* or generation of the residence, for the *ādheya* or the deities who are invoked to take abode therein. A three-storied eaved palace rests in the clouds atop Sumeru. This is the *kūṭāgāra* of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, and the three-storied *campana* of the Gyantse Kumbum, which is specially notable for its adherence to the injunctions of the Classical tantric texts in minute details of architectural form. For instance, the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta which is a fundamental text for the construction of *maṇḍalas*, makes it clear that *maṇḍalas* were situated in a *kūṭāgāra* or pavillion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity in the centre and others in their appropriate placements (p. 8, 26, 42 *sumerūpari*, *sumerumūrdhni* 'on the summit of Sumeru').

1.5 The fifth important characteristic was that earlier elements were integrated into the scheme of *yoga-tantras*, whether it be literature, a painted scroll, or an architectural *maṇḍala*. For example, the entire path of temporal evolution of the manifestation of Buddhism was not disregarded, but was mirrored in the structural systematisation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and it was reduced to writing by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub and by others who followed him. It is now available to us in the English translation of Mkhas-grub-rjes[4] fundamentals of the *tantras* by Prof. D. Lessing and Alexander Wayman, a work whose potential is yet to be realized for the history of the development of Buddhism. He sets forth the development into three *yānas*: the position of the *śrāvakas* the teachings of the *pāramitā* school in four stages, and finally the teachings of the *mantra* school again in four stages. Mkhas-grub-rje's masterly analysis is a sine qua non to understand the philosophical moorings and ritualistic context of the Borobudur which integrates in stone the same path of ascension: *śrāvakayāna*--Karmavibhaṅga, *jātakas* and *avadānas* of Śākyamuni; *pāramita-yāna*--Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī); *mantra-yāna*--Vairocana.

Kobo daishi,[5] who introduced Tantric Buddhism (*Shingon*) to Japan in the ninth century, follows the same practice in bringing together the philosophical evolution of different strata of thought leading from the earliest through the One Vehicle of Avataṁsaka to the Vajradhātu Vairocana in the *Shingon* school as Ten Stages of Spiritual Progress (not to be confused with the *daśa-bhūmi*), which are:

1. Various paths of blind life driven by instinctive impulses (the stage of common people)
2. The Vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism)
3. The Vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have supernatural

power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism)
These three (1-3) are the Wordly Vehicles.

4. The Vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (*śrāvaka*) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna Schools, Abhidharmakośa and Satyasiddhi (state of direct disciples)
5. The Vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (*pratyeka-buddha*) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism
6-7. The doctrine of Three Vehicles, holding the Three Vechicles as real (the stages of the *mādhyamika* and *yogācāra* Schools)
8-9. The doctrine holding the One Vehicle as real (the stages of the Avataṁsaka and Tendai Schools)
10. The Diamond Vehicle as held by the *Shingon* School.

1.61 The Vairocana of the *yoga-tantras* presupposes the concept of Vairocana in the Avataṁsaka. Takakusu[5] says that the Avataṁsaka is "a sūtra in which the mystic doctrine of the Buddha Mahāvairocana is minutely described". The last chapter of the Avataṁsaka is the Gaṇḍavyūha which describes the pilgrimage of young Suddhana to fiftythree worthies, both religious and secular, to "realise the principle of dharmadhātu". Thus the integral relationship of the pilgrimage of Suddhana and Vairocana go back to an early period, at the latest to the fourth century when the first Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka took place. Vairocana is the lord of the *Kusuma-tala-garbha-vyūhālaṅkāra-lokadhātu* (*Rengedai sekai*) in the Avataṁsaka and also in the Brahmajāla-sūtra (T. 21, Nj. 554) which was translated into Chinese by Shiken during A.D. 223-253. The Avataṁsaka school had two main representations of: (1) the image of Vairocana as the Buddha of this school, and (2) the narrative paintings or sculptures of the pilgrimage of Suddhana.

1.62 The Avataṁsaka is a *mahāvaipulya-sūtrā*. In the Tibetan Kanjur the full title is Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya sūtra (Toh. 44). So also in the Chinese translation, which can be rendered verbatim as mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka sūtra (Nj. 87=T. 278, Nj. 88=T. 279). The full title of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T. 848= Nj. 530, Toh. 494) itself indicates that it is in direct line of development with the Avataṁsaka. In spite of its being the fundamental text of the *caryā-tantras*, its title does not bear the term *tantra*, but *vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja*: Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya (Toh. 494): while *vaipulya* makes it a descendant of the Avataṁsaka *sūtrendrarāja* indicates a further and higher stage of development.

2. The presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia

The presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia is attested by (1) quotations from the texts of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, (2) the iconography of the Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyu and Kalpabuddha, (3) the *maṇḍala* plan

of the Chandi Sewu, (4) the Nañjuk bronzes, and (5) the Nāgarakṛtāgama indicates that the Budur was a yogatantric sanctuary, and finally (6) the architectural complex of the Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur itself.

2.1 The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyanan Mantranaya[6] (SHKM) is a tantric text from Indonesia, with 42 Sanskrit verses, each verse followed by an Old Javanese commentary. Following the pioneering studies of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, Prof. de Jong (1974) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the verses of SHKM are derived from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Verses a-5ab, 6-9, 16-18, 20-22 are from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T. 848, Nj. 530, Toh. 494); while verses 26-42 stem from the Adhyardhaśatikā (T. 244, Nj. 1037, Toh. 488). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra belongs to the *caryā-tantras* and the Adhyardhaśatikā to the *yoga-tantras*. The SHKM proves the presence of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia.

2.2 There are two more Buddhist texts: Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha. They have rightly been recognised by Bosch[7] as deriving their value by "mentioning the names of the five Dhyāni-buddhas and some of their principal attributes and characteristics". They supply us with requisite data to assign their precise division of *tantras* and also determine the manifestation of this division as a *maṇḍala*. Out of the four divisions of *tantras* there are two whose central deity is Vairocana, namely the *caryā tantras* and *yoga tantras*. The *carya-tantras* are represented by the texts of Mahāvairocana-ābhisambodhi-vikurvita-adhisthāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja (Toh. 494 = Sino-Japanese text T. 848, Nj. 530) and the Acala-kalpa (Toh. 495). The major texts of the *yoga-tantras* are the Tattvasaṅgraha and its explanatory *tantra* entitled the Vajraśekhara. Vairocana has separate and distinctive forms in these two divisions: in the *yoga-tantras* he is in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* while in the *caryā-tantras* he is in *dhyāna mudrā*. Both these forms are clearly delineated in the Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese traditions. The iconography can be seen, for instance, in the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu *maṇḍalas* of the Shingon tradition: The Vajradhātu Vairocana is in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* while the Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in the *dhyāna mudrā*. Both the Indonesian texts define the *mudrā* of Vairocana as *bodhyagrī*, which unequivocally proves that the *yoga-tantras* were prevalent in Indonesia.

2.3 Bosch identifies the Chandi Sewu as the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, by comparing the pantheon of the Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, the central *maṇḍala* of the Japanese Vajradhātu (Jap. Kongokai). But he was beset with doubts by the fact that the *mahāmaṇḍala* was only "the central square of the maṇḍala", a part of the whole, and how could a part be a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sewu is and was intended to be. It is essential to point out the circumstances in which the twin *mandalas* (Jap. genzu mandara) of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu were

taken to Japan by Kōbō daishi in A.D. 806. His master Hui-kuo had them drawn for him on two scrolls. Different versions were synthesised on these two scrolls. The Japanese Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* is not one *maṇḍala*, but it is a collection of nine *maṇḍalas*: comprising 6 types of Vajradhātu *maṇḍalas*, one Naya-*maṇḍala* and two types of Trailokyavijaya *maṇḍalas*. The three represent different subdivisions of the *yoga-tantras*. Within the *yoga-tantras*, there are two explanatory *tantras* from the *upāya* and *prajñā* standpoints. The Vajradhātu *maṇḍalas* represent the Vajraśekhara which is explanatory *tantra* from the *upāya* standpoint. The *naya-maṇḍala* represents the Naya-sūtra which is explanatory from the *prajñā* standpoint. The *Trailokya-vijaya* is explanatory from the *upāya* view of the second section (*vajra-kula*) of the Tattva-saṅgraha. In Tibet they are separate *maṇḍalas*. The most important among them is the central *maṇḍala* which is rightly termed a *daimandara* (=*mahāmaṇḍala*), and is also known as the *Jojin-ne* (*kāya-maṇḍala*) and *karma-maṇḍala* in the Japanese tradition. Originally it was not the central part of a composite *maṇḍala*, but it was the primary *maṇḍala* of the *yoga-tantras*, with an independent existence of its own. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī too it has an entity of its own.

Bosch is perfectly right in saying that Vajradhātu deities embody themselves in the Sewu complex. Though its niches have been spoiled of their invaluable bronzes, but the entire plan is a confirmation. The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddha and their niches the *parivāra-devatās* of each of the five Tathāgatas. The east cella of Akṣobhya was the antechamber whence the devotee entered the constellation of winding structures on his circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). The deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* were represented as follows:

24	Five Tathāgatas with their attendent deities
4	*pūjā-devīs* at the four corners of the buildings
8	*pūjā-* and *saṅgraha devīs* in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare)
36	

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels house the Thousand Buddhas. Bosch surmises that thousand means 'very many' and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the *Bhadrakalpa*, "the founder of the complex ... erected 'merely' 240 sancturaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa". This surmise is unnecessary. Each of the 240 subsidiary chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of 240 x 4 = 960 Buddhas. It suited the architectural configuration of the chapels that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side remained empty because of the entrance portal. The balance of 40 is as follows:

36	deities in the central temple	
4	deities of the elements in the corners as in the Japanese	*Mahāmaṇḍala*
960	Thousand Buddhas	
1000		

The four deities, namely Tejas, Āpaḥ, Vāyu and Pṛithvī, are situated in the four corners of the Japanese *mahāmaṇḍala*. These statues must have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sewu can go back to the eighth century when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic ensemble took place.

2.4 Ṅañjuk Bronzes. Ever since their discovery in 1913 from desa Chandi Reja near Ṅañjuk (Kediri, East Java), these 90 bronzes have been the subject of study. Krom[8] studied 40 of them and at once came to the conclusion that they constituted a group. In 1929 Bosch[9] rightly recognised them as the central Vajradhātu-*mahāmaṇḍala* and he identified the *pūjādevīs* and four *saṅgraha* deities. The credit goes to K.W. Lim[10] who rightly perceived that the central deity belongs "to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Ānandagarbha-type". Ānandagarbha is one of the three fundamental commentators on the Tattvasaṅgraha, the basic scripture of the *yoga-tantras*. The Ṅañjuk bronzes must have formed part of a 37-deity Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* of bronze statuettes. Along with the Chandi Sewu niches, it constitutes an important proof of the predominance of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* of the *yoga-tantras* in the Buddhism of Indonesia.

2.5 Nāgarakṛtāgama 77.3 by Prapañca (A.D. 1365) enumerates the Budur as one of the important sanctums of the Vajradhara Buddhists (*kasugatan kabajradharan*) which was registered in the state archives. It is noteworthy that *Budur* is without the prefix *bara*. On the basis of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, and the actual discovery of *vajras* on small sheets of gold, Bosch had clearly surmised, as early as 1920, that the Borobudur pertained to the Vajradhara sect. The Vajradhara Buddhists were those who followed the *yoga-tantras* and their Lord was Vajradhara, while the Lord of the *anuttara-yoga tantras* Mahāvajradhara, who emanates all the deities in the Guhyasamāja-tantra. This distinction is relevant to the precise evaluation of the Nāgarakṛtāgama which is using '*vajradhara*' as a specialised technical term.

3. Etymology of the word Borobudur

3.1 As indicated by the Nāgarakṛtāgama, *Budur* was the main element of the compound Bara Budur. So *bara* should have a generic connotation of a sanctum. The possibility of *bara* being derived from *vihāra* via Maly *biyara* was mooted by Poerbatjaraka and Stutterheim.[11] The linguistic difficulties inherent in the transition from *biyara* to *bara* have stood in the way of its universal acceptance. But along with *vihāra* there was the collateral form *vahāra* which may be a mongeral term or an intentional

change to distinguish a tantric Buddhist monastic establishment from a usual Buddhist monastery. The use of *vahāra* (pronouced *bahāra*) is attested in the famous Nav bahār, the renowned Buddhist monastery at Balkh which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in about A.D. 630, and was damaged by the Arabs in A.D. 663-4.[12] Hsüan-tsang translates *bahār* as monastery (sanskritised as *saṅghārāma* by Julien and Beal).

3.2 The name of the Sogdian town of Bokhara (also spelt Bukhara) also goes back to the word *vahāra*, which is made doubly probable by the discovery of a *vihāra* near Numidikath, the predecessor town of Bokhara. The pronunciation Bokhara with o is a dialectical variation of the ancient *vahāra*. The form Bokhara is attested in about 1666 as 'Bokāra prunes' (Bernier, ed. Constable; 118). In the earliest document of 1221, the name occurs as Bachara.[13]

3.3 The lost colloquial Indic form *vahāra* developed into *bahār* and *bokhar* (a being pronounced as o). Pelliot's discussion[13] about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic form *vahāra*, which is enhanced by the Newari term *vahāl* for the Buddhist temples of Vajrayāna in Nepal. The Indonesian *bara*, pronounced in Modern Javanese as *boro* can be traced back to *bahāra* > *ba'ara* (by the elision of h) < *bāra* (coalescence of the two a). *bara* is influenced by *vara* 'excellent', 'supreme'. In modern Tamil, h is a glide for hiatus, *Murahari* for *Mura-ari* (*Murāri*). Conversely the h in *bahāra* was considered an epenthetic and dropped. The elision of intervovalic h is a widespread phenomenon in Tamil: e.g. *ahaṁkāra* > *aṁkāra*, Māmalla < Mahāmalla, the great Pallava king who ruled at Kanchi (A.D. 630-668). Compare the modern Balinese Mendra for Mahendra.

3.4 There were a number of other Nav-bihar in Sind, at Samarkand, at Bokhara, and even at Ray (east of Tehran). I must confess that I do not see why we have only "New monasteries in Iran".[14] The presence of many *Nav-bahār* alludes to the fact that it was a generic term referring to esoteric Vajrayāna monasteries in general rather than a specific name. The 'New' Monasteries belonged to the New Way of Vajrayāna Buddhism in contradistinction to Theravāda and Mahāyāna.

The prevalence of Vajrayāna in Iranian Central Asia is attested by (i) Vajrayāna texts in the Iranian-speaking domains of Khotan like the Adhyardhaśatikā prajñāpāramitā[15] which is a text of the yoga-tantric system. (ii) The Avataṁsaka, whose presiding Buddha is Vairocana and which is a precursor to the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, was in vogue at Khotan. The T'ang Empress Wu tsö-t'ien (684-705) had sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of his *sūtra*. (iii) Śubhakarasiṁha (637-735), who was the first great master of Vajrayāna in China, has bequethed to us the Rita-sōgyara-gobu-shingan (Jap. pronunciation) which illustrates six *maṇḍalas* of Ṛta-saṁhāra or Tattva-saṅgraha. Its drawings are in the hand of an Iranian-speaking disciple as is evident from the Sassanoid coronets

of the deities and from the colophon *ācārya-śrī-śaubh[ik]asya suratah* where *suratah* is the Iranian word *sūrat* 'picture'. (iv) Amoghavajra (705-774) whose mother hailed from Samarkand, translated yoga-tantric texts into Chinese, with the help of Hui-lin from Kashgar. Besides, five disciples from Samarkand (K'ang), Tashkent (Shih), Tukhara (Lo), and Betik (Pi) are mentioned in his Memorial of A.D. 767. In another Memorial dated A.D. 768 he requested permission to tonsure three disciples from Tukhara and Ishtikhan. (v) The Khotanese Jātakastava was written for Cā Kimśan ambassador of the Khotanese kings Viśa sūra (967-977) and Viśa Darma (978-982) to increase the merit of householders of Vajrayāna. (vi) A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese scroll records a conversation between a person from Tun-huang and a Khotanese *bhikṣu* going to worship Mañjuśrī in China. The Tun-huang resident asks "which book do you like". The *bhikṣu* from Khotan replies: "I like Vajrayāna".[16] The presence of Vajrayāna in Iranian-speaking Central Asia was thus a wide-spread phenomenon and the New Monasteries represented it.

3.5 Central Asia has preserved a distinction between earlier monasteries with their austere statuary and ascetic discipline and the new Vajrayāna monasteries in their splendour of ritual and graceful images of gods eternally young and of charming goddesses.

Bīrunī (Athār al-bāqīya, ed. E. Sachau, p. 206) considers *behār farxār* synonymous, but Al-Khwārizmī (Mafātīḥ al- u'lūm, p. 123) clearly distinguishes them semantatically: "buhār is the idol temple of India and farxar is the idol-temple of China and Upper Sughd or Sogdiana" (Richard N. Frye, Notes on the history of Transoxiana, HJAS. 19 [1956]. 115. n. 52). Al-Khwārizmī in all probability preserves a distinction in the denominational context of the two terms which though confused later on were once contradistinctive.

3.6 The second element of the name Budur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay *budua*, or Sk. Buddha.[17] Moens has rightly come to the conclusion that -*ūr* is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil *putu/budu* means 'new', and *putūr* refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called Budoor[18] in the Chingleput district in South India, and eight towns with the name Pudur, and Pudur-palayam, Pudur-Ramnad, Pudur-Uthamanur, not to mention about a hundred city names with Pudu-. Thus the word *Budur* is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budur means the New Monasteries or *Nava-vihāra* like its Central Asian counterparts of the contemporary period.

3.7 A Tamil designation for the greatest Śailendra monument is no wonder. The Javanese-Balinese script itself is derived from that of the Pallavas. In all likelihood the Vajrayāna of the Śailendras was derived from Southern India. There are a number of traces in the Śailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sewu a fragmentary inscription bears the words: *tiruranu*.[19] Cas-

paris considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil *tiru* is *śrī*, and *raṇu* corresponds to Tamil *rāṇuvam* 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samaratuṅga, who reigned 812-832.[20] It could have been his pet family name (*tiru=śrī, rāṇuva=samara*).

The inscription of Śrī Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = A.D. 842, which is correlated to the Borobudur by Casparis, begins with the date and the day is *canaiścarawąra*[21] (Casparis, p. 86), instead of *śa*. *Ca* in place of *śa* is a common phenomenon in Tamil, where *śani* is *cani*.

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4

sīmā nih kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra.

II lines 2, 3

sīmā nih kamūlān <i bhūmi> sambhara

Casparis has rightly come to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the Borobudur complex, on the analysis of the village names occuring in the inscription. But his interpretation of the word *kamūlān* has to be viewed in a new light. *Kamūlān* is a homonymic counterpart of *mulasthāna*, where *ka- ... -an* denote *sthāna*. In Tamil this word occurs as *mula-t-tānam* (from *mulā-sthāna*) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (Tamil Lexicon). *Tiru-mūlattānam* (*tiru=śrī + mūlasthāna*) refers to the sacred shrine of Tiruvārūr (Tamil Lexicon, p. 1913). The compound *bhūmi sambhara* is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/Country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu in Brebes, Central Java, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies - *sambhāra* and *sambhara*. In Tamil *sambara* refers to the Buddhist community. *Sambara* is *saṁvara* meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from *sambara* to *sambhara* was an orthographic variation where *bh* lent the word dignity of hypersanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term *sambhāra* (*puṇya-sambhāra*, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha 117). Thus *bhūmi sambhara* meant the land of the *sambhara*, i.e. Buddhists. The whole expression *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara* means 'a monastic foundation of Buddhists'. It is pertinent to cite the lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Borobudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale*). Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Borobudur temple, cyclostyled paper, 1976, p. 11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Borobudur?". We feel that it does. *Dakṣiṇāpatha* in Sanskrit is South India: the same as *bhūmi sambhara*; *parvatasthala* should refer to the Borobudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Borobudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt. *sāgara-bhūmi*) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e. India. In stanza 8 of the Kalasan inscription of *Śaka* 700[22], the Śailendras do term themselves *ārya-santati*. As late as

the 11th century, Śailendras had intimate relations with South India: they founded a *vihāra* at Nagapaṭṭinam, to which the Chola King granted the income of a village for support.

4. Morphological elements of the Borobudur

4.1 The Borobudur was a *vihāra*: it is attested by the Inscription of Karangtěñah of A.D. 824 (line 15: *āstām vihāra*).[23] The presence of the *vihāra* has been proved by archaeological excavations. Its remains were found to the Northwest of the monument.[24] It had a number of structures of which the monument now famous as the Borobudur was one, most probably in the centre of the ordering of the entire sanctified space. The same inscription speaks of *vividha-gaṇa-samākrānta-mūrttiś-ca meruḥ* in the previous line 23: namely, the gods reside on the Meru/Sumeru, an implicit allusion pregnant with significance for the structural definition of the Borobudur. The pyra[illegible]l architecture of the Borobudur with its square terraces, three super-imposed concentric platforms crowned by a finial - without a clearly marked entrance but flights of steps on four sides - has puzzled scholars who have tried to designate it a *stūpa*.

4.2 The plan of the Borobudur is: 5 terraces, supporting 3 circular platforms adorned with 72 latticed campanulae, surrounding a larger central *stūpa* on a final and ninth terrace. The first five terraces are the five storeys of Sumeru, as we find in Nepalese temples, Tibetan texts and *thaṅka* paintings. In Nepal, the tradition of temples on a stepped pyramidal base has continued down to our times. The best known of such temples or *dega* is the five-storeyed temple of the Newars at Bhaktapur, the Nyatapola *dega*. It stands on a five-stepped pyramid.

4.3 Prof. Wayman[25] has illustrated the configuration of the Sumeru on a Tibetan scroll (*thaṅka*). It has five terraces which constitute Mount Sumeru (p. 108). Above the five-storeyed Sumeru is a cloud atop which rests a three-storeyed palace. On top of the palace roof is a tiny structure. This becomes clear in Mkhas-grub-rje's (A.D. 1385-1438) fundamentals of the Buddhist *tantras*. In his prescription[26] of the generation of the residence (*ādhārotpatti*) he says: "In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold silver, sapphire (*indranīla*) and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners.

Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (*vitāna*) appearing in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'" (p. 175). Thereafter, the deities are invited to be resident (*ādheya*) in the sanctified space.

This scheme corresponds to the Borobudur as follows:

5 terraces = five storeys of the Sumeru

3 circular platforms = base of *kūṭāgāra* (palace)

1 large central finial = *stūpa*

4.4 There must have been a wooden pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*) atop the three circular platforms. We know that Borobudur had wooden structures which have perished. Octagonal stone bases of the foundations of the monastic building have been found to the west of the monument. The discovery of bronze nails points that the building was of wood.[27] The pinnacle seems to have been octagonal and ended in a number of horizontal incisions, three parasols in succession and a jewel at the top.[28] The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden *kūṭāgāra*, and other architectural end-elements.

4.5 The Borobudur is a *maṇḍala* dedicated to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. The abode of Vairocana is atop Sumeru as it is clearly pointed out in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī in the chapter on the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* that Lord Vairocana is seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture in the centre of the *kūṭāgāra* situated on Sumeru: *Sumerūpari kūṭāgāram tasya madhye ... viśvāmbhojasya karṇikāyāṁ bhagavān Vairocano ...* (text p. 44 § 19). In the Japanese tradition of the *Kongōchōkyō* (*Vajraśekhara-tantra*) Vairocana ascended Mount Sumeru to reveal the *maṇḍala* to sentient beings.[29] In his work on the fundamentals of the *tantras*, Mkhas-grub-rje says: After completing the five *abhisambodhi*, he became *samyaksambuddha* Mahāvairocana, proceeded to the summit of Mount Sumeru and proclaimed the *yoga tantras*,[30] that is, the Tattvasaṅgraha, its explanatory Vajraśekhara-tantra and other *tantras*.

4.6 The Vairocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms are in latticed *stūpas*. There is a clear difference between the *stūpas* on the first and second rows and those on the third. The pinnacles of the first two rows are supported by square bases, while those of the third by octagonal bases. The perforations in the first case are lozenges, and those in the other are squares:

1st and 2nd rows	square base	lozenge-shaped perforations
3rd row	octagonal base	square perforations

This divergence can be traced back to the Avataṁsaka-sūtra which gave rise to the earliest iconographical type of Vairocana in the art of Khotan and China. In a passage describing cosmological interrelationship it is stated that transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mount Sumeru, ... of circle-nets, ... of all square things, ... and of all sorts of ornamentation, ... circles, forms neither square nor circular, and triangles. Thus geometric forms are specifically mentioned in the text as forms in which the Buddha sometimes manifests. These geometric elements are actually painted on the body of Vairocana in the paintings of Khotan.

4.7 The 72 latticed *stūpas* enshrining the Vairocana Buddhas in the Borobudur represent the architectonic transcreation of the *stūpas* depicted on the body of Vairocana in the *Avataṁsaka* tradition as can be seen in the mural fragments from Khotan. The mural fragment Kuduk-tol .025 shows a *stūpa* with a high superstructure, the legs of Bremen A 16164 have a very elongated *stūpa* of several stories with *harmikā*, the left lower leg of panel D.IV.4 abv. (British Museum) shows a *stūpa* with high superstructure, and so on.[31] What were oddities as representations on the body of Vairocana himself were integrated into the grace of an architectural composition by the brilliant architect that Guṇadharma was, who conceived the Borobudur in the contemplative solitudes of Mount Menoreh.[32]

5. The Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur

5.1 A glance over the complete set of 132 Tibetan *maṇḍalas* of the Rgyude-sde kun-btus comprising all the classes of *tantras* reveals that only the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, which follows down to every minor detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text, is the classical *maṇḍala* with 1037 deities.[33]

5.2 In the Brahmajāla-sūtra (Jap. Bommōkyō, Chin. Fan-wang-ching) translated by Kumārajiva in A.D. 406 it is said: "I am called Vairocana (Jap. Roshana) and live in the ocean of the lotus world ... I incarnate myself into one thousand Buddhas". The Thousand Buddhas were, thus, an integral aspect of Mahāvairocana as early as the fourth century.

5.3 In the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the Kanjur, the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra which describes the Thousand Buddhas, precedes Lalitavistara the biography of Buddha. At the Borobudur, too, the Lalitavistara is depicted besides half the Thousand Buddhas.

5.4 The Japanese Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala* follows the classical norm in representing each one of the Thousand Buddhas[34] in the second enceinte.

5.5 A Javanese chronicle does refer to the thousand statues at Borobudur: "a story occurs in a fragment of a Javanese chronicle published by Poensen (BKI. 1901, p. 287) which pertains to the adventures of a Javanese crown-prince who died in the year 1758. In this story it is said that the crown-prince, after a life of dissipation, went to the Borobudur to visit the thousand statues of this sanctuary, after which visit he soon fell ill and died".

5.6 Frédéric[35] counts the Buddha statues at Borobudur as follows:

	Buddhas in the	mudrā	resemble
92	East	*bhūmi-sparśa*	[Akṣobhya]
92	South	*varada*	[Ratnasambhava]
92	West	*dhyāna*	[Amitābha]
92	North	*abhaya*	[Amoghasiddhi]
64	fourth gallery	*vitarka*	
72	latticed *stūpas*	*dharma-cakra*	[Vairocana]
504			

These 504 Buddhas, when doubled, make the sacred number of 504 x 2 = 1008.

5.7 It is interesting to note the pattern of variation in the depiction of the Thousand Buddhas in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra. In the Lhasa xylograph of this *sūtra* which was woodprinted at the Zhöparkhang printery of the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama as the authentic version, we find the illustrations of all the Thousand Buddhas with their names in versified stanzas. They are represented as Buddhas in the *dharma-cakra, bhūmi-sparś, varada, dhyāna* and *abhaya mudrās* - in this very order. This *mudrā* sequence is repeated 200 times to arrive at the number of a thousand, without any other change. At Borobudur, too, the same pattern is represented. To use the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata, namely, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amīthaba, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana, is inappropriate and misleading as each of the Thousand Buddhas has an individual name though their iconography is restricted to five forms which is common to the Pañca-Tathāgata. The description of the Borobudur has to undergo a total terminological revolution for the correct identification of the whole as well as of its constituent elements.

5.8 The Vajradhātu becomes a *mahāmaṇḍala* because of the Thousand Buddhas, which is its unique and contradistinctive attribute in the world of tantric *maṇḍalas*. The Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala* added to the already existing five forms of the Buddhas a sixth one with the *vitarka mudrā*. These six forms of Buddhas were repeated 169 times to the auspicious number of 1008 (168 x 6 = 1008). That is why there are 504 Buddhas, and the niches and *stūpas* enclosing these 504, symbolically make up the requisite double number 504 x 2 = 1008. Thus the six forms of Buddhas on the main walls and circular terraces do not stand for Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amītabha, Amoghasiddhi, - , and Vairocana, but are simply six morphological types to delineate the 1008 Buddhas in 168 cyclic repetitions in sixes (168 x 6 = 1008). It was never realised that the neglected iconography of the Thousand Buddhas held a key to the Borobudur. It has been ignored so far as a tautology.

6. Central image of the Borobudur

6.1 The central image of the Borobudur enshrined in the final *stūpa* has not been found, and its absence has engendered a continued controversy. The intrusion of the unfinished image has complicated the issue. Its solutions have varied according to the interpretation of the type of Buddhism represented by the Borobudur.

6.2 In the early period of its discovery it was "a huge mass of stones enveloping the top of a hill and containing only a small room in its central dagob".[36] Kempers (p. 48-49) summarises the situation in the following words: "Inside the central dagob there is a large cella with a smaller one above it. During the whole of the 19th century there was a large hole in the walls of the dagob. An unfinished statue of a Buddha has been found inside the cella. It is exactly like those of the other Buddha images which show the attitude of 'touching the earth' (in the niches facing the east). Much controversy has arisen around this 'unfinished Buddha'. According to some it represents the Supreme Buddha manifesting himself incompletely in this manner. On the other hand there is reason to suppose that the sculptor left his work unfinished because of a mistake he made in carving one of the hands. Anyhow, it seems to be too much of a failure to figure as the Supreme Buddha. It may have been introduced into the cella through the hole in its walls for some reason unknown to us. The same goes for a number of smaller objects found in the same place, such as a small kris" We agree with Kempers that the unfnished statue was secretely introduced in the cella to compensate the disappearance of the golden image of Mahā vairocana enshrined therein, though Stutterheim p. 56 feels: "Hoepermans statement is no more than an insinuation directed against the Resident and the Regent, reproaching the former with the theft of a small golden image found during the investigations, and the later for having played the role of henchman by having this substituted by the first Buddha statue to be found in the vicinity".

6.3 The golden age of Buddhism at Nāgapaṭṭinam was the 8-9th century. The central image of the Buddhist *vihāra* in this city was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint *Āḻvār* Tiru-mangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīrangam. "He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭinam was very useful. It was to this effect: "The sthapathi who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara". This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to Dvīpāntara where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna*, which enabled the Āḻvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan".[37]

The word *paṭṭinam* itself denotes a settlement of *sambaras*, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. A golden image was a lure as early as the 9th century, for howsoever noble a purpose, and why should it not be in the 19th century. It is not an isolated phenomenon. "According to unconfirmed stories dating from the colonial period, there were villages near the Dieng Plateau which paid their taxes in golden statues, the most precious produce of their soil".[38] We do not know their whereabouts.

6.4 The *sthapati* referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Borobudur. Even if there was some other *sthapati*, he could have hailed from India. The *sthapati* were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted for a statue of solid gold for such a magnificent monument as the Borobudur, when there was a precedent in the main image of the *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the ninth century. Significantly enough it bears a stylistic affinity with South Indian sculpture.[39] The cumulative effect of the evidence adduced so far indicates that the central image should have been of solid gold and consequently small in size.

6.5 Paragraph 1.4 details the two concomitant steps of Vajrayāna worship: (i) generation of the residence for the deities (*ādhāra*) and (ii) evocation of the deities to be residents (*ādheya*) therein. The entire architectural composition of the Borobudur down to the minute details of the geometric designs of the lattices of the *stūpas* on the circular platforms, favours, sustains and strenghtens the idea that it is an *ādhāra* for the *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu Vairocana. The first stage is to be followed by the second stage (*ādheya*) of the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* taking residence herein: the central image of Vairocana surrounded by 36 deities. The images of these 36 deities must have been fashioned out of seven or nine precious metals. They should have been placed in the now-vanished wooden *kūṭāgāra*.

The dichotomy of the *ādhāra* and *ādheya* was reflected in the construction itself: *ādhāra* was a fixed and permanent construction in stone and the *ādheya* or the images of precious metal were portable who 'take' residence in every ritual - true to hieratic requirements.

The 'unfinished image' is a sculptor's error, without any place in the scheme of the Borobudur. All the confusion has arisen because scholars were not aware of the basic fact that NO unfinished, faulty, or broken image is ever istalled in a sacred place.

7. Correlation of the reliefs to the central deity Vairocana

In paragraph 1.6 we have dealt with the different strata of Buddhist thought leading to the Vajradhātu Vairocana of the *yoga-tantras*. These

have been harmonized in the consecutively ascending sculptural components of the consummate architecture of the Borobudur.

7.1 The monastic complex of Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in India was consecrated to Vajradhātu Vairocana, by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po in the 10th century. Its central *maṇḍala* hall is dedicated to Vairocana. Beneath the 37 images of the *maṇḍala* there are frescoes of the life of Śākyamuni on the right wall, and those of the pilgrimage of Sudhana along the left wall. The intrinsic proximity of Avataṁsaka and of the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana is thus reflected in the depiction of Sudhana's pilgrimage as a historical substratum in the onward spiritual journey to the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana. The entire Tabo complex is surrounded by a wall with 108 *stūpas*. Both the series of the life of Śākyamuni and the journey of Sudhana are also sculpted at Borobudur. A number of *stūpas* have been found at a distance from the Borobudur. These may have topped the ramparts of the Borobudur complex.

7.2 The Borobudur has reliefs drawn from the Karma-vibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, *jātakas*, *avadānas* and from the Avataṁsaka text of the Gaṇḍavyūha ending in the *Bhadracarī*. Karma-vibhaṅga represents the most fundamental level of the operation of karmic cause-and-effect. The *jātakas* and *avadānas* are the perennial effort of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to liberate from the bonds of karmic causation, and Lalitavistara is the immortal story of Buddha Śākyamuni's discovery of the noble eightfold path. The whole represents the graduated path from the inexorable laws of *karma* (Karma-vibhaṅga), its cessation by the path leading upto Buddha Śākyamuni as propounded in the Lalitavistara, to its sophistication in Avataṁsaka (*Gaṇḍavyūha*) where Sudhana the eternal pilgrim is exhorted by Mañjuśrī to resort to Samantabhadra whose great vow (*Bhadracarī*) is to reach the Paradise of Amitābha (*Ratnakūṭa*), and transcending them all is Supreme Buddha (Jinapati) Vairocana[40] become Abhisambuddha.

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Synopsis

1 Four divisions of *tantras* and their distinctive characteristics

- 1.1 Specific deities of four divisions
- 1.2 Fundamental and explanatory texts of the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.3 The Thousand Buddhas as a distinctive feature of the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.4 *Ādhāra/ādheya* as fundamental to tantric realisation
- 1.5 Integration of earlier elements in the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.6 Avataṁsaka and *yoga-tantras*

2 Presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia

- 2.1 Stanzas from *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in SHKM
- 2.2 The iconography of Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabayu and Kalpābuddha corresponds to that of the *yoga-tantras*
- 2.3 Chandi Sewu as the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 2.4 Ñañjuk bronzes represent the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 2.5 Nāgarkṛtāgama indicates that the Budur was a *yoga*-tantric sanctuary

3 Etymology of the name Borobudur

- 3.1 *Nav-bahar<Nava-vahāra*
- 3.2 Bokhara>*vahāra*
- 3.3 Nepalese *vahāl*
- 3.4 *Nav-bahār* as a generic term for *yoga*-tantric monasteries
- 3.5 Two types of monasteries: *behār* and *farxār*
- 3.6 Etymology of Budur
- 3.7 Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary in Śailendra inscriptions

4 Morphological elements of the Borobudur

- 4.1 Borobudur is a *vihāra* with a *meru*
- 4.2 Correspondence of the Borobudur to the plan of Sumeru
- 4.3 Tibetan descriptions of Sumeru correspond to the Borobudur
- 4.4 Wooden *kūṭāgāra* atop Borobudur
- 4.5 As the Sumeru, Borobudur is the abode of Vairocana
- 4.6 Perforations of the latticed *stūpas* represent the geometric transformations of Vairocana
- 4.7 Latticed *stūpas* themselves correspond to the *stūpas* painted on the body of Vairocana in Khotanese murals

5 The Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur

- 5.1 The Thousand Buddhas are an exclusive feature of the classical Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 5.2 Vairocana incarnates himself into a Thousand Buddhas (Brahmajāla-Sūtra)
- 5.3 Sequence of the Lalitavistara and Thousand Buddhas
- 5.4 Thousand Buddhas in the Japanese Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 5.5 Japanese chronicle speaks of Thousand statues at the Borobudur
- 5.6 The 504 x 2 Buddhas at Borobudur
- 5.7 Pattern of Thousand Buddhas in the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra
- 5.8 Niches and *stūpas* over 504 Buddhas

5 Central image of the Borobudur

6.1 Central image is not extent

6.2 Large hole in the cella atop in the 19th century

6.3 The central image of the Nāgapaṭṭinam *vihāra* and its *sthapati* went to Indosia

6.4 Central image of Borobudur should also have been of gold

6.5 The 36 deities surrounding the central Vairocana

7 Correlation of the Borobudur reliefs to its central image of Vairocana

7.1 A parellel at the Tabo monastery in India

7.2 Harmony of the sculptural components and the *maṇḍala*

THE STŪPA
ITS RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

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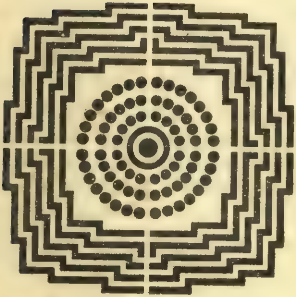
THE BOROBUDUR AS A MONUMENT OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM



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CONTENTS

1 Chandi Sewu

15 Ñañjuk bronzes

18 The lexeme bara

22 The lexeme budur

23 pura-maṇḍala

27 Chandi Mendut

33 Form of the Borobudur

38 The Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur

41 Variation in the Five Tathāgatas

47 Central image of the Borobudur

50 Correlation of the reliefs to the central deity Vairocana

56 Function of the Borobudur

57 Chandi Pawon

62 Notes

64 Literature cited

BOROBUDUR AS A MONUMENT OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

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The precise nature of the complex of 1+8+240 buildings of the Chandi Sewu, near Chandi Kalasan, in the village of Prambanan near Yogyakarta the cultural capital of Indonesia, has hardly been determined in a definitive manner taking into account the Indonesian Buddhist texts, their texture within the classification of vajrayāna tantras, the context of the cultural interflow between India and Indonesia during the epoch when the Chandi Sewu was constructed, the theory of architectonic constellations expressing dimensions of the tantric vision, the abundant Nepalese textual evidence hidden away in unpublished manuscripts, collateral artistic expressions of identical/parallel cosmograms in the Himalayan regions, and the multiplicity of Japanese traditions about the Vajradhātu maṇḍalas. The utilisation of original texts in Sanskrit or Tibetan or Sino-Japanese and comparative studies of the same theme in different traditions as preserved in manuscripts over vast regions of Asia has been steadily declining in the emerging order of over-generalisation at the expense of precision. Though F.D.K. Bosch (1961:111-133) had come to a correct but halting assessment about the appropriate identification of the Chandi Sewu as early as 1929, later scholars have hardly verified or elaborated his hesitant conclusions, and on the contrary they have relegated the Sewu to the undefined. Frits A. Wagner (1962:114) is simplistic in terming the central statue to "have been a bronze Buddha" instead of Vairocana. Further he states: "The whole construction, symbolising the cosmos, maṇḍala, was intended to assist the hermit in his meditations". The maṇḍala is not named and its primary function was not meditation for which a painted maṇḍala is the norm.

Louis Frédéric (1965:163 pl.182) is again imprecise in stating that "this temple, dedicated to Buddha, ... and probably symbolising the Mahāyāna pantheon". Buddha generally refers to Śākyamuni and not to Vairocana. The pantheon here is vajrayānic and therein too it belongs to a very specific tantric text. A.J. Bernet Kempers (1959:56 pl.130) is correct but cautions in saying: "The central shrine of the main temple appears to have contained an image of the Highest Buddha as the central figure of an elaborate pantheon, presumably a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala". Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, Satyawati Suleiman (1971:144 pl.4) feel that "it is impossible to reconstruct the iconographic plan of Tjandi Sewu. It is likely, however, that the assembled statues formed a huge Diamond Matrix Mandala (Vajradhātu-maṇḍala)". The Sewu is an architectonic Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala whose niches are a sure guide to its iconography th ough all its stone and bronze statues have disappeared 'within the memory of man', including the central statue of Mahāvairocana the fragments of whose head were discovered in 1927.

A few general observations about the precise denomination of Vajrayāna Buddhism that was prevalent in Indonesia would help in clarifying the context. Before doing so we will have to consider the classification of Vajrayāna tantras into four broad divisions of : (i) kriyā-tantras, (ii) caryā-tantras, (iii) yoga-tantras, and (v) anuttara-yoga tantras. Each division is presided over by a different Buddha. They are as follows:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Vairocanābhisambodhi (one face, dhyāna mudrā)
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana (four faces, cakra in hand)
anuttara yogi (father) tantras	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara yoginī (mother) tantras	Cakrasaṁvara

Every division has its fundamental and explanatory tantra. In Indonesia the teaching of yoga-tantras was prevalent. So also

in Japan. That was the vogue in South India whence they were transmitted to both these countries. we shall cite _Rgyud-sde spyiḥi rnam-par-gzhag-pa rgyas-par brjod_, a survey of the entire field of tantra in terms of bibliography and basic ideas, by the great Tibetan master of tantras, Mkhas-grub-rje who lived from 1385-1438. He clarifies (Lessing/Wayman 1968:25) that the teaching of the yoga division of tantras is set forth in "two works, the fundamental tantra Tattvasaṁgraha (Toh.479), and the explanatory tantra Vajraśekhara (Toh.480). They have primary commentaries by three men who are famed in India as being learned in Yoga, namely, Śākyamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Ānandagarbha." Buddhaguhya, who wrote the fundamental commentary Tantrārthāvatāra (Toh.2501) on the Tattvasaṅgraha lived in the middle of the eighth century as is attested by his letter (Toh.4194) to the Tibetan King Khri-sroṅ-ldeḥu-btsan who reigned from A.D. 755. His date is important as it lends weight to the fact that the eighth century was the golden age of yoga-tantras, a fact corroborated by other historic events.

The yoga-tantras have five families (_kula_ : tathāgata, ratna, padma, karma, and vajra. Their kuleśa's are: Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. The deities created by his mudrā are the progeny (_kulika_, Lessing/Wayman 1968:102-3). Among them the Tathāgata-family of Vairocana is the highest. In the anuttara yoga-tantras, Vajradhara is added as the sixth family and he is the highest. This was further elaborated in the 'Mother Tantras' of the anuttara-yoginī-tantras by the addition of a seventh family (ḍākinīs). In Indonesia we find only five families in the San hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha (Bosch 1929:131-3), besides the expression _pañca-tathāgata_ in Kalpabuddha (p.133) and elsewhere. No statue which can be specifically attributed to the anuttara-yoga-tantras has been found in Indonesia. The anuttara division of tantras probably did not reach Indonesia and never came to vogue in China and Japan. It became popular in Tibet where it reached

its apogee of development. Whenever a comparison of Indonesian iconography with that of Tibet is resorted to this fundamental fact has to be borne in mind.

Bosch has proved the close affinity of Indonesian Buddhist iconography with the Shingon iconography of Japan. It is but natural that the two traditions should agree as they represent the same yoga-tantra school of Buddhism. The basic tantra of this school was carried to China by Vajrabodhi who arrived in Canton in 720 by the sea route on board a Persian ship. He was the son of the Royal Preceptor (rājaguru) of Kanchi. En route they encountered a storm just twenty days before they reached Canton. All the thirty odd ships were lost, except that which carried Vajrabodhi, who saved it by his recitation of Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī. In the confusion that ensued, Vajrabodhi forgot to save the complete text of the Vajraśekhara-tantra of which the abridged version was preserved. This is the text he translated into Chinese and introduced its Vajradhātu maṇḍala, which is a collocation of nine maṇḍalas namely, the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, samaya-maṇḍala, sūkṣma-maṇḍala, pūjā-maṇḍala, caturmudrā-maṇḍala, ekamudrā-maṇḍala, naya-maṇḍala, Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala, Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala. The central Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala is also known as the karma-maṇḍala or under its Japanese name of Jojinne. In the Tendai sect in Japan only the Jojinne maṇḍala is used : that is, it does not form a part of another maṇḍala but it is independent and primary.

As Vajrabodhi carried the Vajraśekhara-tantra of the yoga-tantra division, it must have been the most prevalent school at Kanchi. There were close trade and cultural relations between the South and Śrīvijaya. The shipping routes to China from the South went via Śrīvijaya. Vajrabodhi visited Śrīvijaya on his way to Canton. A colony of Buddhists from Śrīvijaya resided at Nāgapaṭṭinam, where they erected two Buddhist temples at the beginning of the eleventh century with the patronage of

Coḷa kings. The golden age of Buddhism at Nāgapaṭṭinam was the 8-9th century. The central image of the Buddhist vihāra in this city was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint Āḷvār Tiru-mangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīrangam. "He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist Vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭinam was very useful. It was to this effect : "The sthapati who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in dvīpāntara." This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to dvīpāntara where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the vimāna, which enabled the Āḷvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word paṭṭinam itself denotes a settlement of sambaras, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Indonesia in the eighth century. During this period yoga-tantra Buddhism was well-established in the Pallava domains as is attested by the fact that Vajrabodhi transmitted the yoga-tantra Vajraśekhara to East Asia in the beginning of this century. It is but natural that the division of Buddhist tantras that was transmitted to Indonesia must have been the yoga-tantras. The Chandi Sewu belongs to this century. An inscription dated 792 was found on the site of Candi Sewu, which suggests that its construction commenced thereabout. No wonder that the Sewu embodied the great philosophical system of yoga-tantras in its architecture. Architectonic maṇḍalas are known as pura-maṇḍala as distinct from rajo-maṇḍala drawn with powdered colours or paṭa-maṇḍala painted on textiles.

After these preliminary observations, let us consider the article of Bosch (1929:111-133) on the identification of the

Sewu. He commences by mentioning Buddhist texts like the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha besides the well-known Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The first two have rightly been recognised by Bosch as deriving their value by "mentioning the names of the five Dhyānibuddhas and some of their principal attributes and characteristics" (p.113). He has also pointed out their close relationship and that they are complementary to each other. He further surmised that these two texts "had their common origin in the texts of the same sect or school". With advances in the analysis of the interrelationship of the vast mass of Tantric literature on the basis of Tibetan works of great masters like Bu-ston, Tsoṅ-kha-pa and others it has become possible to define the precise division of tantras to which the two Indonesian texts belong. As already detailed the tantras were classified in four major divisions in ancient India, Nepal, Tibet and elsewhere. The details of this classification have not only been preserved, commented upon at length, but is still a living tradition among Tibetans. It supplies us with all the requisite data to assign the precise school to the Indonesian text and also determine the major manifestation of the division in question as an iconographic representation in the form of a maṇḍala either on cloth or in an architectural form. Out of the four divisions of tantras there are two whose central deity is Vairocana, namely, the caryā-tantras and yoga-tantras. The caryā-tantras are represented by the texts of Mahāvairocan -ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja (Toh.494 = Sino-Japanese text T.848=Nj.530) and the Acala-kalpa (Toh.495). The major texts of the yoga-tantras are the Tattva-saṅgraha[1] and its explanatory tantra entitled the Vajraśekhara. Vairocana has separate and distinctive forms in these two divisions of tantras : in the yoga-tantras he is in the bodhyagrī-mudrā while in the caryā-tantras he is in dhyāna-mudrā. Both these forms are clearly delineated in the Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan

and Sino-Japanese traditions. The iconography can be seen, for instance in the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu maṇḍalas[2] of the Shingon tradition : the Vajradhātu Vairocana is in the bodhyagrī mudrā while the Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in the dhyāna-mudrā. Both the Indonesian texts define the mudrā of Vairocana as bodhyagrī, which unequivocally proves that the Tantric school which was prevalent in Indonesia was that of the yoga-tantras. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (Bhattacharyya 1949:44-47 of text) the iconography of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is described in details following the Vajraśekhara-tantra. The central deity can be either (i) a four-faced eight-armed Vairocana or (ii) one-faced two-armed Vairocana both in the bodhyagrī mudrā which is described as the left fore-finger in the vajra-fist (vajra-muṣṭi) being enclosed by the right vajra-fist : vāme vajra-muṣṭes tarjanyā utthitāyā dakṣiṇe vajra-muṣṭinā grahaṇe sati bodhyaṅgī mudrā (p.44). Bosch had intuitively written : "a point demanding a moment's attention is the name of the mudrā of Vairocana which in both manuscripts reads bodhyagrī mudrā, the same mudrā that is mentioned in the Ādikarmapradīpa and in the Oldjavanese Arjunawijaya and Sutasoma"[3] (p.115). It demanded not a moment's attention but was crucial to the identification of the specific school of Vairocana in Indonesia and consequently of his maṇḍala. The intuition of Bosch is striking indeed.

Bosch (p.116) raises the question of the paradise's of the Five Tathāgatas. He says : "Although the rigid parallelism prevailing in all matters concerning the Tathāgatas would lead us to expect that to the other Dhyānibuddhas a heaven of their own would have been assigned as well, it is noteworthy that nowhere in buddhist literature mention is made of these heavens. The mahayanist sources thus being silent on this point, it is rather surprising to find the complete set of five paradises in both Balinese manuscripts..." I have edited the Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha, a Sanskrit text from Nepal, which names the five

heavens as follows on p.21:

Vairocana	Vajradhātu bhuvana
Akṣobhya	Abhirati bhuvana
Ratnasambhava	Ratnāvatī bhuvana
Amitābha	Sukhāvatī bhuvana
Amoghasiddhi	Amoghavatī bhuvana

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra has Sahāvatī-lokadhātu for Vairocana, and Kusumita-lokadhātu for Amoghasiddha. The Kalpabuddha repeats them in slightly different expressions : <u>Sahavatī ṅaran iṅ kadatwanira</u>, and <u>Kusumita ṅaran iṅ kaswargganira</u> (Bosch 1929: 131,132). This variation in the names of two paradises may be sought in the parallel caryā-tantra tradition of Vairocana where he is surrounded by Ratnaketu in the east, Saṅkusumita-rāja in the south, Amitābha in the west, Divyadundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa in the north. Kusumita-lokadhātu may be connected with Saṅkusumita-rāja (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl.1-5, Tajima 1959:77). The whole question merits further investigation.

The Balinese Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra gives the krodha counterparts of the Five Tathāgatas or their wrathful aspects. It is not appropriate to term them 'demoniac aspects' as done by Bosch. In the Balinese manuscript they are :

Direction	Tathāgata	Krodha	Myō-ō(Jap.)= Vidyārāja
Centre	Vairocana	Navabhava	Acala
East	Akṣobhya	Yamamararāja	Trailokyavijaya
South	Ratnasambhava	Siṁhavāhana	Kuṇḍalī
West	Amitābha	Matthana	Yamāntaka
North	Amoghasiddha	Vatsala	Vajrayakṣa

Bosch compares them with the Five Vidyārāja, Godai Myō-ō in Japanese, who are of furious appearance to destroy all sorts of evil spirits on the orders of Mahāvairocana (JEBD.1965; 208a s.v. Myō-ō). They have an angry visage and ferocious forms to combat demoniacal forces of evil, but are not

demoniacal themselves as contended by Bosch. The Five Vidyārājas have been contraposed here according to the direction corresponding to the Five Tathāgatas. Navabhava may mean 'the Newly Arisen' Acala, Matthana can be a corruption of Ya-mantaka where Ya was misunderstood as the Oldjavanese ya 'this', and Vatsala can be a reflection of vajra pronounced as vadzara. Bosch refers to the highly evolved and late Tibetan iconography of Yamāntaka with 9 heads, 34 arms and 16 legs, who held fear-inspiring lugubrious attributes from the cemetery and he opines that "the appearance of vatsala and of the other vidyārājas cannot have differed much from that of Yamāntaka" (p.118). Yamāntaka did not have only this form. The forms of this deity showed wide divergences according to its Tantric division or subdivision. In the earlier tradition of the Mahā-Vairocana-tantra as preserved in Japanese iconography(as well as in the text) Yamāntaka has 6 heads, 6 arms and 6 legs (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl.23). Here he holds no gruesome implements. He wields a scimitar, mace (gadā), trident and cakra while both his original hands are in the dharma-mudrā. The Indonesian icons must have been closer to the Japanese forms which conform to the early Sanskrit texts. Besides, the traditions of both the countries belong to the same period of transmission from India in the middle of the eighth century. Vatsala need not be interpreted as an euphemism. The precise identification and interpretation of Buddhist Tantric iconography suffers from lack of exact correlation of the various iconic forms back to the relevant texts whence they arose. But, Kuṇḍalā never rides a lion (siṁha), as can be ascertained from Japanese iconographic texts. In the yoga-tantras Yamāntaka, Kuṇḍalī, Vajrayakṣa, and Acala are represented in the Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala in peaceful aspects (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl.785-788). In their angry appearances they are represented in the caryā-tantras which are delineated in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Here in the Quarter of Vidyādharas are shown Acala (SW), Vajrahūṁkāra or

Trailokyavajra, Prajñāpāramitā (centre), Yamāntaka and Trailokyavijaya(NW). The Balinese text may interpolate the caryā-tantra tradition into the yoga-tantras, or represents a yoga-tantra school which has to be traced in the maze of Tibetan Tantric literature.

Next, Bosch (p.118-120) takes up the parivāra-devatās of the Five Tathāgatas as specified in the Balinese manuscripts of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha. He refers to the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamāhayānikan and to variations in its manuscripts A and B. This text needs a critical edition by collating all the manuscripts and by taking into account the new light on Tantric tradition of India, Nepal, Japan and Tibet. Bosch lamented the lacuna of comparable materials : "after having looked in vain in the Nepalese and Tibetan pantheons for anything comparable with the said vajra-deities" (p.119). All the deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, but modern historians of art are reluctant to touch the source-texts and the stalemate in further identifications or confirmation of previous identifications continues. The parivāra-devatās of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are not only mentioned but their attributes specified at length in the Sanskrit texts found from Nepal : Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta (text p.44-47), Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha (pp.79-83), Kriyāsaṅgraha, Kriyāsamuccaya, etc. All the parivāra-devatās are described in full details in Classical Tibetan texts and commentaries of the division of yoga-tantras (Kanjur: Toh.479,480, Tanjur: Toh.2501-2531) which are translations of Sanskrit originals. Texts 2504, 2516, and 2529 detail the liturgy and delineation of the mahāmaṇḍala (rightly so termed) of Vajradhātu, of the Tathāgata family, with 1037 deities as enunciated in the first chapter of the mūla-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha. This is illustrated in the New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, part 13 no.22. Prof. Tucci (1935:III/1.39ff) has described the maṇḍala of Vairocana according to the Tattvasaṅgraha at the Tabo monastery of the 10-11th century, alongwith all the attendant deities.

Bosch compares the pantheon of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, the central maṇḍala of the Japanese Vajradhātu (Jap. Kongōkai). The twin maṇḍalas (Jap. genzu mandara) of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu were taken to Japan by Kōbō daishi in A.D.806. His master Hui-kuo had them drawn for him. Different transmissions were synthesised on two scrolls. The Japanese Vajradhātu maṇḍala is not one maṇḍala. It is a collection of nine maṇḍalas : comprising 6 types of Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, 1 Naya-maṇḍala and 2 types of Trailokyavijaya maṇḍalas. The three represent different subdivisions of the yoga-tantras. Within the yoga-tantras, there are two explanatory tantras from the upāya and prajñā standpoints. The Vajradhātu maṇḍalas represent the various steps of the path in the basic tantra Tattva-saṅgraha. The naya-maṇḍala represents the Naya-sūtra which is explanatory from the prajñā standpoint. The Trailokyavijaya is explanatory from the upāya view of the second section (vajra-kula) of the Tattva-saṅgraha (Wayman 1973:236). In Tibet they are separate maṇḍalas.[4] The most important among them is the central maṇḍala which is rightly termed a <u>daimandara</u>(=mahāmaṇḍala) in the Japanese tradition, and is also known as the Jōjin-ne (kāya-maṇḍala) and karma-maṇḍala. Originally it was not the central part of a composite maṇḍala, but it was the primary maṇḍala of the yoga-tantras, with an independent existence of its own. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī and also in the Tibetan tradition it has an entity of its own.[4] Though Bosch had nearly arrived at a correct conclusion regarding the Chandi Sewu being the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, he was beset with doubts by the fact that the mahāmaṇḍala was only "the central square of the maṇḍala", a part of the whole, and how could a part be an integrality of a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sewu is and was intended to be. Hence we have pointed out its sovereign existence as a separate entity of its basic tantra: the Tattvasaṅgraha.

A few terminological corrections have to be effected in Bosch p.121 : the so-called Sacrificing Tārās should be changed to Pūjā-devīs, the Commanding Tārās to Saṅgraha-Tārās.

Bosch is perfectly right in saying that Vajradhātu deities embody themselves in the Sewu complex. Though its niches have been spoiled of their invaluable bronzes, the entire plan is a confirmation. The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha and their niches the parivāra-devatās of each of the five Tathāgatas. The east cella of Akṣobhya was the antechamber whence the devotee entered the constellation of winding structures on his circumambulation (<u>pradakṣiṇā</u>). In the central temple there are arrangements for 24 deities instead of 25 as required by the text. Bosch proposes that the prajñā(consort) of Vairocana, Sattvavajrī (Vajradevī, Vajrasattvātmikā, or Vajradhātvīśvarī) was fused with the consort of Akṣobhya:Vajradhātvīśvarī the consort of Vairocana and Locanā the consort of Akṣobhya are one quintessentially (Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan p.115). Thus the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala were represented as follows:

24 Five Tathāgatas with their attendant deities
 4 pūjā-devīs at the four corners of the buildings
 8 pūjā-and saṅgraha-devīs in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare)
36

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels housed the Thousand Buddhas. Each of these chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of 240 x 4 = 960 Buddhas. It suited the architectural requirements of every chapel that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side being the entrance-portal was empty. Bosch surmises that thousand means 'very many' and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, "the founder of the complex ... erected 'merely' 240 sanctuaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the

Bhadrakalpa". This surmise is unnecessary. In our scheme, 240 chapels enshrined 960 Buddhas. The total of 1000 was made up as follows:

36	deities in the central temple
4	deities of Elements in the corners as in the Japanese Mahāmaṇḍala
960	Thousand Buddhas
1000	

In the Japanese mahāmaṇḍala the four deities of the Elements, namely, Teja, Āpaḥ, Vāyu and Pṛthvī are situated in the four corners (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl.464-467). These statues must have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sewu can thus go back to ancient times, even to the eighth century (Fontein et al 1971: 144 no.4) when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic ensemble took place. Thus the founder of the Sewu complex was conscious and financially capable of constructing a maṇḍala of precisely one thousand deities. The apprehension of Bosch about "remaining within the bounds of his material resources" (p.130) cannot hold good.

The patron of the Sewu mahāmaṇḍala must have been a king of the Śailendra dynasty who dedicated this ensemble to Vairocana as the Cakravartin, that is, "Universal Monarch". In Japan, Vairocana in his form as Dainichi-kinrin 'Vairocana Cakravartī' is depicted mounted on a lion and enclosed within a cakra.[5] In the Kalpabuddha (Bosch p.132) too Vairocana's weapon is cakra (<u>cakra sañjata nira</u>) and he rides a lion (<u>siṅgh ātutuṅgananira</u>). Cakra is the prime symbol of the universal dominion of a cakravartin, and the lion the emblem of his unchallenged prowess. In Japan most of the iconographic manuals have the cakravarti-maṇḍala of Vairocana where he is surrounded by the sapta-ratna or seven constituents of the state : queen, minister, commander-in-chief, horse, elephant, cintāmaṇi jewel and cakra. For example, in the 12th century

Besson-zakki by Shinkaku (A.D.1117-1180) pl.29; Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (A.D.1117-1180) pl.8-9; Kakuzen-shō 'collection of maṇḍalas described and drawn by Kakuzen' about A.D.1183-1213, pl.63-64; Mandara-shū 'collection of maṇḍalas', compiled by Kōnen, pl.7-8, which exists in a copy of A.D.1187; Asabashō compiled by Shōchō (A.D.1205-1282) chapter 264. An investigation of the rituals of Cakravarti-Vairocana in Japanese texts like the Asabashō will help to clarify the function of the Vairocana-mahāmaṇḍala and its importance in the history of Classical Indonesia.

We have historic evidence of the eighth century that Vairocana did symbolise empirium. In Japan, emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A.D.743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (daibutsu) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Tōdaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an 'apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state' (Kobayashi 1975:22), as 'an especially valuable political and religious symbol'(Kobayashi 1975:25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness : it was a 'Grand National Temple'. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyō (modern Kyoto) in A.D.794, the Tōji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state', which popularly came to be known as the Tōji (tō=east, ji=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate. The temples of Vairocana seem to have gained national dimensions as means of preempting threat to the security of the nation and securing

protection of the head of the state. The Chandi Sewu demanding enormous resources must have been envisaged by a mighty king of the Śailendras for the peace and security of his person and of his realm, in an ever-continuing process of stabilisation of his dynasty. The continuity of the terrestrial maṇḍala or realm was affirmed in being consecrated by an eternal mahāmaṇḍala or cosmogram of Vairocana: maṇḍalārthe mahāmaṇḍalam as we may put it in Sanskrit. The inscribed stone of A.D.792 found in the ruins of Sewu may have to be reconsidered in a new light.

THE ṄAÑJUK BRONZES

Ever since their discovery in 1913 from desa Chandi Reja near Ṅañjuk (Kediri, East Java), these 90 bronzes have been the subject of study. Krom (1913:59ff.) studied 40 of them and at once came to the conclusion that they constituted a group. Bosch (1929:109ff.) rightly recognised them as the central Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala and he identified the pūjā-devīs and four Saṅgraha-devīs. He was precluded from the identification of more statuettes by the absence of "original Japanese pictures" wherein the attributes could be seen clearly in "minor details of importance". Kempers (1959:63-64 pl.168-171) added no new identifications, but reproduced exquisite pictures of Gītā, Dhūpā, Puṣpā and Vajratīkṣṇā. So far the principal image of the group with four faces defied identification. Krom (p.64) felt that it does not represent Vairocana but a special hypostasis of Mañjuśrī. The Dutch scholars had compared the group only with Japanese iconography which shuns multifaced deities in favour of one-faced anthropomorphy.

The Chinese and following them the Japanese chose the one-faced, two-armed Vairocana from the Vajra-śekhara-tantra. The Niṣpannayogāvalī specifies the four-faced Vairocana as the main type, with an alternative variation as the one-faced

Vairocana who was taken up in the East Asian tradition. The Indonesian and Tibetan traditions kept faithfully to the original Indic texts. The credit goes to K.W. Lim (1964:337) who rightly perceived that the central deity belongs "to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Ānandagarbha-type". Ānandagarbha is one of the three fundamental commentators on the Tattvasaṅgraha, the mūla-tantra or basic scripture of the yoga-tantras. The Ṅañjuk bronzes must have formed part of a 37-deity Vajradhātu maṇḍala of bronze statuettes. The repetition of the same deity in the Ṅañjuk hoard may indicate that they originate from a metal-caster's atelier or a monastic storehouse. Some of them contain gold plates which indicates that they were consecrated. One of them bears an 'indecipherable inscription' (Fontein 1971:151). It may be in pre-Nagari and contain bījākṣara(s). Anyway, it can be deciphered only after careful scrutiny. The photographs of all the 90 statuettes of Ṅañjuk in the Museum Pusat at Jakarta should be published, even without identifications. Their identity can now be established with all the Tibetan data at our disposal and also with the large-size reproductions of the prints of all the deities in the nine sections of the Japanese Kongōkai-mandara in the author's Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas (size 38 x 56 cm). The importance of this series can hardly ever be overemphasised. Alongwith the Chandi Sewu niches, it constitutes an important proof of the predominance of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the yoga-tantras in the Buddhism of Indonesia. The whole collection merits closer scrutiny than has been done so far. It may yield more secrets of Indonesian art or newer directions in the classical archaeology of Indonesia.

The foregoing survey leads us to two conslusions: (i) The dominant form of Buddhism prevalent in Indonesia was the yoga-tantra whose basic scriptures were the Tattvasaṅgraha and its explanatory Vajraśekhara-tantra. (ii) Both these texts and their ancillary exegetical tradition were also in

high vogue in India, particularly, in the south of India, around Kanchi, whence yoga-tantra Buddhism was carried to East Asia as well as Indonesia. Kanchipura was a great seaport of India, as stated by Hsüan-tsang (Walters 1905:1.227). It was from here that Vajrabodhi the son of the royal preceptor of the Pallavas whose capital was at Kanchi, travelled to China in 719 on board a Persian merchant vessel. He had taken with him the Vajraśekhara-tantra which was lost in the confusion of the fatal storm on the high seas, in which 29 ships out of 30 were lost. Only an abridged version of the Vajraśekhara survived, which Vajrabodhi translated into Chinese later. The yoga-tantras must have played quite a role in South India. It would not be strange, if the Borobudur were a major maṇḍala of this denomination. It is no coincidence that the Nāgarakṛtāgama 77.3 by Prapañca (A.D.1365) enumerates the Buḍur as one of the important sanctums of the vajradhara Buddhists (kasugatan kabajradharan) which was registered in the state archives (Pigeaud 1960:1.59 text,3.89 transl.). It is noteworthy that Buḍur is without the prefix bara.

On the basis of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, and the actual discovery of vajras on small sheets of gold, Bosch had clearly surmised, as early as 1920, that the Borobudur pertained to the Vajradhara sect (NBG.1920:52ff., TBG.67/1929:173 ff.). This was confirmed by W.F. Stutterheim (1956:14) who repeated in 1929 that the Borobudur "must have belonged" to this sect. In the 1920s and even up to our day it was not possible to correlate the Vajradharas with a specific Tantric system, and much less so the architectural manifestation of their philosophical expression. The Vajradhara Buddhists were those who followed the yoga-tantras; their Lord was Vajradhara, while the Lord of the anuttara-yoga tantras was Mahāvajradhara, who emanates all the deities in the Guhyasamāja-tantra (Wayman 1977:124). The distinction is relevant to the precise understanding of the Nāgarakṛtāgama which is using 'vajradhara' as a specialised technical term.

As indicated by the Nāgarakṛtāgama, Buḍur was the main element of the compound Bara Budur. So bara should have a generic connotation of a sanctum. Already the possibility of bara being derived from vihāra via Malay biyara was mooted by Poerbatjaraka and Stutterheim (Moens 1951:332ff.). The linguistic difficulties inherent in the transition from biyara to bara have always stood in the way of its universal acceptance. But, alongwith the word vihāra there was the collateral form vahāra which may be a mongerel term or an intentional change (vahāra from *avahāra, like agrahāra 'a religious endowment') to distinguish a tantric Buddhist monastic establishment from a usual Buddhist monastery. The use of vahāra (pronounced bahāra) is attested in the famous Naw-bahār, the renowned Buddhist monastery at Balkh which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century, and was damaged by the Arabs in A.D.663-4 (EI.1960:1.1001 s.v. Balkh). "The term Naw-bahār, moreover, likewise derives from Sanskrit nava vihāra 'new monastery'. Some 1500 sq. km. of lands were attached to it, and it was the centre of national resistance when attacked by Muᶜāwiya about A.D.663-4" (EI.1960:1.1033a,s.v.al-Barāmika or Al Barmak). Later authors like Yaḳūt 4.819 and Ibn Khallikān 3.198 make it a Zoroastrian fire-temple, which can well be a misunderstanding, but also an indication that homa may have been conducted here as a part of tantric worship.

Vajrayāna was prevalent in Central Asia as is attested by vajrayāna texts in the Iranian-speaking domains of Khotan, like the Adhyardhaśatikā prajñāpāramitā (Bailey 1965:27-39, Williams 1973:116-117) which is positively a text of the yoga-tantric system. The copy of the Khotanese Jātakastava was written for Ca Kimä-sani ambassador of the Khotanese kings Viśa sūra (967-977) and Viśa Darma (978-982) to increase the merit of householders of vajrayāna. A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese scroll records a conversation between a person from Tun-huang and a Khotanese bhikṣu going to worship Mañjuśrī in China. The Tun-huang

resident asks "which book do you like". The bhikṣu from Khotan replies: "I like vajrayāna" (Bailey 1938:529, Williams 1973:117). Khotan played a leading role in disseminating Avataṁsaka to China and the iconographic type of Vairocana in Khotanese and Chinese art corresponds to the Avataṁsaka-sūtra (Williams 1973:120).

The name of the Sogdian town of Bo<u>kh</u>ārā (also spelt Bu<u>kh</u>ara) is derived from the Sanskrit <u>vihāra</u> (EI.1960:1.1293), which is made doubly probable by the discovery of a vihāra near Numi<u>d</u>ika<u>th</u>, the predecessor town of Bukhārā (Frye 1956:106ff). The pronunciation Bokhara with <u>o</u> is a dialectical variation in which survives the ancient <u>vahāra</u>. The form Bokhara is attested in c.1666 as 'Bokara prunes' (Bernier, ed. Constable 118, Yule/Burnell 1903:16.s.v.Aloo Bokhara). In India, the Persian <u>ālū-bokhārā</u> has <u>bo</u>°, which should be the classical pronunciation of Iran, with its ancestry going back to times prior to the Runic Turkish (8th cent.) Uigur and Mongolian <u>buqar</u>. The Sogdian form, which we should expect at Bokhara, was <u>varḫār</u>. Paul Pelliot (1959:1.108 s.v. Bucara) is uncertain about the derivation of <u>varḫār</u> from <u>vihāra</u>. It may go back to a hypothetic *<u>varahāra</u> 'the splendid (<u>vara</u>) monastic endowment (<u>hāra</u>), on the analogy of Sanskrit <u>agrahāra</u> 'royal donation of land to Brahmans; land or village thus given, MBh.'(MW).

In the earliest Western document of 1221, the name occurs as <u>Bachara</u> (Pelliot 1959:1.108). The lost colloquial Indic from <u>vahāra</u> developed into <u>bahār</u> and <u>bokhār</u>, <u>a</u> being pronounced as <u>o</u>. Pelliot's discussion about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic from <u>vahāra</u>, which is enhanced by the Newari term <u>vahāl</u> for the Buddhist temples of vajrayāna in Nepal. The Indonesian <u>bara</u>, pronounced in Modern Javanese as <u>boro</u>, can be traced back to <u>bahāra</u> < <u>ba'āra</u> (by the elision of <u>h</u>) < <u>bāra</u> (coalescence of the two <u>a</u>) < <u>bara</u> (influenced by <u>vara</u> 'excellent, supreme'). In modern Tamil, <u>h</u> is a glide for hiatus, <u>Murahari</u> for Mura-ari (Murāri). Conversely the <u>h</u> in <u>bahāra</u> was considered an epenthetic and

dropped. Compare the modern Balinese Mendra for Mahendra.

"The most famous Naubihār was the one at Balkh which Hsüan-tsang, c.630, calls Nava-saṅghārāma, New Monastery, but there were a number of other Nav-bihār in Sind, at Samarkand, at Bokhara, and even at Ray (east of Tehran). I must confess that I do not see why we have only "New" monasteries in Iran (Pelliot 1959:1:108). The 'New' Monasteries should have belonged to Tantric Buddhism which was the 'New' Way in contradistinction to Theravāda and Mahāyāna. Bokhara is mentioned in Chinese texts in the 5th century as Niu-mi, transcription of its ancient name Nūmij. Its first mention as Buqaraq (with the ancient Iranian final -k) is in the 8th century Runic Turkish inscriptions of Orkhon, by which time Tantric Buddhism should have become prevalent and might even have supplanted other schools. Amoghavajra (705-774) who translated yoga-tantra texts into Chinese may have been helped by Hui-lin from Kashgar. Besides, he mentions five disciples from Samarkand (K'ang), Tashkent (Shih), Tukhara (Lo), Betik (Pi) in his Memorial of A.D.767. In another Memorial dated A.D.768 he requested permission to tonsure three disciples from Tukhara, and Ishtikhan (Chou 1945: 329-330). The great Chinese Tantric Master, Hui-kuo (746-805) the guru of Kōbō Daishi, had Pien-hung of Java as his disciple. Śubhakarasiṁha (637-735), who was the first great master of vajrayāna in China, has bequeathed to us the Rita-sangara-gobu-shingan (Jap. pronunciation) which illustrates six maṇḍalas of Ṛta-saṁhāra or Tattvasaṅgraha. The drawings were done by his Central Asian, more precisely, Iranian-speaking, disciple as is evident from the Sassanoid coronets of the deities and from the colophon ācarya-śrī-śaubh[ik]asya suratah (Lokesh Chandra 1965: 50) where suratah is the Iranian word surat 'picture'. The presence of vajrayāna in Central Asia in its form of yoga-tantra is the denomination to which the 'new' monasteries should have belonged.

Central Asia has preserved a distinction between earlier monasteries with their austere statutory and ascetic discipline and the new tantric monasteries in their splendour of ritual and graceful images of gods 'eternally young' and of charming goddesses.

Bīrūnī (Athār al-bāqīya, ed. E. Sachau p.206) considers behār and farxār synonymous, but Al-Khwārizmī (Mafātīḥ al-'u'lūm p.123) clearly distinguishes them semantically: "buhār is the idol temple of India and farxār is the idol-temple of China and Upper Sughd or Sogdiana" (Frye 1956:115 n.52). Al-Khwārizmī in all probability preserves a distinction in the denominational context of the two terms which though confused later on were once contradistinctive: farxār must have denoted the usual, that is non-tantric, monastery and behār must have been a monastic centre dedicated to the new Tantric system, with the daily homa ceremonies and the vast pantheon of Tantric gods and goddesses giving it a distinctive character. The homa, a regular feature of Tantric Buddhism, is still performed early every morning in some Shingon monasteries which continue the traditions of the tantras introduced in Japan in A.D.806. The homa ceremonies must have been responsible for confusing the Nawbahar with a Fire Temple (Yakūt 4.819, Ibn Khallikān 3.198, E.I.i.1033). The grace and charm of the many Buddhist images, particularly of the enchanting Tantric goddesses in all their concupiscence must have given the equation "ideal beauty=Buddhist image", which was an established fact in the East Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideals of the grace of Buddhist statues. ʿAyyūqī in his novel entitled Varqe va Golshah (Tehran 1956:6) writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was ... a Buddha in a temple full of offerings." Further on we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-2142 where she is addressed as Bot (Buddha), then lo'bat (statuette), and finally as nowbahar, the Buddhist monastery which was well known

for its graceful statues in Iranian literature (both in the Persian and Arabic languages) upto the time of Yāqūt in the 13th century. In early Persian poetry, Young beauty whether masculine or feminine, is constantly referred to by the poet or addressed by various characters in their romance as Bot (Buddha). Early Persian literature as we know it, is a creation of the Eastern Iranians and till the 11th century Persian poetry was exclusively written in Khorasan, Sogdiana and adjacent lands -- areas once steeped in the Buddha. The Buddhist overtones of Persian poetical vocabulary were memories of a time when the images were loaded with their full emotional and aesthetic import. No wonder that the metaphor of the Bot is the term that the description of beauty spontaneously calls for.

The second element of the name, Buḍur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay buduă, or Skt. Buddha. Moens (1951:333) has rightly come to the conclusion that -ur is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil putu/budu means 'new',[6] and putūr refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called Budoor (PTG. 1954:125a) in the Chingleput district in South India, and eight towns with the name Pudur (PTG. 1954:566) and Pudur-palayam, Pudur-Ramnad, Pudur-Uthamanur, not to mention about a hundred city names with Pudu-. Thus the word Buḍur is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budur means the New Monastery or Nava-vihāra like its Central Asian counterparts of the contemporary period. South Indian Kanci had become a major centre for the dissemination of yoga-tantric Buddhism which was a development of the Avataṁsaka system. The last portion of the Avataṁsaka is the Gaṇḍavyūha where the spiritual journey of the young aspirant Sudhana takes him to a number of South Indian cities -- thus clearly establishing the locus of the final phase of Avataṁsaka.

The syndrome of literary, linguistic, and archaeological evidence from Indonesia itself makes it evident that yoga-tantric Buddhism was prevalent during Śailendra rule in Java

in the 8th and early 9th century. A prominent aspect of this type of Buddhism was the representation of maṇḍalas in various media, culminating in their most impressive magnificence and enduring permanence as architectural monuments. The complex of Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur could have been no exception.

Scholars have rightly found it perplexing to consider the Borobudur as a stūpa (Fontein 1971:21). It was the brilliant exposée of Paul Mus and others that lent an air of certainty to the interpretation of Borobudur as a stūpa, and that so overshadowed subsequent discussions that another possibility was precluded. Occasional expressions of the maṇḍala-like plan of the Borobudur were mooted but they faded out in the absence of 'architectural maṇḍalas'.

Moens (1951:335,341) had explicitly compared the Borobudur with the Mongolian <u>khoto-mandal</u> 'city maṇḍala', but missed to recognise its implications as an architectonic maṇḍala, with the precise identification of every detail. This could not be done unless we had a comprehensive, or at least a representative, collection of maṇḍalas. The maṇḍalas had not been studied in the West except that a few were known as aesthetic glamours. An appropriate understanding of the maṇḍalas as coherent cosmograms incorporating a system of thought in art, as visual dharma, had not yet dawned. Even today the complex integrality of each and every element of the maṇḍalas based on their original sources in specific tantric texts has yet to be discovered as a scientific fact to become a part of academic consciousness. In the year 1967, the writer brought out for the first time the line drawings of the most comprehensive series of 132 maṇḍalas of all the classes of tantras, as parts 13,14,15 of <u>A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon</u>. They stem from Tibet, but they incorporate all the known Classical traditions of Sanskrit tantras in their diverse variations.

Detailed investigations in the direction of defining the Borobudur as a maṇḍala were suppressed by the stunning logic

of Mus who could find nothing specially Tantric about it: "Le Barabudur n'est pas spécialement tantrique. S'il l'est ce n'est qu'avec tout le Mahayanisme" (Moens 1951:336). As late as 1971, Jan Fontein 1971:37 reinforced the same view with greater emphasis: "The doctrinal contents of the sūtras which were chosen to be illustrated on the walls of the Borobudur suggest that Śailendra Buddhism was a relatively pure type of Mahāyāna without many Tantric accretions." So far the Borobudur has seemed to present no single text but aneclectic conglomeration of the representation of scenes from varied originals ranging from the Karmavibhaṅga, Jātakas and Lalitavistara to the Gaṇḍavyūha of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras. They fall into a logical sequence, but there is a lurking feeling that they lack the authority of a classical pattern, or the sanction of a precedent in tradition, in their totality. The overall impression persists that the Borobudur was the creation of an ingenious mind coordinating divergent elements in a brilliant manner, meditating in the beauties of Mount Menoreh as the Indonesian legend has it.

It would help to elucidate the precise character of the Borobudur and to identify it as a maṇḍala, and that too a specific one, if we consider some architectural maṇḍalas to affirm the concept of pura-maṇḍala and if we correlate the textual descriptions to their actual representation as monuments. Now let us refer to some yoga-tantric monastic centres like Tabo, Alchi, and Gyantse Kumbum.

The Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh.479) was translated by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (c.958-1055). The Tattva-saṅgraha embodies the maṇḍala of Sarvavid Vairocana. Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po founded monasteries at Tabo and Alchi to introduce the new maṇḍalas of this system. The Tabo (Tib.Ta-pho) monastery is situated on the north bank of the Spiti river in Himachal Pradesh. It was enlarged and repaired by king Byaṅ-chub-ḥod. Life size stucco images of the deities

of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are set around the walls in a rectangular arrangement. This temple is a "complete three-dimensional maṇḍala" (Snellgrove 1957:185,66-67) and none other of such antiquity survives. The layout of the 33 deities can be seen in G.Tucci's Indo-Tibetica (1935:3/1.26 fig.2). It is unusual in being unlike the circular arrangement described in the texts (diagram in Tucci 1935:3/1.60) and found in Tibetan scrolls and also in Japanese paintings. The central image of Vairocana is four-faced with the two hands in samādhi-mudrā (Tucci 1935:3/1.32). Beneath the images, along the left wall, there are frescoes narrating the story of Nor-bzaṅ or Sudhana. On the right wall is the life of Śākyamuni to represent the journey of the bodhisattva to the perfection of buddhahood (Snellgrove 1957:188).

Besides the central temple (Gtsug-lag-khaṅ), Tabo has seven other temples, with Byams-paḥi lha-khaṅ = Maitreya-devālaya, a temple dedicated to Maitreya. It is situated alongside the main temple on the northern direction. The image of Maitreya is pralamba-pāda[7] with his legs hanging down. There are a number of stūpas in the Tabo complex. In the earlier form of the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala of Vairocana, based on the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra of the kriyā-tantra division, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara are found in the central lotus (Tajima 1959:66).

The Gsum-tshag temple in the Alchi village in Lower Ladakh houses a gigantic image of Vairocana. It was erected by King Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ in about 1020-50 (Peter 2/2.7) during the life of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. It has a large number of maṇḍalas in frescoes. The Vairocana is four-faced, two-armed, in bodhyagrī mudrā, his color is white, his symbol: 5-pointed vajra, his vāhana: lion (Lim 1964:336). It is an indication that as soon as a tantra was translated and came into vogue its representation as a maṇḍala followed the text immediately.

In the early 15th century the most important of Buddhist

maṇḍalas was created at Gyantse, begun in A.D.1414. It has 706 chapels containing both sculptures and murals, with 108 doors. "The basic construction is that of a gigantic maṇḍala (Karmay 1975:27, 34n.130). It was completed and consecrated in 1427 by the prince of Rgyal-rtse, Chos-rgyal Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ-ḥphags-pa (1389-1442). This is renowned as the Gyantse Kumbum and it integrates the majority of maṇḍalas of the different tantras. Different media are employed in making maṇḍalas with coloured powders on floors, painting them on c nvasses, or some are built into pavillions where the symbols and the images bulge out of the background in a fitting arrangement: those architectonic maṇḍalas are called lölang blo-lāṅs (Tucci 1956:37). The Gyantse Kumbum is a vast architectonic maṇḍala comprising in its unique pantheonic sweep the multiplicity of maṇḍalas. Its architectural composition is five stories of buildings superimposed by a cupola and three-storied campana.[8] These nine stories (Wen-wu 1961:1.53) conform to the pattern of the depiction of Mount Sumeru in Tibetan thaṅka scrolls (Wayman 1973:101ff).[9] The first five stories are the five terraces of the Sumeru mountain. In the worship of a maṇḍala, the first step is evocation of the Sumeru, which is ādhārotpatti or generation of the residence, for the ādheya or the deity which is invoked to take its residence there. A three-storied eaved palace rests in the clouds atop Sumeru (Wayman 1973:108). This is the kūṭāgāra of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, and the three-storied campana of the Gyantse Kumbum, which is specially notable for its adherence to the injunctions of the Classical tantric texts in minute details of architectural form. For instance, the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākara-gupta which is a fundamental text for the construction of maṇḍalas, makes it clear that maṇḍalas were situated in a kūṭāgāra or pavilion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity in the centre and others in their appropriate placements (p.8,26,42 sumerū pari, sumeru-mūrdhni 'on the summit of Sumeru').

The maṇḍala pervaded the entire spiritual life of yoga-tantric Buddhism, to such an extent that even the cham dances of the Lamaist world reflect in minute details the iconography of a maṇḍala. René de Nebesky - Wojkowitz (1976:88), in his translation of the Tibetan dance-manual (tsham-yig) of Vajrakīla, says: "The dancers express with their movement nothing else than the iconographic details of Vajrakīla's maṇḍala."

The Chandi Mendut

The Chandi Mendut was constructed by the Śailendra king Indra (782-812). The Inscription of Karangtĕṅah (Casparis 1950:39) dated 824, names it as Veṇuvana: veṇuvanābhikhyam... jinamandiram in line 21. According to Casparis (p.204) it is "one complex whole with Pawon and Borobudur", and "chronologically speaking, it is the oldest of the three". He further states: "when Indra built the Veṇuvana, he realised that he belonged to the Family of the Tathāgata, identified with the Çailendra ancestors. This interpretation, might explain why just nine Bodhisattvas were sculptured on the outside of Tjandi Mendut."

King Indra himself has provided a key to the identification of the Mendut by using the expression 'Tathāgata-kula'. It is a technical term of the caryā-tantras which are classified into three families (kula): Tathāgata-kula, padma-kula, and vajra-kula (Wayman 1973:237). The Tathāgata-kula has two tantras, namely, the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra and the Acala-kalpa (Toh.494, comm. Toh.2662-9). The Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra is the source of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, which has been known to European scholars in its Japanese version since the last century. The identification of the Mendut with the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala never occured to anyone because the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan was utilised to identify (Kempers p.40) the three central statues as : Śākyamuni flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. This text was insufficient to cover the system of Mendut. Moreover its text still awaits a critical edition and

the separation of various strata that constitute this compilation from varied sources.

The identification of the central deity in the temple vacillated (and rightly so) between Śākyamuni and Vairocana. Kempers (1959:40) himself was conscious that "it is not the 'human Buddha' Śākyamuni who is meant". Though he came very close: "The first is known in Buddhist iconography as Garbhadhātu, the second as Vajradhātu. This system or variety of systems was also known in Central Java", but he was under the impression that "several systems of Buddhist mythology and cosmology" overlapped. This was inevitable in the absence of a precise knowledge that the placement of the statues of deities inside and the reliefs on the walls outside corresponds to a maṇḍala. The use of the term Tathāgata-kula was hardly ever appreciated which makes it certain that the Mendut belongs to this family which is symbolised by the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala.

In the Japanese graphic representation, the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala can be divided into three main enceintes: the first or inner enceinte, the second or middle enceinte and the third or outer enceinte. The inner enceinte comprises four quarters of 1. Universal Knowledge, 2. Vidyādharas (with Prajñāpāramitā in the centre), 3. Avalokiteśvara and 4. Vajrapāṇi. The second enceinte has six quarters of 5. Śākyamuni, 6. Mañjuśrī, 7. Kṣitigarbha, 8. Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, 9-10. Ākāśagarbha and the allied Susiddhi. The outer quarter of vajras has Hindu deities.

The Mendut temple has :

1. the Five Tathāgatas inside the cella: Vairocana flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. The remaining four Tathāgatas once occupied the niches which are empty today.

On the four walls outside we find :

2. Eight bodhisattvas in the corners.
3. Prajñāpāramitā in the large central panel on the right wall.
4. Ākāśagarbha/Khagarbha on the large central panel on the left wall.

5. Lokeśvara on the back wall.

The arrangement of the Mendut corresponds to the Japanese maṇḍala as follows:

Mendut	Japanese Mandala
1 The Five Tathāgatas	In the 8petalled lotus in the centre
2 Avalokiteśvara	Quarter 3
3 Vajrapāṇi	Quarter 4
4 Eight Bodhisattvas[6]	Four bodhisattvas are in the 8petalled lotus
	Four bodhisattvas in Quarters 6,7,8 and 9
5 Prajñāpāramitā	Central deity in Quarter 2
6 Ākāśagarbha/Khagarbha	Quarter 10 of Susiddhi who represents the merits of Ākāśagarbha
7 The small relief, representing a wheel between two deer, the symbol of the First Sermon at Sarnath	Quarters 1 (Universal Knowledge), and 5 (Śākyamuni)

Mahāvairocana at Mendut is in the dharmacakra mudrā. So also in the Durgati-pariśodhana-maṇḍala: Śrī-Śākyasiṃho bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ suvarṇa-varṇo dhṛta-dharmacakra-mudraḥ (Nisp. text 66). The bronze image of Vairocana and Vajradhātvīśvarī in the Leiden Museum (no.2862) has the dharmacakra mudrā. As we have already pointed out, Casparis considers the Mendut to be earlier than the Borobudur, as against the undefined view of Kempers (1959:37 pl.46-61) who says that "Mendut may date from about the same time as Barabudur, i.e. about A.D.800". The Mendut should have been constructed earlier than the Borobudur. The Mendut represents the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala and the Borobudur the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The Garbhadhātu maṇḍala leads to the Vajradhātu. The Garbhadhātu represents the caryā-tantras which later on developed into the yoga-tantras. As the caryā-tantras lead to the yoga-tantras, so does Mendut lead to the Borobudur, and its construction is expected to have preceded:

Meṇdut → Borobuḍur
caryā-tantras → yoga-tantras
Garbhadhātu maṇḍala → Vajradhātu maṇḍala

The Twin Maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu are known in Japanese as ryōbu mandara that is, the mandalas of both (ryō) the divisions (bu) of the caryā and yoga tantras. They had been transmitted to Japan from Kanchi. It is most likely that the Twin Maṇḍalas were prevalent in South India and they were a characteristic feature of vajrayāna in the 8th century. In all likelihood the vajrayāna of the Śailendras was derived from Southern India. There are a number of traces in the Śailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sewu a fragmentary inscription bears the words: tiruraṇu (Casparis 1950:115). Casparis considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil tiru is śrī and raṇu corresponds to Tamil rāṇuvam 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samaratuṅga, who reigned 812-832 (Casparis 1950:201). It could have been his pet family name (tiru=śrī, rāṇuva=samara). The small bronze from Chandi Sewu reveals a definite affinity with the main image in the cella of Chandi Mendut (Fontein 1971:150 no.34). It clearly points to a close relationship between Sewu and Mendut temples.

The Inscription of Śrī Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = A.D.842, which is correlated to the Borobudur by Casparis, begins with the date and the day is canaiścarawara (Casparis 1950:86), instead of śa°. Ca in place of śa is a common phenomenon in Tamil, where śani is cani.

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4
sīmā niṅ kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra

II lines 2,3
simā niṅ kamūlān <i bhūmi> sambhara

Casparis interprets this expression on the assumption that Śailendra Buddhism was "orthodox" Mahāyāna, "corresponding to the later treatises ascribed to Maitreya-nātha-Asaṅga, viz. the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, Abhisamayālaṅkāra, and Uttaratantra. It should not be called Tantric, as several of the main characteristics of Tantric Buddhism do not appear in the Çailendra documents" (p.202). Hence his interpretation of the expression is: "the exact meaning of the term kamūlān by which the sanctuary is indicated. Comparison of some loci in Old-Javanese inscriptions suggests that kamūlān refers to a building symbolizing the origin of a royal dynasty. If we remember that the name of the Çailendra dynasty means "Lord of the Mountain", it is possible to distinguish a clear thread connecting the dynasty with the great monument (p.202-3). Its "hidden meaning" implies a representation of the preceding Çailendra princes, each in their proper place on the road leading to Buddha-hood, the first ancestor, the "root" (mūla) of the dynasty, the Çailendra, "Lord of the Mountain", at the final momentary meditation before obtaining Buddha-hood" (p.204). "The name of that sanctuary shows that it must refer to a Buddhistic building, representing the "Accumulation of the elements of Virtue on the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva". There cannot be any doubt that this sanctuary should be identified with Tjandi Barabudur. Next paragraph shows that according to phonological development of the Javanese language the present name is derived from the one mentioned in the inscription of 842, only the name given there is not complete: the full name of the sanctuary must have been Bhūmisambhārabhūdhara, "the Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue on the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva." (p.202).

Casparis has rightly come to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the Borobudur complex, on the analysis of the village names occurring in the inscription. But his interpretation of the word kamūlān has to be viewed in a new light. Kamūlān is a homonymic counterpart of mūla-sthāna where ka-... -an

denote sthāna. In Tamil this word occurs as mula-t-tāṉam (from mūla-sthāna) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (Tamil Lexicon). Tiru-mūlaṭṭāṉam (tiru= śrī + mūlasthāna) refers to the sacred shrine of Tiruvārūr (Tamil Lexicon, p.1913). The renowned North Indian geographic name Multan, which is derived from Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, also means '[The City of the] Temple'. In Srilanka too, mūla = ārāma (Encyclopaedia of Buddhism 3.22,24). Kamūlān refers only to the sacred complex and has nothing to do with the origins of the Śailendra dynasty.

The compound bhūmi sambhara is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu (Fontein 1971:149 no.30) in Brebes, Central Java, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies-- sambhāra and sambhāra. In Tamil sambara refers to the Buddhist community. Sambara is saṁvara meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from sambara to sambhara was an orthographic variation where bh lent the word dignity of hyper-sanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term sambhāra (puṇya-sambhāra, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha §117). Thus bhūmi sambhara meant the land of the sambhara i.e. Indian Buddhists. The whole expression kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara means 'a monastic foundation of Indian Buddhists'. It is pertinent to cite the lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Borobudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale). Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Borobudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976, p.11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Borobudur?" We feel that it does. Dakṣiṇāpatha in Sanskrit is South India: the same as bhūmi sambhara; parvatasthala refers to the Borobudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Borobudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt. sāgara-bhūmi) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the

seas, i.e. India. In stanza 8 of the Kalasan Inscription of Śaka 700 (Sarkar 1972:1.36, Casparis 1950:186) the Śailendras do term themselves ārya-santati. As late as the 11th century, Śailendras had intimate relations with South India: they founded a vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam, to which the Chola King granted the income of a village for support (Fontein 1971:33). We are led to the conclusion that Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur was modelled after the Indic tradition. Explicit specification of this fact emphasises the sanctity of the monastic complex and hints that the introduction of vajrayāna in Indonesia was relatively recent.

FORM OF THE BOROBUDUR

The Borobudur was a vihāra: it is attested by the Inscription of Karangtĕṅah of A.D.824 (line 15: āstām vihāraḥ, Casparis 1950:40). The presence of the vihāra has been proved by archaeological excavations. Its remains were found to the NW. of the monument (Kempers 1959:45). It had a number of structures of which the monument now famous as the Borobudur was one, most probably in the centre of the ordering of the entire sanctified space. The same inscription speaks of vividha-gaṇa-samākrānta-mūrttiś-ca meruḥ in the previous line 23: namely, the gods reside on the Meru/Sumeru, an implicit allusion pregnant with significance for the structural definition of the Borobudur.

The pyramidal architecture of the Borobudur with its square terraces, three superimposed concentric platforms, crowned by a finiale -- without a clearly marked entrance but flights of steps on four sides -- has puzzled scholars who have tried to designate it a stūpa. Kempers (p.43) admits that "it is a very complicated specimen of the stūpa". The Western scholars have employed terms like caitya, stūpa, dhātugarbha (dagob), and stūpikā promiscuously, and Sumeru has been absent in their architectural terminology. Sumeru has been relegated to cosmology.

These terms have precise connotations and they should be distinguished: e.g. dhātugarbha (dagob) is the innermost sanctum in a stūpa where the relics are deposited, and does not connote the decorative architectural elements as employed by Kempers (1959:48 etc.).

The plan of the Borobudur is: 5 terraces, supporting 3 circular platforms adorned with 72 latticed campanulae, surrounding a larger central stūpa on a final and ninth terrace (Kempers 1959:42-43, Fontein 1971:16, Frédéric 1965:158). The first five terraces are the five storeys of Sumeru, as we find in Nepalese temples, in Tibetan texts, on thaṅka paintings, and as is well known from the oral traditions of Indonesia (Fontein 1971:14) that the Chandi is a Sumeru.

In Nepal, the tradition of temples on a stepped pyramidal base has continued down to our times. The best known of the 'pagoda-style' temples or dega is the five-storeyed temple of the Newars at Bhaktapur is Nyatapola dega. It stands on and above a five-stepped pyramid. The five super-imposed platforms diminish in size from bottom to top and are linked together by staircase which is situated on the southern façade. On the topmost platform is the temple, built from brick and wood, with five superimposed roofs of decreasing size and similar form. The garbha-gṛha is situated within.

"Another temple, dedicated to Śiva in Khauma tol, previously rose above five stepped terraces. Today the base alone remains, consisting of five stepped terraces. The upper part, where the garbha-gṛha used to be, was destroyed by earthquakes, the most violent of which took place in 1934. According to the inscription which is to be found close by the temple, it was built in 1667 by Jagatprakāśa Malla.

"One should also draw attention to another temple which is known as Fasi Dega and is dedicated to Śiva. It has the same five-terraced pyramidal base. The upper part was destroyed during the 1934 earthquake. Fasi Dega and the Khauma tol Dega

have bases of stone, and not of bricks as is the case of Nyatapola.

"All the above-mentioned temples have entrances situated on the southern façade and a staircase which links the terraces together. On either side of the staircase on the southern façade of Nyatapola dega are to be found ranks of huge guardians: at the bottom are the giants Jaya Malla and Bhaṭṭa, athletes in the king's service and reputed to have the strength of ten men; above them are two elephants ten times stronger yet; then, continuing this decimal progress on in muscular vigour, two lions, two tigers and the goddesses Singhinī and Vyāghriṇī". (A. Macdonald & Anca Stahl, Newar Art, in press).

Prof. Wayman (1973:104 pl.9,102-109) has illustrated the configuration of the Sumeru on a Tibetan thaṅka scroll (compare Matsunaga 1969:39). It has five terraces which constitute Mount Sumeru (p.108). Above the five-storeyed Sumeru is a cloud atop which rests a three-storeyed palace. On top of the palace roof is a tiny structure. This becomes clear in Mkhas-grub-rje's (A.D.1385-1438) fundamentals of the Buddhist tantras. In his prescription of the generation of the residence (ādhārotpatti) he says: "In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (indranīla), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (kalpa-vṛkṣa) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners.

"Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (vitāna) [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (kūṭāgāra) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'." (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175). Thereafter the deities are invited to be resident (ādheya) in the sanctified space.

This scheme corresponds to the Borobudur as follows:
5 terraces = five storeys of the Sumeru
3 circular platforms = base of kūṭāgāra (palace)
1 large central finiale = stūpa

There must have been a wooden pavilion (kūṭāgāra) atop the three circular platforms. We know that Borobudur had wooden structures which have perished. Octagonal stone bases of the foundations of the monastic building have been found to the west of the monument. The discovery of bronze nails points that the building was of wood (Frédéric 1965:160). The pinnacle seems to have been octagonal and ended in a number of horizontal incisions, three parasols in succession and a jewel at the top (Kempers 1959:48). The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden kūṭāgāra, and other architectural end-elements.

As indicated above and as will be corroborated further on, the Borobudur is a maṇḍala dedicated to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. The abode of Vairocana is atop Sumeru as it is clearly pointed out in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī in the chapter on the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala that Lord Vairocana is seated in the vajraparyaṅka posture in the centre of the kūṭāgāra situated on Sumeru: Sumerūpari kūṭāgāraṁ tasya madhye ... viśvāmbhojasya karṇikāyāṁ bhagavān Vairocano ... (text p.44§19). In the Japanese tradition of the Kongōchōkyō (Vajraśekhara-tantra) Vairocana ascended Mount Sumeru to reveal the maṇḍala to sentient beings (Matsunaga 1969:203, Sumeru depicted on p.39). In his work on the fundamentals of the tantras, Mkhas-grub-rje says: After completing the five abhisambodhi, he became samyaksambuddha Mahāvairocana, proceeded to the summit of Mount Sumeru and proclaimed the yoga tantras (Lessing/Wayman 1968:27,29,35), that is, the Tattvasaṅgraha, its explanatory Vajraśekhara-tantra and other tantras. Moens (1960:386) has spoken of the Paradise of Vairocana, the Sahālokadhātu, on top of the rūpadhātu in the context of the Borobudur-Mendut-Pawon complex.

Yet the general feeling in the scholarly world has tended to consider the Borobudur as 'the great stūpa' (Frédéric 1965:160), an interpretation which had insuperable difficulties in terms of the classic type, like the absence of a clearly marked entrance. Instead it has four entrance-stairs in the four directions as is appropriate to Vajradhātu Vairocana maṇḍala situated on the four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned with rows of stairs on all four sides (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175). The round terraces atop the Sumeru are the foundations for the Classic type of the abode of Vairocana, which is <u>śūnya bhuvana</u> or a round structure: <u>śūnyam bhuvanaṁ vartulākāram bhavatīti śūnya-bhuvanam</u> (Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha, p.1).

The Vairocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms are in latticed stūpas. There is a clear difference between the stūpas on the first and second rows and those on the third. The pinnacles of the first two rows are supported by square bases, while those of the third by octagonal bases. The perforations in the first case are lozenges, and those in the other are squares (Kempers 1959:48):

1st & 2nd rows	square base	lozenge-shaped perforations
3rd row	octagonal base	square perforations

This divergence can be traced back to the Avataṁsaka sūtra which gave rise to the earliest iconographic type of Vairocana in the art of Khotan in Central Asia and China. In a passage describing cosmological interrelationship it is stated that transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mount Sumeru, ... of circle-nets, ... of all square things, ... and of all sorts of ornamentation (Williams 1973:120), ... circles, forms neither square nor circular, and triangles. Thus geometric forms are specifically mentioned in the text as forms in which the Buddha sometimes manifests. These geometric elements are actually painted on the body of Vairocana in the paintings of Khotan. In Khotanese paintings octagonal forms appear on the chest. In the wall-painting Bal. D circles and

triangles are scattered over the body of Vairocana. Two interlaced triangles are shown on the stomach of the mural painting Bal.094, and a triangle on the lower arm of Kha. i.C. 00118 preserved at the National Museum at New Delhi. The square bases and holes, octagonal bases, and lozenge holes reflect the geometric epiphanies of Vairocana enunciated in the Avataṁsaka. The lozenges are the placement of two triangles base-to-base, or a variation of the interlaced triangles.

The 72 latticed stūpas enshrining the Vairocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms of the Borobudur represent the architectonic transcreation of the stūpas depicted on the body of Vairocana in the Avataṁsaka tradition as can be seen in the mural fragments from Khotan. The mural fragment Kuduk-tol 025 shows stūpa with a high superstructure, the legs of Bremen A 16164 have a very elongated stūpa of several stories with harmikā, the left lower leg of panel D.IV.4 abv. (British Museum) shows a stūpa with high superstructure, and so on (Williams 1973:119). What were oddities as representations on the body of Vairocana himself were integrated into the grace of an architectural composition by the brilliant architect that Guṇadharma was, who conceived the Borobudur in the contemplative solitudes of Mount Menoreh (Frédéric 1965:161), as an unparalleled monument transcreating adoration along the path of unending time.

THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS ON THE BOROBUDUR

A glance over the complete set of 132 Tibetan maṇḍalas of the Rgyud-sde kun-btus comprising all the classes of tantras reveals that only the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala has the Thousand Buddhas shown in the outer enceinte. The Tibetan Vajradhātu maṇḍala, which follows down to every minor detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text, is the classical maṇḍala with 1037 deities.[11] In the Brahmajāla-sūtra (Jap. Bommōkyō, Chin. Fan-wang-ching, Nj.1087=T.1484) translated by Kumārajīva

in A.D.406 it is said: "I am called Vairocana (Jap. Roshana) and live in the ocean of the lotus-world... I incarnate myself into one thousand Buddhas." (T.24.997c quoted by Matsunaga 1969:163). The Thousand Buddhas were, thus, an integral aspect of Mahāvairocana as early as the fourth century.

In the Tibetan Buddhist canon, the Kanjur, the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra (Toh.94) which describes the Thousand Buddhas, precedes Lalitavistara (Toh.95) the biography of Buddha: At the Borobudur too the Lalitavistara is depicted besides half the Thousand Buddhas.

The Japanese Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala follows the classical norm in representing each one of the Thousand Buddhas (Lokesh Chandra 1972: scheme II, Tajima 1959:159) in the second enceinte.

Frédéric (1965:162) counts the Buddha statues at Borobudur as follows:

	Buddhas in the	mudrā	resemble
92	East	bhūmi-sparśa	[Akṣobhya]
92	South	varada	[Ratnasambhava]
92	West	dhyāna	[Amitābha]
92	North	abhaya	[Amoghasiddhi]
64	fourth gallery	vitarka	
72	latticed stūpas	dharma-cakra	[Vairocana]
504			

These 504 Buddhas, when doubled, make the sacred number of 504x2=1008. As already shown before, about a thousand statues are actually provided for at Chandi Sewu. Following a cue from Goris, Stutterheim (1956:59-61) tried to explain "the curious composition of the figure 504" in the framework of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The "numerological mysticism" which he worked out into a complex series of figures on page 60 is ingenious but does not correspond to an actual system.

A Javanese chronicle does refer to the thousand statues at Borobudur: "a story occurs in a fragment of a Javanese

chronicle published by Poensen (BKI.1901:287) which pertains to the adventures of a Javanese crown-prince who died in the year 1758. In this story it is said that the crown-prince, after a life of dissipation, went to the Barabudur to visit the thousand statues of this sanctuary, after which visit he soon fell ill and died. See also Brandes, Twee oude berichten over B., in TBG. 44(1901):73-80 (Stutterheim 1956:16 n.20a).

It is interesting to note the pattern of variation in the depiction of the Thousand Buddhas in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra. In the Lhasa xylograph (a copy of which is preserved at the International Academy of Indian Culture) of this sūtra which was woodprinted at the Zhöparkhang printery of the Potala palace of the Dalai Lama as the authentic version, we find the illustrations of all the Thousand Buddhas with their names in versified stanzas. They are represented as Buddhas in the dharmacakra, bhūmisparśa, varada, dhyāna and abhaya mudrās--in this very order. This mudrā sequence is repeated 200 times to arrive at the number of a thousand, without any other change. At Borobudur too, the same pattern is represented and to use the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata, namely, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana, is inappropriate and misleading as each of the Thousand Buddhas has an individual name though their iconography is restricted to five forms only which is common to the Pañca-Tathāgata. The description of the Borobudur has to undergo a total terminological revolution for the correct identification of the whole as well as of its constituent elements.

The discussion of the 504 Buddhas has been muddled and messed up by two factors:

(1) As early as 1836, Humboldt had suggested that the Buddhas on the first four main walls pertained to the Pañca-Tathāgata system (wrongly termed the Five Dhyāni-Buddhas by Hodgson). This has been accepted till now, as only this single set of Five Tathāgatas has been known till very recently. It has

held sway till today inspite of the difficulties it poses in the identification of the two Tathāgatas on the fifth main wall and on the circular platforms. To reinforce this quinary system, every effort was made to explain away the mudrās of the two Tathāgatas against all available sources, and even to point the possibility of a lost phase in Buddhism. "Krom started out from the Dhyāni-Buddha system of Nepal and Tibet and tried to force the iconography of the Dhyāni-Buddhas on Barabudur into this frame by tampering with the mudrās." (Leeuw 1965:395).

(2) The use of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, which is not an integral text but a collection of fragments, was pressed beyond its limited potentialities. This is clear to my predecessors. Prof. de Leeuw says that Stutterheim "based himself on the preconception that the Buddhist system of Barabudur was exactly the same as that expounded in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. In this respect he therefore made the same mistake as Krom, taking a given system as his starting-point and trying to fit the iconography of Barabudur into it. However, when adhering less strictly to the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan he put forward certain improvements in the explanation of Barabudur's iconography, such as his suggestion that the images on the first main wall do not represent four Dhyāni-Buddhas, but either four Mānuṣi-Buddhas or four forms of Gautama." (Leeuw 1965:395).

VARIATION IN THE FIVE TATHĀGATAS

Though the number of Five Tathāgatas remained constant, their names, distinguishing features and placement has varied in different textual traditions.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the four Buddhas Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Dundubhisvara surround a central Buddha in Dharmakṣema's translation (A.D.397-439) of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (T.16.335,345) and in Buddhabhadra's (worked A.D.408-429) translation of the *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra (T.643, vol.15 p.688; Nj.430).

By the end of the seventh century, Śākyamuni is the central Tathāgata, Lokanātha replaces Dundubhisvara in the north and Ratnasambhava takes the place of Ratnaketu in the south, in the 9th chapter of Bodhiruci's (worked A.D.693-713) translation of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra (T.20.270). In the 22nd chapter (T.20.346b) of this sutra another set of five Tathāgatas is explained: "Vairocana (center), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja (west) and Amoghasiddhi (north)".

In A.D.709 Bodhiruci translated the *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra (T.951, Nj.532) which describes five Tathāgatas: Śākyamuni (center), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), and Akṣobhya (north) (T.19.247ab).

In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala the five Tathāgatas are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa (north). This maṇḍala is based on the Mahāvairocanasūtra which was translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṁha in A.D.724.

The five Tathāgatas in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja alias Amitāyus (west), and Amoghasiddhi (north). This maṇḍala follows the Tattvasaṅgraha whose first chapter was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in A.D.753.

On p.43 is a conspectus of the Five Tathāgatas in the texts cited above. It shows that they were not immutable in a fixed standard, but subject to change, which later on came to be systematised in different traditions of various denominations. So whenever we speak of the Five Tathāgatas in the Nepalese tradition as recounted by Hodgson in the very infancy of Buddhist studies, we have not to take it as the system, but as a system among many, in a multiplicity of contexts.

	centre	east	south	west	north
Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra	Tathāgata	Akṣobhya	Ratnaketu	Amitāyus	Dundubhisvara
Amoghapāśa-sūtra 9th chapter	Śākyamuni	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava	Amitāyus	Lokanātha
22nd chapter	Vairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava	Lokeśvararāja	Amoghasiddhi
*Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra	Śākyamuni	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
Garbhadhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa
Vajradhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava	Lokeśvararāja or Amitāyus	Amoghasiddhi

It has not been realised so far that there are other systems of Buddhas, for example, the Four Buddhas in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the Japanese Shingon sect, whose mudrās are depicted in the Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū 2.51-54 adhiṣṭhāna of Four Buddhas: 2.51 Acala in the east, 2.52 Ratnasambhava in the south, 2.53 Amitāyus in the west, 2.54 Amoghasiddhi in the north, 2.61 garland to the Four Buddhas (Lokesh Chandra/Sharada Rani 1978: pref.15), 2.256 Catur-Buddhādhiṣṭhāna. Furthermore, so far none has cared to study the iconic structure of the depiction of the Thousand Buddhas in the Chinese and Tibetan traditions, besides their representation in the outer enceinte of the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala. In some Chinese and Tibetan traditions the Thousand Buddhas are repeated without any distinction: the same form is 'stencilled' over a thousand times. In fact they are a thousand epithets like the thousand appellations of Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma. In the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra referred to above, there is a distinct quinary pattern which is repeated, though the names of each of the Thousand Buddhas are separate and distinct.

The Vajradhātu becomes a mahāmaṇḍala because of the Thousand Buddhas, which is its unique and contradistinctive attribute in the world of tantric maṇḍalas. The Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala added to the already existing five forms of the Buddhas a sixth one with the dharmacakra mudrā. These six forms of Buddhas were repeated 168 times to the auspicious number of 1008. That is why there are 504 Buddhas, and the niches and stūpas enclosing these 504, symbolically make up the requisite double number: 504x2=1008. Thus the six forms of Buddhas on the main walls and circular terraces do <u>not</u> stand for Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, ____ , and Vairocana, but are simply six morphological types to delineate the 1008 Buddhas in 168 cyclic repetitions in sixes (168x6=1008).

The imposition of the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata raised the insurmountable problems of identifying the fifth

Buddha in the fourth gallery, which should have been Vairocana in the "clear and systematic arrangement of Barabudur's Dhyāni-Buddhas which works up towards a hierarchical climax" (Leeuw 1965: 392-3). But this Buddha is in vitarka-mudrā which is never the mudrā of Vairocana. Vairocana is either in dharmacakra or dhyāna or bodhyagrī mudrā. If the fifth Buddha was supposed to be Vairocana then how could the sixth Buddha on the circular terraces be explained with his dharmacakra mudrā which is appropriate to Vairocana. Foucher suggested, without any supporting evidence, that the sixth Buddha is Śākyamuni which constitutes a "completely unacceptable anticlimax" (ibid.) to the consecutive phases of spiritual development. Krom (ibid.) suggested that this sixth Buddha is the Ādi-Buddha Vajrasattva, which has been rightly and convincingly refuted by Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1965:394). She has identified the sixth Buddha as Vairocana "in his capacity of Lord of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas" (p.405): (i) because of his dharmacakra mudrā, (ii) whereas in the Buddhist texts of Java like the Sutasoma, Kuñjarakarṇa, and Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Vairocana is the supreme Buddha, and (iii) furthermore because several bronze images of Vairocana have been found in Java. She tries to find a justification for the six Buddhas at Borobudur in the following statement based on the outdated work of Getty : "When the group of five Dhyāni-Buddhas was extended into a sixfold system some Mahāyāna sects raised Vairocana, originally the Dhyāni-Buddha of the centre, to the higher position, giving him the name of Mahāvairocana. This system is not only found in Tibet and Nepal but in Japan also, where the Hossō, Tendai, Kegon and Shingon sects regard Vairocana or Dai-nichi Nyōrai as 'the Supreme Buddha'" (Leeuw 1965:405). In Japan, the word Mahāvairocana (Japanese Dainichi) is a synonym of Vairocana. He is the central deity of both the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, and therein he is <u>one of the Five</u> Buddhas: seated in the centre with the other four Buddhas in the four directions.

At the Borobudur too, the five Buddhas do not occur in their capacity as Pañca-Tathāgata. It has been perceived by Prof. de Leeuw on p.403: "Krom was completely right when he rejected the system of five Dhyāni-Buddhas as the basic frame of Barabudur's iconography," though she has ignored it on p.405 cited before. Prof. de Leeuw identified the fifth Buddha on the fourth gallery as Samantabhadra, though she admitted that "these various possibilities will have to remain mere speculations for the time being" (p.416). Mus (1932:351) made a forthright assessment that the whole situation is teeming with "difficultés insolubles." It was never realised that the neglected iconography of the Thousand Buddhas, hitherto relegated to iconic tautology, held a key to the Borobudur.

The reliefs of the final section of the Avataṁsaka, namely the Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī, represent just the earlier phase of the tantras dedicated to Vairocana. They are in no way to be construed as the glorification of Samantabhadra as the supreme Buddha as has been done by Prof. de Leeuw, taking a clue from Bernet Kempers: "Thus the devotee circumambulating the galleries of Barabudur followed Sudhana from stage to stage on his way to spiritual wisdom. Together with him he would finally find the supreme master, the Great Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, under whose guidance Sudhana enteres Absolute Reality." (BKI.121.408). Earlier S. Toganoo had also suggested in his Rishukyō no kenkyū 'Researches on the Nayasūtra' (Koyasan 1930) that the Borobudur is a maṇḍala of Samantabhadra-Vajrapāṇi (Bibliographie bouddhique IV-V/1931-33.97b).

To this day, the Bhadracarī has been preserved in the Shingon school in Sanskrit recitations. The full title of Bhadracarī is Samanta-bhadra-caryā-praṇidhānarāja, that is, the great vow of Samantabhadra, where he is an aspirant in quest and not the Supreme Buddha. His very role of the Seeker in the Bhadracarī indicates that at the Borobudur we have not to see in him the ĀdiBuddha. Samantabhadra occurs as one of

the eight bodhisattvas in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. In the Vajradhātu maṇḍala he appears five times in subsidiary positions: the samaya-maṇḍala (Esot.508), sūkṣma-maṇḍala (Esot.593), pūjā-maṇḍala (Esot.666), Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala (Esot.760), Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala (Esot.837). Thus it is certain that his role in the Avataṁsaka, caryā-tantras and yogatantras is a minor one, and has nothing to do with the exalted position of the Ādibuddha Samantabhadra in the Tibetan Nyingma sects, which was a later development.

CENTRAL IMAGE OF THE BOROBUDUR

The central image of the Borobudur enshrined in the final stūpa has not been found, and its absence has engendered a continued controversy. The intrusion of the unfinished image has complicated the issue. Its solutions have varied according to the interpretation of the type of Buddhism represented by the Borobudur.

In the early period of its discovery it was "a huge mass of stones enveloping the top of a hill and containing only a small room in its central dagob" (Kempers 1959:17). Further on pages 48-49, he summarises the situation in the following words: "Inside the central dagob there is a large cella with a smaller one above it. During the whole of the 19th century there was a large hole in the walls of the dagob. An unfinished statue of a Buddha has been found inside the cella. It is exactly like those of the other Buddha images which show the attitude of 'touching the earth' (in the niches facing the east). Much controversy has arisen around this 'unfinished Buddha'. According to some it represents the Supreme Buddha manifesting himself incompletely in this manner. On the other hand there is reason to suppose that the sculptor left his work unfinished because of a mistake he made in carving one of the hands. Anyhow, it seems to be too much of a failure to

figure as the Supreme Buddha. It may have been introduced into the cella through the hole in its walls for some reason unknown to us. The same goes for a number of smaller objects found in the same place, such as a small 'kĕris' (kris)." We agree with Kempers that the unfinished statue was secretly introduced in the cella to compensate the disappearance of the golden image of Mahāvairocana enshrined therein, though Stutterheim (1956:56) feels: "Hoepermans' statement is no more than an insinuation directed against the Resident and the Regent, reproaching the former with the theft of a small golden image found during the investigations, and the latter for having played the role of henchman by having this substituted by the first Buddha statue to be found in the vicinity".

The central image of the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam was made of solid gold, and the sthapati who made this image and enshrined it in a complex construction so that it could not easily be stolen, had gone to Indonesia. The Vaiṣṇava saint Tiru-mangai went to Indonesia to get the secret of the construction of the vimāna and on return it enabled him to steal the golden image for the repairs of the Raṅganātha temple. The details have been given earlier at the outset of this paper. A golden image was a lure as early as the 9th century, for howsoever noble a purpose, and why should it not be in the 19th century. It is not an isolated phenomenon. "According to unconfirmed stories dating from the colonial period, there were villages near the Dieng Plateau which paid their taxes in golden statues, the most precious produce of their soil." (Fontein 1971:40). We do not know their whereabouts.

The sthapati referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Borobudur. Even if there was some other sthapati, he could have hailed from India. The sthapati were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted on a statue of solid gold for such a magnificent monument as the Borobudur, when there was

a precedent in the main image of the vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the ninth century. Significantly enough it bears a stylistic affinity with South Indian sculpture (Fontein 1971:148 no.27). The cumulative effect of the evidence adduced so far indicates that the central image should have been of solid gold and consequently small in size. We have already pointed out that the Vajradhātu Vairocana was the main deity of Śailendra Buddhism. In the Old Javanese kakawins Arjunavijaya 26.4 and Sutasoma 32.10, 139.9 Jinapati Vairocana is characterised by his hands in the bodhyagrī mudrā which is exclusive to the Vajradhātu Vairocana. The Prince Sutasoma is compared to Vairocana several times in the Sutasoma Kakawin (Santoso 1975: 618-620) which testifies to the high popularity of Vajradhātu Vairocana in the Classical periods of Indonesian history. The entire architectural composition of the Borobudur down to the minute details of the geometric designs of the lattices of the stūpas on the circular platforms, favours, sustains and strengthens the idea that it is an ādhāra for the maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu. Before proceding further it may be specified that there are two major steps in tantric worship: (i) generation of the residence for the deities (ādhārotpatti) and (ii) evocation of the deities to be residents (ādheya) therein. Descriptions of the generation of the residence for the deities is given in the tantras, which has been summarised by Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175) in a vivid manner. From this we can say that the entire structure of the Borobudur, including the now vanished kūṭāgāra, was the residence or ādhāra for the deities. It was to be followed by the second stage of the deities taking residence herein. Who were these deities? They were the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala: the central Vairocana surrounded by 36 deities. The images of these

36 deities must have been fashioned out of seven precious metals. They should have been placed in the now-vanished wooden kūṭāgāra. The dichotomy of the ādhāra and ādheya was reflected in the construction itself: ādhāra was a fixed and permanent construction in stone and the ādheya or the images of precious metal were portable to 'take' residence in every ritual--true to hieratic requirements.

The 'unfinished image' is a sculptor's error, without any place in the scheme of the Borobudur. All the confusion has arisen because scholars were not aware of the basic fact that NO unfinished, faulty, or broken image is ever installed in a sacred place. The haze deepened as the Buddhism of Borobudur was appraised as an eclectic conglomeration: so efforts could be made over the years to devise a system to fit in the 'unfinished image'. There were no criteria to arouse suspicion. With the precise definition of Sailendra Buddhism as yogatantric, we no longer need be puzzled by the 'unfinished image' or the vacuum created by the absence of any image to have the honour to be in the centre.

CORRELATION OF THE RELIEFS TO THE CENTRAL DEITY VAIROCANA

The Borobudur has reliefs drawn from the Karmavibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, jātakas, avadānas and from the Avataṁsaka text of the Gaṇḍavyūha ending in the Bhadracarī. A question arises about the relationship of these reliefs to yogatantric Buddhism whose central deity is Vairocana. How did the ideas represented in the reliefs culminate in the yoga-tantras? Karma-vibhaṅga represents the most fundamental level of the operation of karmic cause-and-effect. The jātakas and avadānas are the perennial effort of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to liberate from the bonds of karmic causation, and Lalitavistara is the immortal story of Buddha Śākyamuni's discovery of the noble eightfold path. The whole represents the graduated path from the inexhorable laws of karma (Karma-vibhaṅga), its cessation

by the path leading upto Buddha Śākyamuni as propounded in the Lalitavistara, to its sophistication in Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha) where Sudhana the eternal pilgrim is exhorted by Mañjuśrī to resort to Samantabhadra whose great vow (Bhadracarī) is to reach the Paradise of Amitābha (Ratnakūṭa), and transcending them all is Supreme Buddha (Jinapati) Vairocana become Abhisambuddha.

As we have pointed out already, the monastic complex of Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in India was consecrated to Vajradhātu Vairocana by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po in the 10th century. The central maṇḍala hall is dedicated to Vairocana. Beneath the 37 images of the maṇḍala there are frescos of the life of Śākyamuni on the right wall, and those of the pilgrimage of Sudhana along the left wall. The entire Tabo complex is surrounded by a wall with 108 stūpas. Both the series of the life of Śākyamuni and the journey of Sudhana are also sculpted at Borobudur. A number of stūpas have been found at a distance from the Borobudur. These may have topped the ramparts of the Borobudur complex.

The Avataṁsaka-sūtra was translated into Chinese three times in the fourth, seventh and eighth centuries. The three versions are distinguished in the Sino-Japanese tradition by the number of fascicules, as '60, 80, 40 fasciculi Hua-yen-ching (Jap. Kegonkyō) or Avataṁsaka'.

1. Translated by Buddhabhadra and others during the Liang dynasty (A.D.317-420) in 60 fascicules, Nj.87, T.278.

2. Translated by Śikṣānanda during A.D.695-699 in 80 fascicules, with a preface by the Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien (A.D.684-705) who sent an envoy to Khotan to procure the Sanskrit text. It is fuller than the first translation by Buddhabhadra.

3. Translated by Prājña during A.D.796-798 in 40 fascicules. It is a translation of the last chapter of the Avataṁsaka, namely, the Gaṇḍavyūha which ends with the Bhadracarī.

Takakusu (1956:112) says that the Avataṁsaka is "a sūtra in which the mystic doctrine of the Buddha Mahāvairocana is minutely described. The last chapter of the Avataṁsaka is the

Gaṇḍavyūha which describes the pilgrimage of young Sudhana to fiftythree worthies, both religious and secular, to "realise the principles of dharmadhātu". Thus the integral relationship of the pilgrimage of Sudhana and Vairocana goes back to an early period, at the latest, the fourth century when the first Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka took place. Vairocana is the lord of the Kusuma-tala-garbha-vyūhālaṅkāra-lokadhātu (Rengedai sekai, JEBD 1965:17b) in the Avataṁsaka and also in the Brahmajāla-sūtra (T.21, Nj.554) which was translated into Chinese by Shiken during A.D.223-253.

The Avataṁsaka school had two main representations of: (1) the image of Vairocana as the Buddha of this school, and (2) the narrative paintings or sculptures of the pilgrimage of Sudhana. Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens says that the Avataṁsaka iconography of Vairocana "first appeared at Khotan, passed on to Kuca (Kizil Cave), then appeared in cave no.425/P.135 of Tun-huang (early sixth century)". She goes on to describe a Chinese image of the Sui dynasty (A.D.589-618) at the Musée Guimet: "The right hand makes the gesture of abhayamudrā; the left hand, that of varamudrā. On the front of the cloak are modelled the sun, the moon, two apsaras, Mount Meru (formed of a rock beaten by waves and borne by interlaced dragons), a Buddhist sanctuary, and scenes of hell. On the back, which is flatter, other personages modelled in relief evoke the Six Ways (the damned, preta, wild animals, asura, humans, and Buddha), as well as Kṣitigarbha (King of Hell) sitting on a throne. The theme is borrowed from the Avataṁsaka Sūtra which makes Vairocana the master of all the universe" (Auboyer 1975:107). The earliest representations of Vairocana originated in the Avataṁsaka, which were to evolve later on into the Vairocana of the yogatantras.

The evolution of Buddhist thought leading from the earliest through the One Vehicle of Avataṁsaka to the Vajradhātu Vairocana in the Shingon School has been propounded by Kōbō Daishi at the

beginning of the ninth century, as Ten Stages of spiritual progress (not to be confused with the daśa-bhūmi). They are cited below in the words of Takakusu (1956:149):

"The critical classification of the Buddha's teaching proposed by Kōbō Daishi is in reality the Ten Stages of spiritual development:

1. Various paths of blind life driven by the instinctive impulse (the stage of common people);
2. The Vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism);
3. The Vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have a supernatural power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism)--these three are the worldly Vehicles;
4. The Vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (śrāvaka) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna Schools, Kusha[=Abhidharmakośa], and Jōjitsu[=Satyasiddhi] (stage of direct disciples);
5. The Vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (pratyeka-buddha) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism;

6-7. The doctrine of Three Vehicles, holding the three Vehicles as real (the stages of the Sanron[=Mādhyamika] and Hosso [=Yogācāra] Schools);

8-9. The doctrine of One Vehicle holding the one Vehicle as real (the stages of the Kegon[=Avataṁsaka] and Tendai Schools);

10. The Diamond Vehicle as held by the Shingon School.

These stages, coming one above the other, show the timely progress of the human mind."

The above scheme of Kōbō Daishi is a striking parallel to the various sculptural components of the Borobodur which represent the different strata of Buddhist thought leading to the Vajradhātu Vairocana of the yoga-tantras--all harmonised by a consummate architectural genius.

The Avataṁsaka is a mahāvaipulya-sūtra. In the Tibetan Kanjur the full title is Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra (Toh.44). So also in the Chinese translation, which can be rendered verbatim as mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka sūtra (Nj.87=T.278, Nj.88=T.279). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T.848= Nj.530, Toh.494) is in the direct line of development with the Avataṁsaka, Inspite of its being the fundamental text of the caryā-tantras, its title does not bear the term tantra, but vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh.494). While vaipulya puts it in the direct line of descent from the Avataṁsaka, sūtrendrarāja indicates a further and higher stage of development. It is another glimpse into the intrinsic proximity of the Avataṁsaka and the maṇḍalas of Vairocana: reflected in the depiction of Sudhana's pilgrimage at Borobudur as a historical substratum in the onward spiritual journey to the maṇḍala of Vairocana atop.

In the Tibetan tradition (Wayman 1973:232-3) too the transmission of the entire cycle of sūtras leading to the cycle of tantras was divided into:

A.(1) the biography of Śākyamuni in terms of 12 Acts (mdzad-pa bcu-gñis),

(2) compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition,

(3) compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B.Sūtras which show principally the pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:

(1) The Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation(bkaḥ) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh.1-7).

(2) The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. the Void, S. śūnyatā) (Toh.8-30).

(3) The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning perfect discrimination(i.e. yoga experience) (Toh.44 Avataṁsaka and 45-93 Ratnakūṭa).

(4) The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels (of the Law), arranged in a single major class (Toh.94-359).

C. Tantras which show principally the vajrayāna fall into four groups:

(1) Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh.360-478)

(2) Yoga-tantra (Toh.479-493)

(3) Caryā-tantra (Toh.494-501)

(4) Kriyā-tantra (Toh.502-827)

Thus we see that the evolution of the manifestation of Buddhism over the expanse of historic time was not disregarded, but was treasured in a structural systematisation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Kanjur) and it was reduced to writing by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, and by others who followed him. It is detailed in an authoritative survey in Mkhas-grub-rje's masterly work, which is available to us in the English translation by Prof. Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, a work whose potential is yet to be realised for the history of the development of Buddhism. Mkhas-grub-rje sets forth the development into three yānas: the position of the śrāvakas, the teachings of the pāramitā school in four stages, and finally the teachings of the mantra school again in four stages. It is a sine qua non to understand the philosophical moorings and ritualistic context of the Borobudur which integrates in stone the same path of ascension: śrāvaka-yāna-Karmavibhaṅga, jātakas and avadānas of Śākyamuni; pāramitā-yāna-- Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī); mantra-yāna-- Vairocana.

FUNCTION OF THE BOROBUDUR

The Borobudur symbolises not only Buddhist cosmology, thought and ritual, but also the dynasty that erected this magnificent monument to Indonesian glory: the Śailendras 'Kings of the Mountain' (Frédéric 1965:160). Śailendra authority faded away from Java not long after A.D.824 (Casparis 1950:200). The instability must have been felt quite early and the Mendut and Borobudur must have been erected to preempt such an eventuality. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra was the basis for the dhāraṇī on the protection of the realm (Nakamura 1976:79). Much more so was the role of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala for a cakravartin (Tajima 1959:152). The Mendut representing the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Borobudur symbolising the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the Tattvasaṅgraha were intended to consecrate and stabilise the cakravarti sovereignty of the Śailendras in a syndrome of philosophy, ritual and architecture of the Twin Maṇḍalas of Vairocana, who is also known as Ekākṣara Cakravartī.

We have parallels to this in the Hindu and Buddhist world. In A.D.587 Prince Shotoku built the Shitennōji Temple at Osaka in honour of the Four Lokapālas to overcome the rival Mononobe and Nakatomi clans (Matsunaga 1969:40 n.102). In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin or Ekākṣara Cakravartī, is a form of Vairocana which is identical with the Vairocana described in the Kawi text Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra (Bosch 1929:131). The polychrome wooden statue of Ekākṣara Cakravartī dating to the 12th century from the Chusonji monastery at Hiraizumi (Japan), 75.6 cm. high, has actually all the attributes specified in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra <u>śuddhavarṇāya, vajraparyaṅkopasthitāya, bodhyagrīmudrānibaddhāya, siṁhāsanopasthitāya</u>: he is of white colour, seated in vajra posture, with the hands in bodhyagrī mudrā, seated on a lion throne. It is a work of exquisite beauty which can be realised only by a viewing of the masterpiece

or its superb coloured reproduction by Toshio Fukuyama in his Heian Temples: Byōdō-in and Chuson-ji (Tokyo 1976, pl.22 opposite page 29). The Chusonji monastery was founded by Kiyohara in a vision of grand proportions. The lion-throne (siṁhāsana) was the emblem of universal dominion (cakravartī). In the Indo-Tibetan tradition too there is a maṇḍala of Cakravartī (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13.8, pl.31). It is one of the five subsidiary maṇḍalas of the Pariśodhana-tantra (Toh.483-486), whose primary (mūla) maṇḍala pertains to the 37-deity Sarvavid Vairocana.

CHANDI PAWON

Between Mendut and Borobudur, in a straight line stands the Pawon, 1150 metres from Mendut and 1750 metres from Borobudur. It is also called Brajanalan. It is "often regarded as a porch-temple to Barabudur, dedicated to Kuvera, the god of riches. The bearded dwarfs above the entrance, pouring out rings and other trinkets from bags, are consistent with this view" (Kempers 1959:41 pl.65-66). There is no other indication that it be considered to be dedicated to Kubera? It has small windows which "are a feature seldom if ever met with in temples with the exception of those of the type of Sari (Pl.117). Here they are merely decorative" (ibid.). The word pawon means a kitchen (Casparis 1950:203).

In Bali, there are five stanzas to Vajrānala, entitled (Pañca)-Bajrānala-stava (ed. Hooykaas 1973:86), where he is described as seated in a mandorla of flames, pure like the autumnal moon, with three eyes and four arms holding a staff (daṇḍa), abhayada mudrā, rosary (akṣasūtra) and vase (kamaṇḍalu). Each of the four Nepalese mudrā-manuals that I have consulted illustrate mudrās to Vajrānala. The Pawon seems to have been a temple to Vajrānala, who is connected with fire in the Balinese stotra: sarvāgneya, śāntikarmaṇi samiddha. The word

śānti-karmaṇi is an unambiguous reference to śāntika homa. Vajrānala was the presiding deity of homa, which explains the presence of small windows as escape for the smoke of homa ceremonies. Homa is a distinctive characteristic of the tantric form of Buddhism. It had to be provided for in a special temple, because of the smoke. In the mantrayāna or Shingon monasteries of Japan, special halls are constructed for the performance of homa. As the vajrayāna of both Japan and Indonesia go back to the same source, it is but natural that both follow the same pattern of giving such a prominent position to homa so much so that a separate temple was erected for it.

The eminent and distinctive place of homa in mantrayāna is also evident in its ritual. In the Japanese text Shi-dō-in-zu 'mudrās of the four rites', the four rites are: (1) the preliminary ceremony of 18 steps (jūhachidō), (2) Vajradhātu, (3) Garbhadhātu and (4) homa (Toki 1899:1-2). A special section has been provided for the eleven mudrās performed during homa. The first mudra is the Kongōkaruma-bosatsu-in which is executed before the sacred fire is lit. The second is ka-ten chō shō in 'mudrā to invite the god Agni'. This is the first act of the celebration of homa, an invitation to Agni to come to take his place in the middle of the hearth for his share in the offerings. The third mudrā is to the nine planets (navagraha), & Signs of the Zodiac (rāśi) and the fourth mudrā is to the constellations. The fifth mudrā is to the principal deity (Jap. honzon) of the homa ceremony, Acala vidyārāja, who is invited to take place in the hearth. It is the most important act of the entire ceremony (Toki 1899:137-146, esp. p.142).

In the lamaist pantheon Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan (Clark 1937:2.311-312), ascribed to the Lcaṅ-skya qutuγtu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje, Jvālānala (Tib. Me-ltar-ḥbar-ba) is illustrated between two forms of Acala:

348 Aṣṭakapi Acala

349 Jvālānala = Vajrajvālānalārka

350 Caturbhuja Acala

This suggests a basic correlation between Jvālānala and Acala. Vajra-jvālānalārka coincides with Vajrānala on whom the alternative name of Chandi Pawon Bajranalan was based. Chandi Pawon must have been a homa temple whose presiding deity was Acala. The agniśālā or structure for homa is also called vajra-jvālā in the Japanese yogatantric Shingon denomination in the jūhachidō (Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shu 1.29) as well as in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (o.c.2.101).

Chandi Pawon is nearer to Mendut which represents the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of Vairocana. In the Japanese tradition of mantrayāna, there are three rites pertaining to the (1) jūhachidō 'the preliminary rite of 18 steps' (2) Kongōkai 'Vajradhātu', (3a) Taizōkai 'Garbhadhātu' and (3b) Fudō 'Acala'. In the ritual manuals as well as in mudrā handbooks the Garbhadhātu is invariably supplemented by an addendum pertaining to the fourteen mūla mudrās of Acala (Lokesh Chandra/Sharada Rani 1978:3.274-287). In the Tibetan tradition too, the Mahāvairocana-tantra (Toh.494) which is the basic text for the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, is immediately followed by the Acala-kalpa (Toh.495) in the Kanjur. The Tibetan Kanjur follows a precise systematic order and the sequence of every text is determined by well-thought out considerations of interdependence based on doctrinal, ritual and philosophical development. Thus the juxtaposition of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Acala-kalpa is not a fortuitous chance, but an intentional indication of a close and integral relationship between them, which is validated by the Japanese tradition. Acala is surrounded by flames, and in Japanese symbolic representations he is portrayed by his flames and emblems alone. The very distances between Mendut-Pawon, and Pawon-Borobudur suggest that the entire complex was planned to the last detail to reflect to scriptural norms of the caryā

and yoga tantras. Acala (Pawon) and the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Mendut) belong to the caryātantras while Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Borobudur) to the yogatantras. Hence Pawon is closer to Mendut than to Borobudur. The distance of 1750 metres between Pawon and Borobudur is one half times the distance of 1150 metres between Pawon and Mendut. The numerical cosmology coded into the design and measurements of the Borobudur complex has yet to be worked out. The intricate system of numerical sets of time and space juggled into the Angkor Wat has been worked out by Eleanor Moron (1977:217ff) and it can be a starting point for a future study on the cosmic numerology of the Borobudur.

The diverse elements from distant lands that have been pressed into a comparative pattern to bear upon the Borobudur in this paper, naturally pose the question of the feasibility of communications between these areas and the interflow of culture amongst themselves or via a core-point. The new identification of the Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur could be possible only by the comparison of the different expressions of the same tradition of the kriyā and caryā tantras manifested in twin maṇḍalas of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu, in the classical commonwealth of vajrayāna countries. The Chinese biographies of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra provide undeniable evidence that the traditions of these tantalizingly far-removed areas of Central Asia, Kanchi in South India, and the Sino-Japanese tradition converged on the very soil of Java in the person of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra and that too in the early part of the eighth century -- a century which was to give us the great vajrayāna monuments of Indonesia culminating in the lyrical architecture of the Borobudur. Amoghavajra from Samarkand had accompanied his uncle on a trade visit to Java. There he met Vajrabodhi of Kanchi in A.D.718 and became his disciple. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in A.D.719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in A.D.720. Both of them were instrumental in translating the Tattva-saṅgraha and other fundamental

scriptures of vajrayāna into Chinese. In fact, along with their contemporary Śubhakarasiṁha, they laid the foundations of vajrayāna in East Asia whose visual dharma were the twin maṇḍalas preserved to this day in Japan. The presence of these two great teachers on the island of Java in person, is a unique historic evidence of the emerging world of vajrayāna, converging to a unity in a shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, the remnants of whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart. The Borobudur is in direct line of descent in the conceptual genealogy of the Sino-Japanese maṇḍalas and we may no longer wonder that for the interpretation of the Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur complex Japan provides astonishingly precise parallels both in its historical and living traditions.

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (SHKM) is a tantric text from Indonesia, with 42 Sanskrit verses, each verse followed by an Old Javanese commentary. Following the pioneering studies of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shirō, Prof. de Jong (1974:465-482) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the verses of SHKM are derived from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Verses 1-5ab, 6-9, 16-18, 20-22 are from the MahāVairocana-sūtra (T.848, Nj.530, Toh.494); while verses 26-42 stem from the Adhyardhaśatikā (T.244, Nj.1037, Toh.488). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra belongs to the caryā-tantras and the Adhyardhaśatikā to the yoga-tantras. The SHKM thus finally proves beyond doubt the presence of the caryā and yoga tantras in Indonesia and substantiates our identification of the Mendut and Borobudur as monumental stereomorphic expressions of the Twin Maṇḍalas of the two divisions of tantras. Yet, this is a first step in the direction of a synthetic study knitting together the scattered strands of the fundamental unity of the Buddhist world on the plane of art and thought (compare Leeuw 1964:63).

Lokesh Chandra

NOTES

[1]Translated into Tibetan (Toh.479) by Śraddhākara-varman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (958-1043). It was translated into Chinese three times:

(i) Vajrabodhi made an abridged translation for recitation in A.D.723 (T.866 = Nj.534).

(ii) Its first chapter (out of its four chapters) was translated by Amoghavajra during 746-771 (T.865=Nj.1020).

(iii) The last and complete translation into Chinese was by Dānapāla (Shê-hu, A.D.980-1000). It states at the end that the Sanskrit text consists of 4000 ślokas in prose, that is, 4000x32=128,000 syllables. It agrees with Tibetan.

[2]See Lokesh Chandra 1972:pl.1 (size 32x45 cm) and pl.699 (size 96x106 cm). The large-size reproduction of the two Vairocanas is helpful in understanding their details.

[3]Bosch 1929:115 n.7 writes : "No doubt, the uttarabodhimudrā mentioned by Waddell, Lamaism, pp.337 and 350, is the same as the bodhyagrī". He is right. Waddell has reconstructed the Sanskrit from the Tibetan expression where the same Tibetan word can be agrī as well as uttara. Our context requires the component agrī.

[4]RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra, A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 13 : plate 22 (the 1037-deity maṇḍala of Vajradhātu of the Tathāgata family as enunciated in the first section of the Tattva-saṅgraha), plate 23 (the 1037-deity maṇḍala of Trailokyavijaya of the vajra family as enunciated in the second section of the Tattva-saṅgraha), plate 26 (Paramādya Vajrasattva; in the Japanese naya-maṇḍala Vajrasattva is the main deity).

[5]Shoson-zuzō 'figures of deities' by Shinkaku (A.D.1117-1180) pl.9 (Taishō Zuzō 'Iconographic Section of the Taishō

Tripiṭaka' vol.3, work no.88).

[6]Tamil Lexicon, Madras 1932, vol.5(1).2764b.

[7]M.N. Deshpande, Buddhist Art of Ajanta and Tabo, Bulletin of Tibetology 10_3(1973).40. Mr. Deshpande uses the expression "large chamba image of Buddha in pralambapāda" which has to be corrected to: 'large (chibo = che-po) image of Maitreya (chamba = Byams-pa) Buddha in pralambapāda'.

[8]Its plan is given in Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, IV(1).169, details of its 72 chapels on p.171, illus. in IV(2).fig.119. A very clear view of the whole construction is provided by Liu Yisi, Xizang Fojiao Yishu, Beijing 1957, fig.7.

[9]Alex Wayman 1973:102 (diagram of Sumeru), 104 (thaṅka).

[10]For the eight bodhisattvas see N.J. Krom, De Bodhisattva's van den Mĕndut (met een plaat), BKI.74(1918).419-437. Their identification merits reconsideration on the basis of the Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Lokesh Chandra 1972) and the related Tibetan maṇḍalas reproduced in RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13, esp. maṇḍalas 20, 21.

[11]RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13-15.1-3. These three parts show all the 132 maṇḍalas in line drawings. Maṇḍala 22 pertains to the Vajradhātu.

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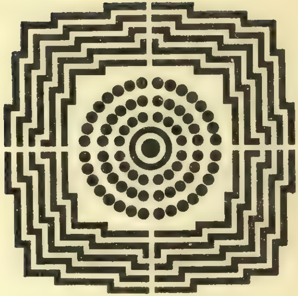

THE BUDDHIST BRONZES OF SUROCOLO

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The latest work of Jan Fontein, The Sculpture of Indonesia, is a masterpiece of presentation and photographs of the statues of the Islands. It presents a detailed identification of the twentytwo statuettes recently discovered from the hamlet of Surocolo in 1976. Like their counterparts from Ṅañjuk they show fine and detailed technique and share stylistic commonality with them. Though identified, they pose problems prime facie. The four statuettes on pages 224-225 are evidently goddesses, but they have been identified as Vajrarāga, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrakarma?, and Vajrabhāṣa? Fontein is not sure about these ascriptions and he has question-marked two of them, though he rightly realised that they form a group. To find a clue to the re-identification of these and, if need be, of other statuettes, the largest statuette was chosen for detailed study. It is 10.2 cm and pertains to Vajrasattva. The sizes can be divided into three categories:

1. the largest 10.2 cm (only one statuette)
2. the medium 7.6, 7.9, 8.2, 8.9 cm
3. the smaller 5.5, 5.6, 5.8, 5.9, 6.0 cm

Fontein doubted the identification of Vajrasattva because of its "larger size than almost all pieces found in this hoard" (1990:230). Ever since Bosch identified the Sewu and Ṅañjuk bronzes with the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, the Vajradhātu has dominated all subsequent identifications. This has overshadowed other maṇḍalas and has, for example, precluded the primacy of Vajrasattva as the main deity of a maṇḍala. The size of the Surocolo statuette strongly posits the possibility of his being the maṇḍaleśa. Only this statuette has a nimbus, while it is absent in all other deities of the Surocolo hoard. The royal canopy and throne found in other Indonesian bronzes of Vajrasattva seem to have been lost. The other five bronzes of Vajrasattva from Indonesia are:

(1) 13.9 cm., Museum Pusat, Jakarta, no. 602a.
1912 Krom, ROD. p. 43 pl. 17.
1971 Fontein p. 15 no. 43, illus. on p. 79
1990 Fontein p. 220 (large and clear plate in colour)
Jewel-shaped nimbus, canopy and rectangular throne from whose base an elephant emerges, flanked by two lions.

(2) 13.5 cm , Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RM 1970-2, silver figure on a bronze throne, Ṅañjuk style

1919 Krom fig. 11

1926 Stutterheim fig. 48

1985 Scheurleer p. 175

1988 Scheurleer & Klokke

1990 Fontein p. 223 (clear full-page plate)

No nimbus or canopy. Rectangular throne without his mount the elephant.

(3) 12.0 cm , Musée Guimet, no. 2173

1971 Bonheur p. 138-140

Nimbus, but no canopy. Rectangular throne without mount.

(4) 9.0 cm , Linden Museum, no. SA 35228 L

1984 Leeuw p. 38

Nimbus around the whole body, remnants of a canopy (chattra) behind the figure. Rectangular throne supported by an elephant in the centre and a lion on either side.

(5) Leiden Museum 1403-3049

1971 Bonheur p. 139 (illustration)

Nimbus around the body, canopy, rectangular throne without mounts.

All the above statuettes pertain to Vajrasattva as a Tathāgata and not as a Bodhisattva. Vajrasattva as a bodhisattva is represented by an Early East Javanese bronze of Ṅañjuk style (MAK 1168, Scheurleer et al. 1985:176, Scheurleer & Klokke 1988:103).

Mallmann (1965:226) has indicated an iconographic confusion between the Vajrasattva of the group of sixteen bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala and Vajrasattva the Buddha. Bonheur(1971:138) points out that the Musée Guimet statue 2173 of Vajrasattva corresponds to the description of the sixteen bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the NSP 19. But it is supported by a pedestal provided with antifixes analogous to the fleurons of the Musée Guimet statue no. 18290 of Vajradhātu Vairocana himself. These fleurons are found only in the representation of a rather small number of divinities and accentuates their character of supreme beings (ibid.140). Bonheur also indicates that supreme beings as principal divinities of the maṇḍala, have a symmetric disposition of fleurons, which are not merely decorative motifs (ibid. 125).

Fontein (1990:223) has distinguished two different beings who bear the name Vajrasattva: ĀdiBuddha Vajrasattva and Vajrabodhisattva Vajrasattva. The Ādibuddha Vajrasattva "occupies the supreme position in the pantheon", and the Vajrabodhisattva Vajrasattva is one of a group of sixteen bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala.

The two Vajrasattvas are clearly differentiated in the Chinese captions and sitting postures of the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon

4A50 Vajrasattva Bodhisattva/Chin-kang-yung-shih p'u-sa
in the maṇḍala of Vajradhātu Vairocana
In sattva-paryaṅka posture

4B27 Vajrasattva Buddha/Chin-kang-yung-shih fo
In vajra-paryaṅka posture

In the Chu Fo P'u-sa Shěng Hsiang Tsan pantheon of Lalitavajra the same distinction in nomenclature is maintained in the Chinese names (B 69, B 193, Clark 1937).

Vajrasattva the Bodhisattva is one of the four acolytes of Akṣobhya in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Ishida 2.115).

Vajrasattva the Buddha/Tathāgata is the main deity in four maṇḍalas of the yoga- and anuttara-yoga-tantras:

<u>YOGA-TANTRAS</u>

1. Nayasūtra, chapter 1
Vajrasattva, two arms: r. vajra, l. bell
Mitrayogin 40 (Darba p. 81): white, maṇḍala of 17 deities
Shūei's maṇḍala of Great Bliss based on Chapter 1 of Amoghavajra's Rishūkyō, translated by him around 774.

2. Paramādya
Vajrasattva, white, two arms: r. vajra, l. bell
(a) Mitrayogin 34 (Darba p. 69): maṇḍala of 61 deities
(b) Saṁkṣipta-kula Paramādya maṇḍala of 319 deities
Ngor maṇḍala 25
(c) Paramādya Vajrasattva, maṇḍala of 77 deities
Ngor maṇḍala 26, based on the following two root texts:
Paramādya-nāma-mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh 487)
Paramādya-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa (Toh 488)

<u>ANUTTARA-YOGA-TANTRAS</u>

3. Guhyasamāja-tantra
NSP maṇḍala 1 (text p. 2: <u>Bhagavān Vajrasattvo Mañjuvajra-rūpah...</u>)
Darba p. 137 terms him Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra.
Six arms: two original arms embrace the consort, r. sword, arrow, l. lotus, bow. Red-yellow.

4. Samputa-tantra
Vajrasattva of the Samputa-tantra
NSP. 3 (text p. 8: <u>śrī-samputa-tantr-okta-vajrasattva-maṇḍale...</u>).
Darba (p. 145) terms him Saṁvara Vajrasattva
Six arms: two arms with vajra and bell embrace the consort, r. sword, hook, l. cranium, lasso. White.

Thus Vajrasattva is supreme and independent as the chief of maṇḍalas. That is why his statuette is the largest in the Surocolo hoard, and with the nimbus. The difference in style and technique of the statuette can be due to fact that it was an earlier image that could have belonged to the ancestors of the donor of the Surocolo hoard. As an heirloom, it lent special sanctity to the maṇḍala. Vajrasattva was the main deity in the Nayasūtra which was very popular in the tenth century. In AD 960 the Nayasūtra was read by priests at the outer gates of the palace to consecrate the Emperor's new place of residence (Visser 2.511).

The Surocolo maṇḍala s may pertain to the reign of Siṇḍok, who ruled AD 929-947. The anthology Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK), by Sambhara-sūryāvaraṇa, is attributed to his period. King Siṇḍok founded a Buddhist monastery named Jayamĕrta in AD 935 (Śaka 857) according to the Añjug Laḍang Inscription found near Candi Lor. The inscription names the locality Añjuk, which is known as Ṅañjuk, with the addition of the definite article ṅ. The Ṅañjuk bronzes were discovered near Candi Lor. He was succeeded by his daughter who ruled as queen Īśanatuṅgavijayā. The Calcutta inscription of Airlaṅga gives her the epithet Sugata-pakṣa-sahā, which refers to her association with the Buddhists (Sugata).

The name Vajrasattva (written Bajrasattva) occurs only twice in Old Javanese, namely in the Mantranaya of the SHK, according to Zoetmulder's Old Javanese-English Dictionary. In the 12th stanza divine samaya is equated with Vajrasattva (saṅ hyaṅ samaya ta sira sinaṅguh bhaṭāra Bajrasatva, Kats 21.23, Wulff p. 23). The 19th stanza points out the immaculate nature of Vajrasattva, who pervades the mind, who lords over all the Buddhas, and is self-being (sarva-buddh-ādhipaḥ svayaṁ). He is perfect, pure, and flawless being unstained by rāga, dveṣa and moha, the three poisons of the mundane world. He is supreme among all the Tathāgatas (pinaka-pradhāna saṅ sarva-tathāgata sira, Kats 23.18, Wulff p. 26). While stanzas 1-22 pertain to the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, these two stanzas 12 and 19 are not found therein (Jong 1974:469). They have neither been located in the Nayasūtra by Jong.

The cult of Vajrasattva of the Nayasūtra was very popular from the seventh century onward. It was translated six times into Chinese:

Hsüan-tsang	(w.645-664)	T 220/10, Nj 1
Bodhiruci	(w.693-713)	T 240, Nj 18
Vajrabodhi	(w.723-741)	T 241, Nj 1033
Amoghavajra	(w.723-774)	T 243, Nj 1043
Dharmapāla?	(w.973-1001)	T 244, Nj 1047
Dānapāla	(w.980-1000)	T 242, Nj 862

Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra had been to Java before they arrived in China to spread Mantrayāna. Both of them translated the Nayasūtra. In Japan, the Nayasūtra is recited daily, morning and evening. The first chapter of the Nayasūtra is dedicated to Vajrasattva, followed by Mahāvairocana in the second chapter. It shows the primacy of Vajrasattva over Mahāvairocana (Astley-Kristensen 1991:213). The Nayasūtra could have been a text for daily recitation in ancient Java and the larger statuettes of Vajrasattva distinguished by the nimbus, sitting posture, throne, and mount should pertain to the Naya-maṇḍala. The Surocolo statuettes, in fact, are of the Naya-sūtra.

The maṇḍala of Vajrasattva in the Nayasūtra is as follows:

<u>Inner enclosure</u>

Central deity: 1 Vajrasattva

Surrounded by: 2 Rāgavajriṇī, 3 Kelikila-vajriṇī, 4 Manoja-vajriṇī, 5 Māna-vajriṇī (in the four directions)
6 Puṣpā, 7 Dīpā, 8 Gandhā, 9 Dhūpā (in the corners)

<u>Outer enclosure</u>

Corners: 10 Vajralāsyā, 11 Vajramālā, 12 Vajragītā, 13 Vajranṛtyā.

Gate-keepers: 14 Vajrāṅkuśī, 15 Vajrapāśī, 16 Vajrasphoṭā (sphoṭa 'chain'), 17 Vajraghaṇṭā

It is illustrated by Shūei (AD 809-84) as follows (Astley-Kristensen 1991:112, 220):

11 Vajramālā		16 Vajrasphoṭā		12 Vajragītā
	6 Puṣpā	2 Rāgavajriṇī	7 Dīpā	
15 Vajrapāśī	3 Kelikilavajriṇī	1 Vajrasattva	5 Mānavajñinī	17 Vajraghaṇṭā
	9 Dhūpā	4 Manojavajriṇī	8 Gandhā	
10 Vajralāsyā		14 Vajrāṅkuśī		13 Vajranṛtyā

The central figure is Vajrasattva, who represents true enlightenment. Around him are four groups of four, interpreted by Amoghavajra in his Gijutsu commentary (T 1004) as follows (Astley-Kristensen 1991:17):

1 Wisdom Body, Jap. chi-shin = jñāna-kaya

2 Absorption Body, Jap. sammai-shin = samādhi-kāya

3 Worship, Jap. kuyō, pūjā-kāya

4 Concerned with gathering sentient beings and drawing them into the Buddhist fold, saṅgraha-kāya.

The preserved Surocolo bronzes represent 1 Vajrasattva, 2-5 the four vajriṇīs, 7 Dīpa, and 9 Dhūpā.

Rāgavajriṇī (2) is identical with her representation in the Japanese maṇḍala illustrated above. She is clearly a goddess and cannot be the male bodhisattva Vajrakarma. Vajrakarma does not hold a bell. In the pūjāmaṇḍala he holds aloft a viśvavajra in both hands (Ishida 2.118). Fontein (66C) himself has pointed out that she is a female divinity. Rāgavajra, the male consort of Rāgavajriṇī, holds a makara-pennant.

66C. Rāgavajriṇī

Kelikila-vajriṇī (3) has been named Vajrabhāṣa(?) by Fontein 66D. Vajrabhāṣa holds a tongue (bhāṣa) on a lotus, and not a stūpa.

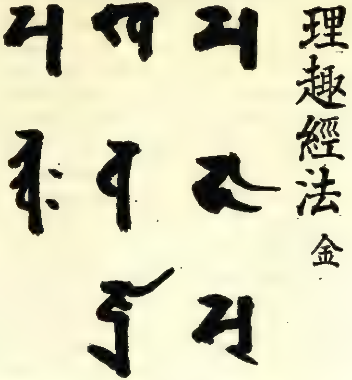
Manoja-vajriṇī (4) has been identified as Vajrarāga by Fontein 66A. Her male consort Iṣṭavajra holds an arrow of Cupid:

66A. Manoja-vajriṇī

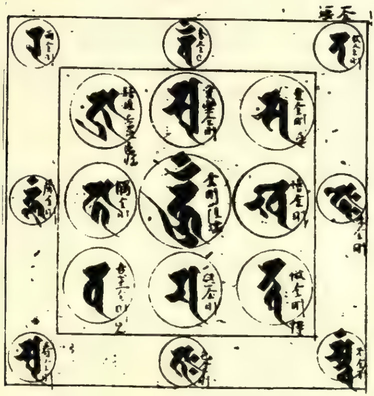
Māna-vajriṇī (5) corresponds to the Japanese maṇḍala. She has been identified as Vajrarakṣa by Fontein 66B. Māna means 'approval': she is showing approval by clapping her hands. Her male consort Mānavajra has a similar mudrā:

66B. Māna-vajriṇī

Vajrasattva is accompanied by sixteen goddesses in the prime of youth. He is called Mahāsukha-Vajrasattva in the Rishūkyōbō/ Nayasūtra-kalpa by Kōbō Daishi (AD 774-835):



His cycle is known as the 'mandala of Great Bliss'/Mahāsukha-maṇḍala in Shūei. "Human desires and delusions are here revealed as the energies of enlightenment" (Yamasaki 1988:144). Vajrasattva is the absolute realm, and the vajriṇīs are the principle of the relationship between the phenomenal and the absolute (Astley-Kristensen 1991:120). The bīja-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva (TZ 124.2/5.820) is <u>Vajrasattva mahāsukha bahu-suratastvaṁ jah hūṁ hoh</u>:



Bīja-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva in the Rishūkyō-mandara of Gonkaku (AD 1056-1121), TZ 124.2.

THE 17-DEITY MANDALA OF SIXTEEN-ARMED HEVAJRA

The remaining statuettes can be assigned to the maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra (NSP.5, text p. 14). This mandala has the following 17 deities:

1	Hevajra, on Four Māras
2-9	Gaurī, Caurī, Vetālī, Ghasmarī, Pukkasī, Śabarī, Caṇḍālī, Ḍombinī
10-13	Corners: Vaṁśā, Vīṇā, Mukundā, Murajā
14-17	Gates: Hayāsyā, Sūkarāsyā, Śvānāsyā, Siṁhāsyā.

Hevajra is not found in the Surocolo hoard. He belongs to the family of Heruka. He is referred to as Heruka in the Niṣpannayogāvalī (text p. 14). Zoetmulder (1982:1.621) records only one occurrence of the word Heruka in Sutasoma 125.10 in the description of yoga among the corpses on the battlefield: sumādhya ri turuna bhaṭāra Heruka. A stone statue of Heruka has been found in Bahal II, Padang Lawas (Kempers 1959:75-76 plate 228). Heruka (an epiphany of Akṣobhya) includes five deities in the anuttara-yoga tantras: Saṁvara, Hevajra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāya and Ārali.

Fontein (1990:223) points out: "The three largest statuettes have lotus pedestals of a type that is quite different from that of the smaller bronzes, and are of markedly inferior workmanship. One of these three represents Śiva. It could not have been part of the original Buddhist ensemble, which constitutes the remnants of a three-dimensional maṇḍala". These three statuettes are firstly the largest, and secondly their workmanship is far inferior to the other 19 statuettes. They could have been deposited under the pedestal of an image, and hence their inferior quality. From under the stone pedestal of the monumental Avukana Buddha in Srilanka five bronze images were discovered in 1952. They were placed inside a garbhapātra cavity of the rock. They were Brahmā, Kubera, Indra, Yama and Varuṇa (Schroeder 1991:158, 302-303). Bronze images used as deposits in garbhapātras were generally less finely modelled (ibid. 302).

The Sixteen-armed Hevajra stands on Four Māras (NSP.5, text p. 14), who are:

Brahmā	yellow	Skandha-Māra
Viṣṇu	black	Kleśa-Māra
Maheśvara	shining (śubhra)	Mṛtyu-Māra
Śakra	white (gaura)	Devaputra-Māra

The four feet of Sixteen-armed Heruka are placed on the Four Māras (Māra-catuṣṭaya) who are in the form of Hari, Hara, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Purandara, lying supine (uttāna, NSP.8, text p. 20).

Vajrāsana Buddha sits on a throne constituted by the images of the Four Māras (SM.3 p.20, 5 p.24):

		SM 3	SM 5
Skandha-Māra	white	gaura	gaura
Kleśa-Māra	red	rakta	rakta
Mṛtyu-Māra	blue	kṛṣṇa	nīla
Devaputra-Māra	dark	śyāma	śyāma

Thus Śiva of Surocolo corresponds to Maheśvara, Hara, or Mṛtyu-Māra in the above maṇḍalas. He and the other two must have been placed under a Buddhist statue. Their workmanship is inferior on purpose, to denigrate their status in the Buddhist context.

Gaurī has four arms in the maṇḍala:
right hands: draw the arrow, vajra-chopper (vajra-kartri)
left hands: bow and cranium
Fontein's 66P on p. 229 is a two-armed Gaurī with her right hand drawing an arrow on the bow in the left. Four severed heads dangle from the left hand holding the bow. They are the cranium of the NSP. Fontein has identified the statuette as Vināyaka with bow and arrow(?). Vināyaka has the head of an elephant without exception. The statuette does not have an elephant-head and cannot be a Vināyaka. She is clearly a female divinity with a serene and beautiful face: no chance of her being a Vināyaka.

Caurī has four arms in the maṇḍala with vajra, ḍamaru, hook and cranium. The statuette 66N holds a vajra in the right hand, while the outstretched left hand held "a now-broken and unidentifiable attribute" (Fontein). The left must have held a hook (aṅkuśa).

Statuette 66Q holds a "mirror or the disk of the sun, while a few links of a chain, cast separately and probably made of silver, are attached to it. Edi Sedyawati has identified this figure as Vajrasphoṭī (Fontein). The disk has an extension like a foot and thus it cannot be the disk of the sun. It could have been a mirror with a handle, but she is not in the posture of looking at a mirror. It can be a bowl with a handle and she can be Vetālī who holds a bowl (karoṭaka) in her left hand. In the Pañcaḍāka maṇḍala she has a chain (sphoṭa, NSP. p. 75). The chain cast separately and attached to the Surocolo statuette may have been affixed subsequently to identify her definitively as Vetālī.

The four corners of the maṇḍala of Hevajra are occupied by four goddesses of music:

10	Vaṁśā	5.8 cm	66G
11	Vīṇā	5.8 cm	66K
12	Mukundā	5.8 cm	66H
13	Murajā	5.4 cm	66J

The three statuettes of Vaṁśā, Mukundā and Murajā, out of the four goddesses of music, have been correctly identified, but statuette 66K has been designated Vajragīti by Fontein, as he locates her in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, even though the other three goddesses of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Vajralāsyā, Vajramālā, and Vajranṛtyā) are absent. Fontein says that she "accompanies herself on the harp (Vīṇā)... shown with seven pegs". She clearly belongs to the set of four goddesses of music and is none else but Vīṇā.

The statuette 66M has been identified by Sedyawati as Hayāsyā. She holds an elephant hook (aṅkuśa) in the right hand and the head of a boar in the left. As her head has porcine fangs and as she holds the severed head of a boar, Fontein would like to identify her as Sūkarāsyā. Because she holds a boar's head, she cannot be Sūkarāsyā, who already occurs as 66L. Hayāsyā carries a hook (aṅkuśa) like Vajrāṅkuśī (NSP text p. 15) and has a distorted face (vikṛta-vadanā, Sādhanamālā p. 179). The Surocolo statuette carries a hook in the right hand and her face is disfigured by the fangs. She seems to be Hayāsyā.

Sūkarāsyā (66L) grasps a vajra near the chest, and the attribute of the right hand is broken. It should have been a noose (pāśa). Sūkarāsyā holds a pāśa like Vajrapāśī (NSP. p. 15).

The confusion in the identification of the Surocolo and other bronzes arises out of the effort to accommodate them only in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. It was not realised that other maṇḍalas were also prevalent in Indonesia. This is evident from the discussion of Fontein (p.227) on 66K who is in reality Vīṇā, but has been identified as Vajragīti to accommodate her in the Vajradhātu system: "Vajragīti is usually accompanied by Vajralāsī, Vajramālā, and Vajranṛtyā. In some types of maṇḍala these goddesses have been replaced by the four heavenly musicians, Vaṁśā, Mukundā, Murajā, and Vīṇā. As the first three of this group are represented in Surocolo, it is possible that the goddess of song, who accompanies herself on the vīṇā, is in reality the goddess Vīṇā, the fourth goddess of this group. This same uncertainty applies to the statuette from Nganjuk, for one of the Nganjuk pieces photographed by the Archaeological Service in the Termijtelen collection represents Mukundā or Murajā, indicating that the Nganjuk maṇḍala may also have contained a set of the heavenly musicians".

UNIDENTIFIED MAṆḌALA

The two statuettes 66R and 66S fall into a separate set because of their small round lotus pedestals. They have been identified as Vajranṛtyā and Vajralāsī(?).

SUROCOLO

The name of the hamlet Surocolo is Sanskrit Surācala, that is Sumeru. The Jain Harivaṃśa-purāṇa 5.373-376 gives Surālaya and Suragiri as the synonyms of Sumeru. Surācala means the 'Mountain of the Gods' like Sura-giri. The maṇḍala of Vajrasattva was on the Sumeru (NSP. p. 8). Likewise other maṇḍalas were also on the Sumeru (eg. NSP. p. 27). Surocolo must have been like the Ri-bo-che in Tibet. Ri-bo-che means the Great (che) Mountain (ri-bo), like Surocolo the Divine (sura) Mountain (acala). The expression mountain connotes the rising monumental form of Tashigomang in Tibet, which were complexes of cave entrances with myriads of icons, either painted or sculpted. They were also known as kumbum (sku-ḥbum). They were a specific architectural type, and were consecrated with several kinds of maṇḍalas. Such maṇḍala complexes could be seen in the Maṇḍala Hall at Tabo (erased by time), and at Tholing (now vandalised). The maṇḍala complexes are spread all over the Tibetan-speaking world, like the ones at Alchi, the Jo-naṅ Thoṅ-grol-chen-mo of about AD 1330 (Vitali 1990:126, pl. 82 on p. 128, fig. 16 on p. 129), Dpal Ri-bo-che constructed in AD 1449-56 (Vitali 1990:125, pl. 75 & 76 on p. 129), Rgyaṅ-bum-mo-che of the 15th century (Vitali 1990:126, pl. 83 on p. 128, fig. 17 on p. 129), Dpal-ḥkhor-chos-sde "Śrīcakra temenos" or the Gyantse Kumbum constructed in the 15th century, the Kumbum Jambaling in Amdo in the birthplace of Tsongkhapa, and so on. The sacred precincts of the Gyantse Kumbum are called Dpal-ḥkhor bde-chen in the Myaṅ-chuṅ chronicles. It means "Śrīcakra Mahāsukha". Mahāsukha Vajrasattva was a dominant deity in the Buddhist world. The presence of his maṇḍala in the Surocolo bronzes is no wonder. The central principle of the Gyantse complex is symbolised in its highest cella by Vajradhara.

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महासुख - वज्रसत्व

66 T वज्रसत्व

66 E वज्रधूपा

66 F वज्रदीपा

66 P गौरी (?)

66 N चौरी (?)

66 G वेताली (?)

66 G वंशा

66 h वीणा

66 H मुकुन्दा

66 J . . मुरजा

66 M. हयास्या

66 L शूकरास्या

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LOKESH CHANDRA

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COMPARATIVE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE GODDESS UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ

BY

LOKESH CHANDRA (New Delhi)

So far no systematic attempt has been made to survey the earliest texts on Uṣṇīṣavijayā and her various iconographic types. The general description from all over Asia as given by Alice Getty (1928 : 135) suffers from serious inadequacies, to illustrate : the Mongolian name given by her as *rasiyan usnir-tu* is not attested by any source : it seems that *rasiyan* has been extracted out of context from some passage. The Chinese and Japanese names given by Getty are *Fo-ting* and *Butchō*, which simply mean *uṣṇīṣa* : they refer only to the uṣṇīṣa deities in general which are five, eight or nine in number. *Fo-ting/ Butchō* are not Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Her translation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā as 'having the intelligence of the most splendid Perfect One' is again wrong. Uṣṇīṣavijayā is 'crowning victory'. She again errs in saying that the three faces of Uṣṇīṣavijayā «are all, as a rule, sweet in expression». The right face is serene and the left is fierce in sādhanas devoted to her (SM. 191, 211, 212). Getty says that there «may be a small image of Vairocana» in her chignon (*uṣṇīṣa*) : it is not 'may be' but a must. Getty has confused the viśvavajra in the original right hand and the vase in the left hand on the lap as : «there are the 'four ornaments' falling from under the cover of the vase, and from cover itself rises an aśoka branch». The so-called 'four ornaments' are the four points of the viśvavajra and there is no branch from the vase, but the confusion can arise on a casual look even at the two figures illustrated by her on plate XLI, figs *b*, *c*. Getty concludes : «In Japan she is looked upon as the deification of the Buddha's uṣṇīṣa. Her form resembles the Tibetan representation of the goddess, but she is little known». No image or drawing of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is known from Japan and hence we have no basis to compare her form in Japan with that of Tibet. The Chinese tradition is also bereft of the images and drawings of Uṣṇīṣavijayā. The only images that we come across in China belong to the Lamaist denomination and are of non-Chinese milieu.

This article is an effort to present Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the Sino-Japanese tradition and a classification of her iconographic types on the evidence from Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Mongolian sources.

Names

In Uighur she is known by her Sanskrit name transliterated as *Uśnisa vičai* (Müller 1911 : 27).

In China and Japan her names are: ***Fo-ting-tsui-shêng*** in Chinese and ***Bucchō-sonshō*** in Japanese (Nj. 348 = T. 967, Nj. 349 = T. 968, Nj. 350 = T. 971). In his second translation of the *dhāraṇī* (Nj. 351 = T. 970) done during A.D. 676—687 Divākara changed the order of the compound to ***Tsui-shêng-fo-ting*** (Jap. *Sonshō-bucchō*, Sanskrit **Vijaya-uṣṇīṣa*), though in his earlier translation he had Fo-ting-tsui-shêng. During the years A.D. 973—981 Dharmadeva(?) (Fa-tien) retranslated the dhāraṇī and used the term ***Tsui-shêng-fo-ting*** (= *Vijaya-uṣṇīṣa*, Nj. 796 = T. 974a). In his other translation (Nj. 871 = T. 978) Dharmadeva(?) used another designation for the goddess: ***Wu-sê-ni-sha-tsui-shêng***, in Japanese *Ushinishasaishō*, where *uṣṇīṣa* was transcribed and *vijayā* was translated. This indicates that the meditation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā was widespread in China and Japan as a recitation of the dhāraṇī, but it had not crystallised into a popular Chinese name. Her images are not found in the Far East except in Lamaist contexts as at Fei-lang-feng in the 13th century.

In Tibetan, she is known as *Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ba* in the translation of Ye-śes-sde and others who lived in the ninth century (Chattopadhyaya 1967 : 176) and of Ba-ri lo-tsā-va who was born in A.D. 1040 (Roerich 1949 : 405). In all the four Tibetan versions (Toh. 594—597) of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, the name of the deity ends in the masculine affix *ba*. In the Tibetan version of *Neḥu-mkhan-po* and *Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan* (Toh. 598) her name ends in the feminine suffix *ma*. Mkhas-grub-rje (1385—1438) uses the term *Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal* (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 114) or its short form *Rnam-rgyal* (Vijayā), without any gender indicator. Her Mongolian name is *Uśniq-a bijiy-a eke* in the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* (360 Icons) 247, wher *eke* means 'mother'. The *q* in *Uśniq-a* indicates that *ṣ* was pronounced as *kh*.

Texts

The earliest existing Sanskrit manuscript of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* is the one preserved at the Horyuji monastery in Japan since A.D. 609.

This dhāraṇī was translated/transliterated into Chinese fifteen times from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries. They are listed below in chronological order:

A.D. 676. Buddhapālita of Kashmir came to China and translated it under the title: ***Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching*** (T. 967 = Nj. 348).

A.D. 679. Translated and transcribed by Chinese functionary of the Court Tu hsing-i under the same title (T. 968 = Nj. 349).

A.D. 682. Translated by Divākara (613—687) of Central India under the title of *Fo-ting-tsui-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching* (T. 969 = Nj. 352). Divākara translated it a second time in a fuller version under the new title: *Tsui-shêng-fo-ting t'o-lo-ni ching ch'u yeh-chang ching* (T. 970 = Nj. 351).

A.D. 710. Translated by I-tsing (635—713) under the title: *Fo-shuo fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching* (T. 971 = Nj. 350).

A.D. 741—774. Translated and transcribed by Amoghavajra as: *Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni nien-sung i-kuei* (T. 972 = Nj. 1421) in 11 leaves with the Sanskrit text and its transliteration in parallel columns for recitation (*nien-sung/nenjū* 'japa', *i-kuei/giki* 'kalpa').

A.D. 741—774. Sanskrit text and transliteration by Amoghavajra, given by F. Max Müller (1884: pl. no. 1). It differs from the above (T. 972).

A.D. 716—735. Translated and transcribed by Śubhakara-simha as: *Tsun-shêng-fo-ting hsiu yu-k'ie fa kuei-i* (T. 973, not in Nj.) which contains directions for the rites of Uṣṇīṣavijayā according to the yogatantric system.

A.D. 973—981. Translated by Dharmadeva(?) (Fa-t'ien) in 3 leaves during the Sung dynasty under the title: *Tsui-shêng-fo-ting t'o-lo-ni ching* (T. 974[a] = Nj. 796). He translated and transcribed it again in 9 leaves under a new name: *Fo-shuo i-ch'ieh ju-lai wu-sê-ni-sha-tsui-shêng tsung ch'ih ching* (T. 978 = Nj. 871).

A.D. 980—1000. Translated by Dānapala(?) under the title *Fo-shuo tsun-shêng ta-ming-wang ching* (T. 1413 = Nj. 834). Another translation by Dānapala(?) entitled *Fo-shuo shêng-tsui shêng t'o-lo-ni ching* (T. 1409 = Nj. 878).

A.D. 963—1058 (arrived at Pieng-leang in 1004 where he died in 1058). Text and transliteration by Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) of Western India. Text given by F. Max Müller (1884) from the inscription erected by the Chin noble Fêng Chang-ming in A.D. 1147.

A.D. 1326. Translated by Dhyānabhadra of Central India, of the kṣatriya caste, who arrived via China to Korea in 1326 and died there in 1363? (Hōbōgirin, fascicule annexé, p. 148b), under the title: *Ushinishabisaya-darani* (in Japanese pronunciation, T. 979, not in Nj.).

A.D. ? Translated by Hōshū, *Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching chiao tsi i chi* (T. 1803, not in Nj.).

From the above we see a continuous stream of Chinese renderings of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, texts on its recitation and ritual, by eminent Indian and Chinese savants, including the great traveller I-tsing besides Śubhakara and Amoghavajra, the two founders of vajrayāna. Śubhakara translated her more esoteric yogatantric rites, while Uṣṇīṣavijayā belonged primarily to the earlier *kriyātantra* stage of the development of *mantrayāna*. All this goes to prove the widespread vogue of her meditation in the Far East, that even as

late as the fourteenth century, Dhyānabhadra during his sojourn in Korea felt the call for a new translation.

In Tibet there are five translations of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*:

Toh. 597 *Ārya-sarva-durgati-pariśodhanī-uṣṇīṣavijaya nāma dhāraṇī*, transl. by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, and Ye-śes-sde (9th cent.).

Toh. 594 *Sarva-tathāgat-oṣṇīṣa-vijaya-nāma-dhāraṇī kalpa-sahitā*, transl. by Chos-kyi-sde and Ba-ri (born A.D. 1040).

Toh. 595 same title, anonymous translator.

Toh. 596 same title as 594, translator not known.

Toh. 598 *Sarva-tathāgat-oṣṇīṣavijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī-kalpa*, transl. by Neḥu mkhan-po and Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan.

Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 115), the chief disciple of Tsoṅ-kha-pa the founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibet, distinguishes the interrelationship of the above five texts as follows: The first and third are identical in contents and the divergence in wording is due to different translators. At the request of Avalokiteśvara, Amitāyus pronounced this dhāraṇī in the Dharma-saṅgīti cave in Sukhāvatī. It has nine deities. The third text (Toh. 595) says that Yama the Daṇḍadhara protects those who retain it. In the Chinese translation by Dharmadeva(?) there is a similar introduction: in Sukhāvatī Amitāyus addressed this dhāraṇī to Avalokiteśvara and caused many beings to be born in that country (Müller 1884 : 34).

The second text in Tibetan (Toh. 597) was promulgated by the Bhagavat in the Trayastrimśa heaven. «When the omens of death appeared to the Devaputra Susthira, he perceived that he would die within a week and would be reborn successively in seven lives as a dog, a pig, and other beings, and then would be reborn in the Avīci Hell. He implored the powerful one of the gods, Indra, for protection, but was told, 'I cannot help you', and was led into the presence of the Bhagavat, whom he implored. From the Uṣṇīṣa of the Bhagavat's head rays of light issued forth, and the sounds of a dhāraṇī issued forth. Thereupon the Devaputra muttered the dhāraṇī for six days, and all the karmic hindrances which cause re-birth in an evil destiny were removed». (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 115)

In their Chinese translations Buddhapālita, Tu hsing-i, I-tsing and Divākara (both versions) give a similar account in the introduction to the dhāraṇī: «[At one time] Buddha lived in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. Then there was a Devaputra called Sushṭhita, who was destined to die on the seventh day, and to go to receive the body of a tiryagyoni, or a lower animal, in seven successive births, and then to fall into niraya or naraka. Fearing these future misfortunes, he consulted (lit. addressed) Śakra, the Indra or king of the Devas, who in turn asked Buddha for his help. [On that occasion] Buddha uttered this Dhāraṇī, and made the Devaputra to remember it. By this merit the latter increased his life, and obtained the prophecy of his attaining to the Bodhi» (Müller 1884 : 33).

The fourth text (Toh. 596) teaches the dhāraṇī and its placement in stūpas.

The fifth (Toh. 598) imparts the *sādhana* of the 33 Uṣṇīṣavijayā goddesses (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 115). Sixteen of these 33 Uṣṇīṣavijayā goddesses on. sixteen petals of the lotus are produced from the sixteen *śūnyatā*. Then 16 *śūnyatā* are enumerated in the *Yogaratnamālā* (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 28 n. 17). In Tibet a 17-deity maṇḍala is dedicated to Uṣṇīṣavijayā with the 16 *śūnyatā*.

Iconography

Uṣṇīṣavijayā, as the main goddess, is without exception eighthanded and the attributes are fairly constant though their position in the hands may deviate slightly. She also occurs in a subsidiary role in the maṇḍalas of other deities where her characteristics are quite different and she has two arms. As such she may be deemed to be a separate goddess inspite of an identical appellation. As twoarmed she has the following three forms:

Two-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

1. Uṣṇīṣavijayā appears in the zenith of the second circle of the maṇḍala of VajraTārā (Niṣp. 16.10). She has the *cakra* «wheel» in her right hand, while the left is in the *tarjanī mudrā* of threatening. Seated on a lotus in *vajra-paryaṅka* posture and of white complexion, she wears golden earrings, and textiles of exotic weave. Her *kuleśa* is Ratneśa (*Niṣp.* text p. 39).

In *sādhanas* 94, 95 (SM.1.185, 1.191), she is yellow in complexion. In *sādhana* 95 (SM.1.191) she is called Uṣṇīṣavijayā-tārā and in the decasyllabic mantra *oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* she corresponds to the last syllable *hā*. In *sādhana* 97 (SM.1.198) she is white in complexion, is seated on the sun, holds a white *vajra* (*śukla-vajra-dharāṁ*) in her right hand, and her left hand is in the *tarjanī mudrā* of menacing enemies. In *sādhana* 110 of Ratnākaraśānti (SM.1. 129) as well, she is white and holds the *vajra* (v.l. *cakra*) in her right hand and menaces the wicked ones by her left hand in the *tarjanī mudrā*. The variant reading of *cakra* in place of *vajra* in this *sādhana* is highly significant in that it points to an early error whereby *vajra* inadvertently replaced *cakra*, which should be the appropriate symbol of Uṣṇīṣavijayā the feminine counterpart of Uṣṇīṣacakravartī.

2. Uṣṇīṣavijayā (Tib. *Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma*) is the third of the Twelve Dhāraṇī Goddesses in the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa (Niṣp.21.60). As such she is the personification of her dhāraṇī. She is white, has one face and two hands. In the right hand she holds the *viśvavajra* (like the other eleven Dhāraṇī Goddesses) and in her left a vase full of moonstones (*candrakānta-maṇi-kalaśa-hastā*). Her *kuleśa* is Amoghasiddhi (Niṣp.

text p. 65). She and her ritual are described at length in the *Rin-lhan* which is a *sādhana-mālā* by the Paṇchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (Lokesh Chandra 1974: part 2, folio 58a 4). The whole of this collection of *sādhanas* was illustrated in the Lamaist album entitled *Rin-ḥbyuṅ* (Raghu-Vira/Lokesh Chandra 1963—64). She is illustrated on folio 90a as one of the deities handed down from Śākyarakṣita. Her name is: Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal phyag-gñis-ma=Dvibhujā Uṣṇīṣavijayā, that is, Two-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā. The mantra for meditation on her is given under the illustration itself: *Oṁ amṛite amṛitodbhave amṛitavikrānte amitagate amṛitagāmini amṛita-āyur-dade gagana-kīrti-kare sarva-kleśa-ksayaṅkari-ye svāhā. Oṁ supratiṣṭha-vajrāyai svāhā. sarva-maṅgalaṁ bhavantu.* In the Japanese manual on the *bījas* and *mantras* of Shingon deities, entitled *Bonshū Shittan shūji ruijū* (Koyasan 1968) her mantra runs: *vaṁ/om amṛita-tejavati svāhā.*

3. In the 15th century wood-carving on the struts of the Newar monastery of Chuṣya Bāhā (Guṇākara-mahāvihāra) in Kathmandu (Nepal 1977: 63, 64 fig. 33), Uṣṇīṣavijayā is the fourth of the Seven Goddesses, holding a fruit in her right hand and a nectar-jar in the left as guaranteeing long life,

Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

4. Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijaya in the Svayambhū-kṣetra, Nepal is described by Amṛtānanda in his Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha p. 60 no. 21: three faces (*trimukha*); six arms: right – arrow (*śarakṣepa*), garland, *varada mudrā*, left — bow, lotus, and the third rests on the lap (*urustha*); *caitya* above the crest-jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*). Tārā sits in his lap, she has one face, and two hands in *varada* and *abhaya mudrās*.

5. Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the *Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha* 88 no. 7: *Uṣṇīṣavijayā, ekamukha. ṣaḍbhujā. dakṣe hṛdi. prathame viśvavajradaṇḍa. dvitīye tathāgata. tṛtīye śara. kamale vajrāsana.* This means that Uṣṇīṣavijayā has one face and six arms: the right hand is placed near the heart with a staff crowned by a *viśvavajra*, the second right hand holds a statue of Tathāgata, and the third wields the arrow. She is seated on a lotus (Bhattacharyya 1974: 36). The attributes of the left hands have been overlooked by the author or missed by the scribe who copied the present exemplar.

In the *Sacred Art of Tibet* 1972: 27 a novenarian maṇḍala of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kham is illustrated where she has six arms, but the attributes are not clear in the reproduction.

Eight-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

6. The usual and widespread form of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is eight-armed. She is white, sits in *vajrāsana*, and has three faces: the centre one is white; the right yellow or golden, and serene, and the left black or blue, and fierce. Each has a third eye on the forehead. She has eight hands:

right hands hold	left hands hold
1 *viśvavajra* near the heart	*abhaya mudrā*
2 image of Buddha on a lotus or a lotus inscribed *HRĪḤ*	noose (*pāśa*) in *tarjanī mudrā*
3 arrow	bow
4 *varada mudrā*	vase (*pūrṇa-kumbha*)

She is in the prime of her youth, clad in divine garments, decked with all ornaments, resides in the sanctum of the *caitya* (*caitya-guhā-garbha-sthitām*), and bears the image of Vairocana on her crown (*vairocana-mukuṭinīm, sādhana* 191 of the *Sādhanamālā* 2.394). The *sādhana* 211 (SM.2.417) is more specific in defining the attributes of the second right hand as: Amitābha on a red lotus (*rakt-āravindastha-Amitābha-jina*). The same *sādhana* terms the vase as *bhadra-ghaṭa*. In this form, she was popular in Nepal, Tibet, Hsi-hsia, Mongolia and Buryatia (USSR). She has been described by several European savants like Albert Grünwedel (1900: 150, illus: fig. 107, 123, 125) on the basis of *sādhana* 191 of the *Sādhanamālā*. Amarendra Nath (1977: 41—44) has identified a Hsi-hsia print from Kharakhoto as pertaining to Uṣṇīṣavijayā. This print (KKII 0283.a.xxi) belongs to the first edition of the Hsi-hsia *Tripiṭaka*, the *Hsi-hsia kan*, printed before the annihilation of the Hsi-hsia dynasty in 1227. This identification is supported by the prevalence of the worship of Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā at Kharakhoto. In the Ermitage Museum, Leningrad, there are two identical maṇḍalas of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kharakhoto, differing only in the portraits of the donors, one male and the other female. In them Uṣṇīṣavijayā is flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, with two goddesses flying over, surrounded in the exterior square by Four Krodhas in the four directions and four more on the corners outside the circle of flames. It is gouache on wood, 1.30 × 1.08 m. At the lower right angle, the donor is painted in Hsi-hsia dress, his hair is cut in local fashion, and he has a coiffure found in other portraits from Kharakhoto. It implies local production (Auboyer 1977: 79 no. 26, illus. on p. 83). A fourth Hsi-hsia representation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is again in the Ermitage Museum, Leningrad, bearing the number Y-377, gouache on wood, 0.183 × 0.12 m, whose style is very close to Pāla art. Uṣṇīṣavijayā has been found many times at Kharakhoto, where her cult was widespread (Auboyer 1977: 81 no. 33 illus.on p. 85). All these Kharakhoto representations of Uṣṇī-ṣavijayā are prior to A.D. 1227. Even after the fall of the Hsi-hsia empire, the Hsi-hsia monks continued to be active in the erection of statues of deities popular among them and the publication of the second edition of the *Tripiṭaka*

in their language. The region around Hangchow became the centre of their activities and all the tantric images in this area are due to their endeavours. An Uṣṇīṣavijayā, flanked by bodhisattvas, is carved on the limestone cliff at the Fei-lai-feng-ssŭ near Hanchow in China. It is dated to 1292 in the inscription. The sculptural style «derives wholly from the common Sung practice» (Watson 1971 : 7), but the inscription gives the name of the donor as Yanglianzhenjia (of unknown nationality) who was the Director of Priests for the region and was responsible for the group of esoteric Buddhist sculptures. Mrs. Heather Karmay (1975 : 24) points out that tantric images abound in Fei-lai-feng and it was an active Lamaist centre around 1300. It was here that Guanzhuba (Kanjurpa) completed the printing of the second edition of Hsi-hsia *Tripiṭaka* in 1302. It affirms the continued popularity of Uṣṇīṣavijayā among the Hsi-hsia people, who still must have entertained hopes of regaining the cultural glories of their past kingdom and worshipped Uṣṇīṣavijayā the symbol of crowning (*uṣṇīṣa*) victory (*vijaya*) who had blessed them in the days of their majestic grandeur.

On the first plane of the Gyantse Kumbum which dates to the early 15th century a chapel is dedicated to Rnam-par-rgyal-ma (Uṣṇīṣavijayā) named after her. She is accompanied by Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and two devaputras. She is surrounded by her maṇḍala inspired by the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (Tucci 1941 : IV.1.201,IV.3 tav. 207)

Prof. G. Tucci (1949 : 2.579 thaṅka 147 plate 180) illustrates an exquisite thaṅka scroll of 108 Uṣṇīṣavijayā according to the traditional iconography given above. «In Tibet there is a liturgy, dedicated to her, which goes back to Maitripa. In our times, with the Yellow school, wide circulation is being given to a handbook of the Paṇchen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma, called Bcom-ldan-ḥdas rnam-par-rgyal-maḥi-sgrub-dkyil : ḥchi-med bdud-rtsiḥi bum-byaṅ».

A. Neven (1975 : 37 pl. 75) illustrates a 22 cm. gilded bronze of Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā (Tib. Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma) of the 17 – 18th century. His observations on the attributes of the hands differ in three instances : holds Amitābha, the *dhyānibuddha* whose emanation she is, in *buddha-sharamana* (sic !)-*mudrā* ; *vitarka-mudrā* holding the *pāśa* above ; the *kalaśa* held in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Neven has not specified the source of his information.

The catalogue of the Tibet House Museum (1965 : 70—71) at New Delhi which was originally written in the Tibetan language by Tibetan scholars, has the following variations in interpretation «the second holds an image of Amitābha on a puṇḍarīka . . . The first left hand in dhyāna mudrā holds an urn, the second in karaṇa mudrā holds a vajramālā near the heart . . .»

The eight-armed form is illustrated in albums of the Lamaist pantheon by Lcaṅ-skya Incarnate Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje or Lalitavajra (1717 – 1786) who was the Imperial Preceptor to Ch'ien-lung (1736 – 1795) and was the dominating personality of culture during the 18th century. His album of 300 Icons. 164

illustrates *Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma* (*Uṣṇīṣavijayā*) with the mantra *Oṁ bhrūṁ svāhā, amṛita-āyur-dade svāhā*. The Lcaṅ-skya Incarnate compiled another album of 360 Icons entitled Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan wherein Uṣṇīṣavijayā is illustrated along with her eulogy in Chinese, and her name in Tibetan (*Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal-ma*), Chinese (*Tsun-shêng fo-mu*), Mongolian (*Usniq-a bijiy-a eke*), and Manchu. A remarkable set of 766 statuettes was done under the direction of Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje for the Imperial Mother in 1771(?) and these were preserved in the Pao-hsiang Lou pavilion (Clark 1937 : 1.xiii). This too includes Uṣṇīṣavijayā with the pedestal 6M3 inscribed in Chinese *Tsun-shêng fo-mu* (*Tsun-shêng = Vijayā*). She is repeated in this pantheon in a subsidiary position 6 B 26, with the same Chinese inscription on the pedestal. The album *Rin-ḥbyuṅ* sketches all the deities described in the *Rin-lhan* (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1963—64) which is a comprehensive and classified Tibetan *Sādhanamālā* by the Paṇchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1781—1852 var. 1854). Rin-ḥbyuṅ 64c illustrates Uṣṇīṣavijayā as one of the *āyuḥsādhana* deities, that is, for prolonging life. It illustrates Uṣṇīṣavijayā twice more: in the section on the Vajrāvalī (R17b) and again in the section on the Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa (S2b) as *Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal lha-dgu*, i.e. Nava-deva Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā with her retinue of eight. Furthermore, she is shown (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961—68 : 3.148) in the Mongolian Kanjur (xylographed in 1717—1720). She also appears in the Lhasa edition of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* xylographed by the Zhö printery of the Potala (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961—68 : 16.12) where the miniature Buddha held in her hand is replaced by the *bīja HRĪḤ*.

The full-fledged novenarian (9-deity) maṇḍala is found in the Ṅor series of the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus* (**Tantra-samuccaya*). She is one of the three Long-Life Deities who are auspicious at the end (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961—68 : 15.131). According to *sādhana* 211 (SM.2.418), this maṇḍala has Padmadhārī Lokeśvara to her right and Vajradhārī Vajrapāṇi to her left. Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi are flanked on the outer sides by two devaputras holding chowries (*cāmara-hasta*). The Four Krodhas are found in the four directions: Acala in the east, Ṭakkirāja in the south, Nīladaṇḍa in the west, and Mahābala in the north. In *sādhana* 212 the two flanking deities are termed Padma-Vajradharau (SM.2.420).

A tenth century bronze of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kashmir, 17.1 cm high, is interesting for seating her atop a *caitya* pedestal rather than inside one. The donor couple sits on the *caitya* pedestal in minimal dimension and the male appears to wear the Sahi dress (Pal 1975: fig. 70). The stone sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta is elegant in its composition and execution. (*Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2. clxvi, pl. XIV; *JISOA*. n.s.8 [1977], plate XVIII).

A Nepalese cotton scroll illustrating Uṣṇīṣavijayā is dated A.D. 1416 (28.5 × 22.5 inches). She sits within a stūpa flanked by bodhisattvas, with

caityas interspersed all over the composition. The inscription records that the painting was consecrated by Jasarāja to celebrate the *lakṣa-caitya* ceremony, whence the entire maṇḍala is overflowing with *caityas* in a delightful design. Pratapaditya Pal (1975b : 83 pl. 47) wonders : «she is the personification of a dhāraṇī (spell), but the reason for her depiction within the womb of a stūpa, or *chaitya*, is not clear». When she is the personification of the dhāraṇī, her form is different — she has two hands only holding the *viśvavajra* and a vase full of moonstones (see type 2 above). This confusion has arisen by the statement of B. Bhattacharyya (1958 : 215) : «it is not improbable that Uṣṇīṣavijayā is the deified form of the Dhāriṇī (sic) of the same name included in the group of twelve Dhāriṇī goddesses». Bhattacharyya has mixed up, instead of distinguishing, the various contexts in which Uṣṇīṣavijayā appears in different forms. In sweeping generalisations, intrinsic interrelationship of particular forms to their contexts has been overlooked and they have been clumped together in baffling confusion. The concept of different types dependent on the classification of the multiple textual traditions of sūtras and tantras has yet to be realised and a well-defined morphotypology of every deity has to be worked out. This paper is a step in this direction. The second point is : why is Uṣṇīṣavijayā in a *caitya*. Tarthang Tulku (1972 : pl. 27) provides the following explanation : «Uṣṇīṣavijayā is an emanation of the Uṣṇīsha, the victorious aspect of the Mind of the Buddha. This aspect cannot be conquered since it is not concerned with whether positive or negative forces are brought to bear in a particular situation. Only the situation itself is considered without judgement of good or bad and as a result any movement is a response to the situation rather than a reaction for or against it. Because Vijayā is an aspect of the Mind of the Buddha, she is often seen in the center of the caitya which symbolizes the Mind (*citta*)». Only if scholars had looked into the *Sādhanamālā*, they would have found that in the *sādhanas*, Uṣṇīṣavijayā is invariably within a *caitya: caitya-guhā-garbha-sthitām* (SM.2.394), *caitya-guh-āntaḥsthām* (SM.2.417), *caity-āntaragatām* (SM.2.420). Historians of art will have to consult original texts to interpret the pan-Asian tradition of Buddhist art. The paintings were originally based on texts which are happily extant. They were worshipped accompanied by the chanting of these scriptures. They can be articulated again in all their richness of expression only by resorting to texts in Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Sino-Japanese, whose neglect will only lead to doubts, misconceptions and misinterpretations.

Maṇḍalas

In this paper we have referred to a number of maṇḍalas of Uṣṇīṣavijayā. All of them differ in their structural typology, though the deities are fundamentally common.

1. Kharakhoto maṇḍala: 1 + 4 in the central circle, 4 in the rectangle, 4 in the corners.

2. Kham maṇḍala: 1 + 8 in the central circle.

3. Narthang maṇḍala is a square representation of 1 + 8.

4. Ñor maṇḍala of the Tantrasamuccaya 1 + 4 in the central circle + 4 krodhas in the rectangle.

5. Nepalese maṇḍala of A.D. 1416 with Uṣṇīṣavijayā in stūpa 1 + 4 + 4 + 8.

6. Roṅ-tha's diagram of the maṇḍala: 1 + 4 + 8. In the late 19th century the renowned Kham scholar Roṅ-tha Blo-bzaṅ-dam-chos-rgya-mtsho compiled a *thig-yig* for the construction and drawing of maṇḍalas of the various collections, such as the Vajrāvalī and Mi-tra-brgya-rtsa. Herein he explained the maṇḍala of Uṣṇīṣavijayā among the *kriyā*-tantras (*bya-baḥi rgyud*). Don-ḥgrub-rdo-rje (1978 : 88) has drawn it according to his instructions.

Key

Here below is a key to the different forms of Uṣṇīṣavijayā discussed above:

Two-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

1. r.h. *cakra*, l.h. *tarjanī mudrā*.
2. r.h. *viśvavajra*, l.h. vase full of moonstones.
3. r.h. fruit, l.h. nectar-jar.

Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

4. three faces, r.h. arrow, garland, *varada mudrā*;
   l.h. bow, lotus, third hand rests on the lap; *caitya* above crest-jewel.
5. one face, r.h. staff crowned by a *viśvavajra*, statue of Tathāgata, arrow;
   l.h. not specified.

Eight-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā

6. three faces, r.h. *viśvavajra* near heart, image of Buddha on a lotus, arrow, *varada mudrā*; l.h. *abhaya mudrā*, noose in *tarjanī mudrā*, bow, vase.

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He translates this passage, disregarding the punctuation of the ms. His translation has to be corrected in the light of our remarks, bearing in mind that the left hands have not been described by the author Amṛtānanda.

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INDEX

G. BETHLENFALVY, Bla-ma Bžad-pa and the Rdzoṅ-khul gompa 3
SH. BIRA, *The Clear Mirror* by Zaya-paṇḍita bLo-bZaṅ 'Phrin-Las 7
M. G. BRJANSKIJ, La conception *anatma* dans l'*Abidharmakośa* de Vasubandhu 17
I. ECSEDY, A Contribution to the History of Karluks in the T'ang Period 23
E. FILIBECK, A Note on Bla-ma Žabs-dkar of Amdo 39
W. HEISSIG, Geser-Kongruenzen 41
Y. IMAEDA, L'identification de l'original chinois du Pelliot tibétain 1291 — traduction tibétaine du *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 53
P. KLAFKOWSKI, Dharmatāla's *History of Buddhism in Mongolia* as an Unknown Account of the Life of the Sixth Dalai Lama 69
K. U. KŐHALMI, Geser Khan in tungusischen Märchen 75
P. KVAERNE, Mongols and Khitans in a 14th-Century Tibetan Bonpo Text 85
E. I. KYČANOV, Buddhism and State in Hsi Hsia from Juridical Aspect 105
K. LANGE, Tibetisch-mongolische Beziehungen im 13. Jahrhundert 113
F. K. LI, A Problem in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription 121
LOKESH CHANDRA, Comparative Iconography of the Goddess Uṣṇīsavijayā 125
A. W. MACDONALD, The Coming of Buddhism to the Sherpa Area of Nepal 139
M. MEJOR, The First Polish Description of Tibet from 1628 147
R. A. MILLER, Phone, Phoneme, and Graph in the Old Tibetan Grammarians 153
Á. MOLNÁR, An Agricultural Term in an Old Uighur Description of Hell 163
T. MORIYASU, La nouvelle interprétation des mots *Hor* et *Ho-yo-hor* dans le manuscrit Pelliot tibétain 1283 171
B. C. OLSCHAK, Palaeolinguistic Relics in the Himālayas 185
L. PETECH, Sang-ko, a Tibetan Statesman in Yüan China 193
M. SATO, Versuch einer Umschreibung der Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus vor Tsong kha pa 209
A. SÁRKÖZI, Some Words on the Mongolian *Mahāvyutpatti* 219
R. K. SPRIGG, Vowel Harmony in Noun-and-Particle Words in the Tibetan of Baltistan 235
E. STEINKELLNER, A Literary Source for Late 18th-Century Spoken Tibetan (Amdowa) 245
L. STERNBACH, Note on the «Identification» of Some Sayings in Sa Skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* 249
J. SZERB, Glosses on the oeuvre of bla-ma 'Phags-pa: II. Some notes on the events of the years 1251—1254 263
E. TAUBE, Gemeinsamkeiten zentralasiatischer Nomadenlieder 287
M. TAUBE, Tibetische Autoren zur Geschichte der *rGyud-bži* 297
A. WAYMAN, The *samādhi* Lists of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Mahāvyutpatti* 305
T. V. WYLIE, Monastic Patronage in 15th-Century Tibet 319
Z. YAMAGUCHI, Localisation de rTsang-yul 329

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~~Indologica Taurinensia~~

LOKESH CHANDRA

A Comparative Study of the Tibetan, Japanese, Indonesian and Khotanese Mandala of the Tattva-Sangraha

A Comparative Study of the Tibetan, Japanese, Indonesian and Khotanese Mandala of the *Tattva-Saṅgraha*

Lokesh Chandra, *India*

The tantras are invaluables texts for understanding India's esoteric texts, sculptures and paintings. They are a part of the creative tide of great thinkers compatible with the pantheonic sweep of India's immensity. They found their flowering in Central Asia, Indonesia, China, Japan, Korea, Nepal and above all in Tibet where they retained their dynamic development well into the middle of our century. Thousands of Tantric texts have been handed down to us in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Sino-Japanese, and stray fragments in Khotanese and Indonesian which are venerable vestiges of a rich tradition now lost. The vast ocean of tantras has been classified into four standard classes of *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *anuttara-yoga*. The Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur precisely follow this scheme of classification and all the texts are systematically arranged accordingly. In Tibet every great scholar wrote on the tantras and a significant and outstanding part of this oeuvre has become accessible in modern facsimile editions over the last two decades. A look at the Tibetan titles in the Accessions List (India) of the Library of Congress will reveal the colossal extent of Indo-Tibetan trantra lore. Very few Buddhist tantras have been published in the original Sanskrit versions. To remedy this lacuna, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* has been brought out in facsimile by Lokesh Chandra and David L. Snellgrove. Its romanised edition has been done by Isshi Yamada. Both have been published in the *Śatapiṭaka* series of the International Academy of Indian Culture. It is the fundamental text or *mūla-tantra* of the class of *yoga-tantras*. The palmleaf manuscript containing the Sanskrit text of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* was microfilmed by Professors John Brough and David L. Snellgrove in 1953-54. Paleographically, it can be dated to the eleventh century.

The teachings of the yoga school of tantras are set forth "in two works: the fundamental tantra *Tattvasaṅgraha* (Toh. 479), and the explanatory tantra *Vajraśekhara* (Toh. 480)." (Lessing/Wayman 1968:25). "Upon completing them, he became a Buddha as Mahāvairocana, the Sambhoga-kāya. Having become a Buddha, he performed the four kinds of marvel. He proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and pronounced the Yoga Tantras. Thereupon, he was born in the world of men as the son of king Śuddhodana, and displayed the method of the twelve acts" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:29). "Vairocana, dwelling in the Akanistha Heaven does not proceed elsewhere because he is the Sambhoga-kāya possessing the five certainties. But with the magical apparition *(nirmita)* of a Vairocana Nirmāṇa-kāya having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the caved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) of precious

N.H. Samtani and H.S. Prasad (eds.), ***Amalā Prajñā*: *Aspects of Buddhist Studies***, P.V. Bapat Vol., Indian Books Centre, Delhi, 1989.

thunder-bolts. There he took his place on a lion's throne (*simhāsana*) formed of the Bodhisattvas in their last life who had been transformed into the appearance of lions.......Thereupon, he set in motion the Wheel of the Law of the Yoga Tantra, including the Fundamental Tantra of all the Tantras of the Yoga class, the Explanatory Tantras, and the Tantras which conform to respective sections (*cha mthun*) of the Fundamental Tantra". (Lessing/Wayman 1968:215)

> "The Esoteric teachings in the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara Sūtras*, Kobo Daishi says, unconditionally reveal the innermost secrets of that eternal *samādhi* of Mahāvairocana; and by practicing Esoteric Buddhist methods of meditation, one can quickly experience the *samādhi* of Mahāvairocana. In other words, one can attain enlightenment" (Hakeda 1972:63; with Kukai replaced by Kobo Daishi).

The *Tattva-saṅgraha* was illustrated by Śubhakarasiṁha (A.D. 637-735) on a scroll which is known in Japan as the Rita-sogyara-gobu-shingan 'meditation on the five sections of the Ṛta-saṁhāra' (TZ. 54, 55, 56) with Sanskrit captions. *Ṛta-saṁhāra* is a synonym of *Tattva (ṛta)-saṅgraha (saṁhāra)*. Śubhakarasiṁha probably intended to translate the *tantra* into Chinese, but did not do so. Vajrabodhi had carried the text on his voyage to China but it was lost on the way when the flotilla was engulfed by a raging storm. He could save its portions for recitation which he translated into Chinese in A.D. 723 under the title of *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh chung lieo-chu nien-sung ching* (Jap. *Kongōchō-yuga chū ryaku shutsu nenju-kyō*) which means an abridged *japa-sūtra* from th Vajraśekhara-yoga for recitation' (Nj 534, T. 866). Here Vajraśekhara-yoga refers to the *Tattva-saṅgraha*. In Japan this text is known as the *Ryaku-shutsu-kyō* or abridged *sūtra*. Later, Vajrabodhi's disciple Amoghavajra (Chin. *Pu-kung*, Jap. *Fukū*), translated the first part comprising chapters 1-5 into Chinese during the years A.D. 746-771 under the title *Chin-kang-ting i-ch'ieh ju-lai chên-shih shê ta-shêng hsien-chêng ta-chiao wang ching (Jap. Kongōchi-issai- nyorai-shinjitsu-daijō-genshō–daikyō-ō-kyō) = Vajraśekhara-sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-mahāyāna-abhisambuddha-mahātantra-rāja-sūtra* (Nj. 1020, T. 865). In Japan it is most popularly referred to as *Kongō-chō-kyō=Vajra-śekhara-sūtra*. The Tantric tradition waned in China and for more than two centuries the remaining *Tattva-saṅghara* was not translated. The Chinese translation of the complete text was done by Dānapāla between A.D. 980-1000 (var. A.D. 1012-1015, Yamada 1973) under the title *Fe-shuo-i-ch'ieh-ju-lai-chên-shih-shê-ta-shêng-hsien-chêng-san-mei-ta-chiao-wang-ching* (Jap. *Issai-nyorai-shinjitsu-sho-daijo-gensho-sammai daikyo-o-kyo)= Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-mahāyāna-abhisambuddha-samādhi-mahātantra-rāja-sūtra* (Nj. 1017, T. 882).

In the early eleventh century it was translated into Tibetan by Śarddākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzan-po (A.D. 958-1055) under the title *De-bzhin-gśegs-pa thams-cad-kyi De-kho-na-ñid bsdus-pa zhes-bya-ba theg-pa-chen-poḥi mdo = Sarva-tathāgata-Tattva-saṅgraha nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* (Toh. 479).

The *Tattva-saṁgraha* is of singal importance for the historic development of philosophic, speculation in India, Nepal, China, Japan, Korea, Tibet and Mongolia. Moreover, the text could be represented as a

'visual dharma', as a maṇḍala, in the form of a large painted scroll, as sculptures, or an intricately sculptured monument. Thus it exerted a mighty influence on the fine arts of several countries. It was expressed as the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* in the Sino-Japanese tradition, whose structure is beset with problems. A detailed study of the text, in relation to the manner in which the philosophic dimensions of the tantric vision were expressed in architectonic constellations, holds explanations of problems as yet unsolved.

The earliest extant Sino-Japanese representation of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* as a maṇḍala is known as the Rita-sōgyara-gobu-shingan 'meditation on the five sections of the Ṛta-saṁhāra[1] (=*Tattva-saṅgarha*)' done on orders of Śubhakara-siṁha (A.D. 637-735). The Chinese colophon at the end says that it was given in A.D. 855 by the Chinese Ācārya Fa-ch'üan to his Japanese disciple Enchin, whose Sanskrit name was Jñānavajra. The text has full six *maṇḍala* (Esot. p.5^). Six complete or incomplete copies are known: the best is the one preserved at the Onjōji monastery. It was drawn and its text was written by Zenkaku of the Onjōji in A.D. 1194. the second copy handed down in Shakamon-in monastery of Koyasan (but now in the Sainan-in monastery) is dated to A.D. 1173. The third copy is from the end of the Edo period, copied in the 19th century and now kept at the Hōmyoin monastery (TZ. 54). The fourth copy kept at the Daigoji monastery has been lost, but its copy survives at the National Museum, which has been reproduced by Omura Seigai in the *Bukkyo zuzo shuko*. The fifth copy belonging to Mr. Sanji Muto of Kamakura and the sixth copy from the Asharajo have been reproduced in the iconographic section of the Taishō Tripitaka (TZ. 55,56).

The painted *maṇadala* of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* was brought to Japan by Kōbō Daishi in A.D. 806 and it is known there as the *Kongōkai maṇḍala* or *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* or Daimond maṇḍala. Kōbō Daishi in his Memorial presenting a list of newly imported *sūtras* and other items (Shōrai mokuroku) submitted to the Japanese Emperor in A.D. 806 says: "Early in the seventh month I stood before the *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala* and I was given once more the fivefold *abhiṣeka*. When I cast my flowers it again fell on Mahāvairocana, and the abbot marveled as he had before. Also, early in the following month I received the *abhiṣeka* for the ordination into the mastership of the transmission of the Dharma.........Then I received instruction in the ***mantras and mudras*** of the five divisions of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra (=Tattva-saṅgraha)* and spent some time learning Sanskrit and the Sanskrit hymns. The abbot informed me that the Esoteric Buddhist scriptures are so abstruse that their meaning cannot be conveyed except through art. For this reason he ordered the court artist Li Chen and about a dozen other painters to execute ten scrolls of the *Garbhadhātu* and *Vajradhātu Maṇḍalas* and assembled more than twenty scribes to make copies of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and other important Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. (Hakeda 1972:147-8). Ever since, along with the *Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala* the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* has formed a pair of the *ryōbu maṇḍala* or the Twin Maṇḍalas of the two classes of *caryā* and *yoga tantras*. Kōbō Daishi had brought with him the following four forms of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Manabe/Yamamoto 1975:i):

1. *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* consisting of nine small *maṇḍalas*, 1 sheet in 7 sections, 1 jo 6 shaku long.
2. *Mahāmaṇḍala* of cotton cloth representing 447 deities.

3. The central *mandala* of 81 deities, 1 sheet in 3 sections.
4. *Samaya-mandala* of the *Vajradhātu mandal*a of cotton cloth representing 120 deities.

The original paintings were lost. In A.D. 821 Kobo Daishi ordered duplicates to be made. Even these duplicates have been lost, but they are available in the copy known as the Takao *mandala* kept at the Jingōji monastery. It was copied in gold and silver lines on purple damask silk from the original polychrome *mandalas* in about A.D. 824. The extant copy of the *mandalas* in three pieces is kept at the Shingon in temple. Discovered in 1934, it became a National Treasure. It is dated A.D. 899 in the red lacquered inscription at the back of the lid of the black-lacquer box. The Tōji *mandala* is also a copy of the original *mandala* brought from China by Kōbō daishi.

Alongwith the above Takao and Toji *mandalas*, the Kojima *mandala* (mid-Heian period) comprises the three fundamental versions of the twin *mandalas*. The Kojime pair is drawn in golden lines on purple damask silk handed down in the Kojimadera Kangakuji monastery, where priest Shunkō died in his 71st year in A.D. 1004. Other important *mandala* scrolls are listed on pages 1-14 of the preface to *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Mandalas*.

The configuration of the *Vajradhātu mandala* has been a problem for historians of Japanese Art on several counts: (i) Which textual tradition do the prevalent (genzu) twin *mandalas* represent? (ii) If they do not conform to texts are they a synthesis of different transmission? (iii) Was it Amoghavajra who integrated the two *mandala* for the sake of his disciples or was it Hui-kuo? (iv) What is the relationship of the *Vajradhātu mandala* in six parts in the Gobu-shingan and in nine parts in the Genzu *mandala*? Japanese scholarls have debated these and other aspects of the problem. These questions have been sought to be answered on the basis of the abridged translation for recitation by Vajrabodhi (Nj. 534, T. 866) or by recourse to Amoghavajra's translation of the first chapters (Nj. 1020, T. 865) which were the only orthodox textual sources for the Shingon tradition. Dānapāla's translation of the complete text was not resorted to. Without the complete text of the *Tattva-sangraha* and its classification in Tibetan exegesis it is not possible to explain the complementariness of the Twin *Mandalas* and the nine section of the *Vajradhātu mandala*. In Japan, the fourfold classification of *mandalas* into *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *anuttara yoga* is unknown. Of these four classes, the two classes of *caryā* and *yoga* have Vairocana as the central deity. Hence they constitute the pair, the *ryōbu mandala*, the *mandalas* of both (*ryō*) the classes (*bu*) of Vairocana.

Now let us take up the six sub-*mandalas* of the Gobu-shingan. The six are:

1. *Vajradhātumahāmandale prathamah pādah* (colophon on illus. 37) 1-37
2. *Vajradhātau guhya-dhārani-mandalam//*4 (colophon on illus. 71) 38-71
3. *Vajradhātau sūksma-mandalam* 72-104
4. *Vajradhātau pūjā-mandalam* (colophon on illus. 137) 105-139
5. *Vajradhātau caturmudrā-mandalam* 140-144
6. *Vajradhātau ekamudrā-mandalam. Samāptam Vajradhātu-mahā-mandalam* 145.

The first four of the above sub-*mandalas* can be elucidated in the light of the four *maṇḍalas* explained by Buddhaguhya in his fundamental commentary on the *Tattva-saṅgraha* entitled the *Tantr-ārthāvatāra* (Toh. 2501) who lived in the middle of the eight century and is one of the three primary commentators of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* (Lessing/Wayman 1968:24 n.13). the four *maṇḍalas* in Buddhaguhya are:*mahāmaṇḍala, samaya-maṇḍala, dharma-maṇḍala, karma-maṇḍala*. They are explained as: "In the case of the *mahā-maṇḍalas*, because the array of deities is an arrangement in the Body of Form (*rūpa-kāya*), one understands them (*the mahā-maṇḍalas*) as comprising the magical manifestation of shapes (*vikurvāṇa*) from the treasury of inexhaustible Body. The *samaya-maṇḍala* is characterized by an arrangement of thunder-bolt (*vajra*), iron hook (*aṅkuśa*), arrow (*śara*), *mgu ba*, and so on, which are symbolizing agents for the way in which emancipation is comprehended; hence, comprises the magical manifestation of shapes from the arranged treasury of inexhaustible Mind. The *dharma-cakra* arranges and disposes the deities who stand for the practice which is the means of teaching how the Doctine (*dharma*) is comprehended; hence, is the blessing (*adhiṣṭhāna*) for the magical manifestation of shapes from the arranged treasury of inexhaustible Speech of all the Tathāgatas. Accordingly, in the case of the *karma-maṇḍala*, it arrays the deities who are the offering and other rites; hence one should understand it as displaying in concise form the practice of all Tathāgatas for the aim of sentient beings." (Lessing/Wayman 1968:224 n.20).

"Accordingly to the *Tattvāloka* (Toh. 2510, by Ānandagarbha), the correspondences between the four Families of the four sections and the four *mudrās* are as follows; Body (*kāya*) and the *mahā-mudrā*, Mind (*citta*) and the *samaya-mudrā*, Speech (*vāg*) and the *dharma-mudrā*, and Marvellous Action (*karma*) and the *karma-mudrā*. Thus, the four sections and the four *mudrās* are made to correspond in the given order.

"Moreover, the four *maṇḍalas* and the four *mudrās* correspond in the given order, because the four *maṇḍalas* beginning with the *mahā-maṇḍala* lay stress on Body, Mind, Speech, and Marvellous Action in the given order. Those mean the Body, Mind, Speech, and Marvellous Action in the Families of Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and in the other two Families". (Lessing/Wayman 1968:225, *mutatis mutandis*).

The same position is put forth by Buddhaguhya in his commentary the *Tantr-ārthāvatāra*: "This sequence emphasizes four types beginning with Body; for this reason one speaks of four *maṇḍalas*. Nevertheless, it is not possible in general to have mind without a body, nor a voice without body and mind. Consequently, even in the various *maṇḍalas* one must have the four portions, beginning with Body. Therefore, all the *maṇḍalas* of the Families are here explained as having the signs of Body and so forth, and, in their proper order, the four *mudrā*, the *Mahāmudrā*, and the *samaya, dharma* and *karma mudrās*" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:227, *mutatis mutandis*).

Thus the six sub-*maṇḍalas* of the Gobu-shingan are the six co-ordinates of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* method by which the *yoga* wheel of *Dharma* was set in motion. The position of the three primary commentators of India is summarised by Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 214-249). Its in-depth comparison with the Gobu-shingan scroll will elucidate the course of the transmission of the *Tantras* to China, where a substantial measure was derived from the immensity of unwritten conventions and practices, as well as from

opera minora circulating around as handwritten manuals and persnal memoranda for ritual which have dissappeared in the course of time.

The nine sub-*mandalas* of the *Vajradhātu mandala* can be divided into three groups:

I The six sub-mandalas of the Tattva-saṅgraha:
1. *Vajradhātu-mahāmandala, Karma-mandala, Jojin-ne*
2. *Samaya-mandala*
3. *Sūkṣma-mandala*
4. *Pūjā-mandala*
5. *Caturmudrā-mandala*
6. *Ekamudrā-mandala*

II 7. *Naya-mandala*

III The two sub-*mandalas* of the second section of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* pertaining to *Trailokyavijaya*
8. *Trailokyavijaya-karma-mandala*
9. *Trailokyavijaya-samaya-mandala*

Japnese scholars have debated the *raison d'être* of the nine *mandalas* on one painted scroll. While practical considerations guided the novenarian formulation of the *Vajradhātu mandala*, the philosophic basic for the concatenation is not clearly provided by the Sino-Japnese texts.It is only when we take into account the tibetan taxonomy and topical analysis of the *tantras* that the three groups I, II, III fall into a coherent picture. Mkhas-grub-rje (A.D. 1385-1438), the chief disciple of the great Tibetan teacher Tsoṅ-kha-pa, in his analysis of the fundamental of Buddhist *tantras*, systematises the *yoga-tantra* literature into (i) fundamental (*mūla*) and (ii) explanatory (*vyākhyā*) *tantras*. The explanatory *tantras* are divided into two explaining from the view points of (i) *prajñā* and (ii) *upāya*. Fifteen texts (Toh 479-493) and 161 commentaries on them (Toh. 2501-2661) are classified under this scheme (Wayman 1973; 236-7). Here,below is a conspectus of the classification as it applies to the Sino-Japanese *tantras*:

Yoga Tantras

1 *Mūla tantra* or fundamental *tantra*

Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh. 479)

T. 866=Nj. 534, Vajrabodhi, A.D. 723, abridged translation for reciting (*nenjū-kyō=japa=sūtra*)

T. 865=Nj. 1020,Amoghavajra, worked AD.746-771, translation of the first part (chapters 1-5).

T. 882=Nj. 1017, Dānapāla, worked A.D. 980-1000, translation of the complete text.

1 *Vyākhyā-tantra* or explanatory tantras

(i) *Prajñā* (Tib. *ses-rab*)

Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcaśatikā (Toh. 489, T. 220 (10)=Nj. 1, T. 240. = Nj. 18, T. 241 = Nj. 1033, T. 243 = Nj. 1034, T. 242 = Nj. 862)

(ii) *Upāya* (Tib. *thabs*)
Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja (Toh. 482, explanatory of the second chapter of *Vajrakula*).

From the above, it is clear that the composition of the Sino-Japanese *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* comprises the six-*maṇḍalas* of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, the seventh sub-*maṇḍala* represents the exegesis from the *prajñā* standpoint, and the eighth and ninth sub-*maṇḍalas* betoken the *upāya* viewpoint. Thus this type of graphic *maṇḍala* is all-embracing in its inclusion of the complete system of the fundamental text as well as both the explanatory perspectives of *prajñā* and *upāya* on a single scroll.

In the Tibetan cycle of 139 *maṇḍalas* of the *Tantra-samuccaya*, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* is represented by two *maṇḍalas* (Raghu Vira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13.22, 23): (i) the 1037- deity *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the *Tathāgata* family as enunciated in the first part of the *Tattva-saṅgr..ha*, and (ii) the 137 deity *Trailokyavijaya maṇḍala* of the Vajra family as enunciated in a subsequent part of *Tattva-saṅgraha.*

Furthermore, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* served as a basis for archi tectural expression in the Lamaist areas. An architectural *maṇḍala* or *puramaṇḍala* based on the *Tattva-saṅgraha* arose at Tabo soon after it was translated into Tibetan (Toh. 479) by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chenbzaṅ-po (c 958-1055). The monastery at Tabo was founded to introduce the *maṇḍalas* of the new system of our *tantra*. The Tabo (Tib. Ta-pho) monastery is situated on the north bank of the Spiti river in Himachal Pradesh. Life size stucco images of the deities of the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* are set around the walls in a rectangular arrangement. This temple is a "complete three-dimensional *maṇḍala*" (Snellgrove 1957: 185, 66-67). The layout of the deities can be seen in G. Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica* (1935:3/1.26 fig. 2).

The earliest representation of the *maṇḍala* of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* is in Indonesia as the monument of Chandi Sewu. Bosch (1929: 111-133) had identified it as early as 1929 as the *mahāmaṇḍala* of our *Tantra*. It had been appropriately designated as the Temple *(chandi)* of the Thousand *(sewu)*. The Sewu is an architectonic *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* whose niches are a sure guide to its iconography though all its stone and bronze statues have disappeared 'within the memory of man', including the central statue of Mahāvairocana the fragments of whose head were discovered in 1927 (for a detailed discussion see Lokesh Chandra 1979:1-15). The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas: Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi and their niches the *parivāra* deities of each of the Five *Tathāgatas*.

The 37 deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* were represented as follows:

24	Five *Tathāgatas* with their attendant deities
4	*pūjā-devīs* at the four corners of the buildings
8	*pūjā-* and *saṅgraha-devis* in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare)
36	

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels housed the Thousand Buddhas. Each of these chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of 240 x 4 = 960 Buddhas. It suited the architectural requirements of every chapel that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side being the entrance-portal was empty. Bosch surmises that thousand means 'very many' and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa; "the founder of the complex ... erected 'merely' 240 sanctuaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa", This surmise is unnecessary. In our scheme, the total of 1000 was made up as follows:

36	deities in the central temple
4	deities of Elements in the corners as in the Japanese *mahāmandala*
960	Thousand Buddhas
1000	

In the Japanese *mahāmaṇḍala* the four deities of the Elements, namely, *Teja*, *Āpaḥ*, *Vāyu* and *Pṛthvī* are situated in the four cornors (Esot. pl.464-467). These statues could have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sewn can thus go back to ancient times, even to the eighth century (Fontein et al. 1971:144 no.4) when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic *ensemble* took place

Another monumental stereomorphic representation of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, again on the soil of Java, was the world-renowned Borobudur (Lokesh Chandra 1979:1-68).

An astonishing evidence of the vogue of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* comes from Khotan[2] in the Khotanese verses of Ca Kīmä-śain. Prof. H.W. Bailey (1978: 53-56) has published the English translation of this poem, and has rightly characterised it as pertaining to Vajrayāna, without defining its precise context. It is a eulogy of the sixteen deities of contemplation surrounding Vairocana in the *maṇḍala* of the *Tattva-saṅgraha*. The 17 deities lauded are: 1 Vairocana, 4 Pāramitās, 8 Pujā-devis, and 4 Saṅgraha-devis. the complete *maṇḍala* in the Japanese and Tibetan graphic traditions comprises 37 main deities, corresponding to 37 categories (*tattva*) of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* "collection of categories" which are enumerated in its commentary by Padmavajra entitled *Tantr-ārth-āvatāra-vyākhyāna* (Toh. 2502, Lessing/Wayman 1968:214 n.2). In the Khotanese poem, the four Tathāgatas (Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Lokeśvara and Amoghasiddhi) have been left out along with the Sixteen *Mahābodhisattvas* surrounding them.

After Ārya-Vairocana, the Khotanese describes the *Four Pāramitās* (Khot. four *dharmas*), which are:

Vajra-pāramitā (Jap.)=*Mahā-pāramitā* (Khot.)
Ratna-pāramitā (Jap.)=*Ratna-vajra* (Khot.)
Dharma-pāramitā (Jap.)=*Dharma-vajra* (Khot.)
Karma-pāramitā (Jap.)= *Karma-vajra-pāramitā* (Khot.).

It may be noted that in Khotanese all are *vajra-pāramitās*, as can be deduced from the last term *Karma-vajra-pāramitā*. These *Vajrayāna-pāramitās* were distinguished from the other *Mahāyāna Pāramitās*, which are *Jñānā, Balā, Praṇidhānā, Upāyā, Prajñā, Dānā, Śīlā, Kṣānti, Vīryā, and Dhyānā*. (ii) The word '*Vajra*' is short for *vajra-pāramitā* in Ratnavajra and Dharmavajra. (III) The *Vajrapāramitā* of the Sino-Japanese tradition sholuld have been Vajra-vajra-(*pāramitā*) in conformity with the nomenclature of the other three, but to avoid tautology it was termed *Mahāparamitā*, a new term which does not occur in the *Mahāyāna pāramitās*. (IV) This Khotanese nomenclature evidences the evolution of Vajrayāna and its desire to have a terminology contradistinctive to Mahāyāna.

Prof. Bailey (p.53) observes: "In this text there are the *Vajra-pāramitā* and the *Mahāpāramitā*, together with the *pāramitās* identified with *devatā*-deities". The Vajra-pāramitās is a generic designation for the Four Pāramitās surrounding Ārya-Vairocana, among whom Mahāpāramitā is the first. The earlier classical Six Pāramitās are correlated to six of the Pūjā-devīs.

The *Eight Pūjā-devīs* are divided into: (i) four interior pūjā-devīs and (ii) four exterior pūjā-devīs. The four interior ones are: Lāsā/Lāsyā, Mālā, Gītā and Nṛtyā. The four exterior ones are: Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Ālokā, Gandā (not in Khot.). In place of Gandhā, we find Ajitā. This is an oversight. Ajitā has no place in the Vajradhātu mahāhamaṇḍala. Ajita is one of the Four Apsaras Sisters in a special chapter devoted to them in the Adhyardhaśatikā (T. 243). The prevalance of the Adhyardhaśatikā in Khotan is attested by its Khotanese translation. Kim-san may have infused Ajita in the present eulogy in a moment of poetic confusion.

Four *Saṅgraha-devīs* are Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajra—pāśa, Vajra-sphoṭa and Vajra-ghaṇṭā. Prof. Bailey translates *sphoṭā* as 'bursting sound' (p.56) and connects her with Vajra-ghaṇṭā who is "active in sounds", thereby mixing up Vajra-sphota and Vajra-ghaṇṭā.

Prof. Bailey (p.56) makes an important observation regarding the Four *Saṅgraha-devīs*: "For the names *Vajra-kuśā, Vajra-pāśā, Vajra-sphoṭā* and *Vajra-gaṇḍā* which are feminine, in spite of the masculine verbal form 28 *hadāḍim* 'he gathered' where the masculine *pāśa*-may have decided the gender". It is significant that the concept of *saṅgraha* deities is reflected in the Khotanese verb *hadāḍim*, which is used in this context as a technical term. They correspond to the four attractive forces (*catvāri saṅgraha-vastūni*) which are: *dāna* 'alms', *priyavāditā* 'sweet speech', *arthacaryā* 'useful action', *samānārthatā* 'mutual aid'. Vajrāṅkuśa and °*śī* (p.412), Vajra-pāśa and °*śī* (p.416), Vajrasphoṭa and °*ṭā* (p.422) are both masculine and femine. Vajraghaṇṭā is feminine while the synonymous Vajrāveśa (p.406) is her masculine counterpart (āveśa=ghaṇṭā). Pages refer to Marine-Therèse de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'conographie du Tantrisme bouddhique*, Paris, 1976.

There are six classical *pāramitās*; *dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna*, and *prajñā*. These are correlated to six of the eight pūjā-devīs of the *Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala* as follows:

Lāsyā	*Dāna-pāramitā*
Mālā	*Śīla-pāramitā*
Gītā	*Kṣānti-pāramitā*
Nṛtyā	*Vīrya-pāramitā*
Puṣpā	*Dhyāna-pāramitā*
Dhūpā	*Prajñā-pāramitā*

To these six *pāramitās*, four more are added to make up ten *pāramitās*; *jñāna*, *bala*, *praṇidhāna* and *upāya*. Of them *Jñāra-pāramitā* is mentioned alone on p.55 line 21. It is followed by Ajitā. Both of them are out of context.

Buddhaic light (adj. to both Buddha and to bodhi) should be *abhisambodhi*. So also on p.55 line 21 pure right bodhi (*bvāma*), line 31 Buddhaic bodhi (*bvāmi)* stand for *abhisambodhi*.

The above succinct structural definition of the eulogy necessitates a re-paragraphing of the English translation of the Khotanese poem. The first paragraph pertaining to Ārya-Vairocana can end at: "(*neṃ* followed by numeral 1)".

The second paragraph begins on line 24 with "by the fourfold act ...", introducing in general the 16 deities "who guide on the 16 paths".

The third paragraph specifying Mahāpāramitā commences on line 29 with "for the reeason...".

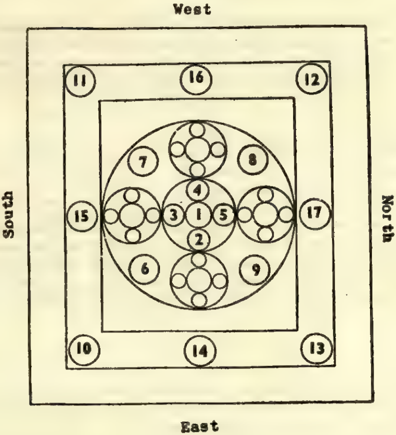
The paragraph on Dharma-vajra should commence on p.54 line 36: "right, great ...".

The paragraph of Vajrāloka (page 55 line 16) should commence with "who in the forest of ..."

The alinea of Vajra-ghaṇṭā (page 56 line 2) should commence with "who indeed is one having all sounds ..."

The poem of Kīm-śan is a clear proof of the propularity of the *yoga-tantras* in Khotan whose prime expression was the *Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala* based on the *mūla-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha*.

The Khotanese poem on the mahāmaṇḍala can be represensed graphically as follows in the light of the Japanese depiction (the Japanese iconography can be seen in Esot., nos. 406ff.):



The names of the above are:

1 Ārya-Vairocana (Jap. Mahāvairocana, Esot. 406)
2 Mahā-pāramitā (Jap. Vajra-pāramitā, Esot. 407)
3 Ratna-vajra (Jap. Ratna-pāramitā, Esot. 408)
4 Dharma-vajra (Jap. Dharma-pāramitā, Esot. 409)
5 Karma-vajra-pāramitā (Jap. Karma-pāramitā, Esot.410)
6 Lāsā (Jap. Vajralāsī, Esot.431)
7 Mālā (Jap. Vajramālā, Esot.432)
8 Gītā (Jap. Vajragītā, Esot.433)
9 Nṛtyā (Jap. Vajranṛtyā, Esot.434)
10 Puṣpā (Jap. Vajrapuṣpā, Esot.436)

11	Dhūpā	(Jap. Vajradhūpā, Esot.435)
12	Vajrālokā	(Jap. Vajrālokā, Esot.437)
13	—	(Jap. Vajragandhā, Esot.438)

"After verse 12 Vajrālokā there is the verse 13 on Ajita: no trace of Vajragandhā". (Prof. Bailey in a letter). From verse 12 pertaining to the 12th Vajrālokā it is clear that each deity has one verse. Thus the verse numbers agree with the consecutive numbering of the deities. Prof. Bailey informs me in a letter: "The number of the verses are given 1 (omitting 2, 3, 4, 5), 6 (omitting 7), 8, 9 (omitting 10, 11, 12, 13), 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and no further numbering".

14	Vajrāṅkuśā	(so Jap., Esot.439)
15	Vajrapāśā	(so Jap., Esot.440)
16	Vajrasphoṭā	(so Jap., Esot.441)
17	Vajraghaṇṭā	(so Jap., Esot.442)

We may conclude the foregoing preliminary observations by a simple statement that, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* represents a syndrome of philosophy, ritual, art and architecture, of several regions of Classical Asia in a shared cultural interdependence of values and forms. The clarity and precision of the Sanskrit text will provide a new starting point for the in-depth study of the mainfold strands, though knit together in integral unity, lie dispersed far apart. It will illumine many facets of the cultural history of many countries.

Notes

1. The *Tattva-saṅgraha* is known by several names: *Ṛta-saṁhāra, Yoga-saṅgraha, Vajraśekhara-tantra. Ṛta-saṁhāra* has been discussed above. The term *Yoga-saṅgraha.* (Jap. *Yuga-shūyō, Chin-Yü-ch'ieh chi-yao)* occurs in the text on '*Jvālāmukhī-pretī-bali-vidhi* from the *Yoga-saṅgraha*' (Nj. 1467, T. 1320) translated by Amoghavajra during A.D. 746-771. Herein *Yoga-saṅgraha* refers to the *Tattva-saṅgraha* as the fundamental text of *yoga-tantras*. In Japan the most common appellation of our tantra is *Kongōchō-kyō=Vajraśekhara-sūtra*. It has to be clearly distinguished from the explanatory *tantra* Vajraśekhara of the Tibetan Canon (Toh. 480) which is a different text. In the Sino-Japanese tradition the term yoga, *Vajraśekhara* and *Vajraśekhara-yoga* are generic terms refering to the *yoga-tantras* in general and thus the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* denoted the *Tattva-saṅgraha*.
2. "It is interesting to know that a Buddhist text from Khotan has value, apart from the language (which is, of course, my approach)", Prof. Bailey.

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saṅ rowaṅnira wṛddi riṅ bhūwana tuṅgal riṅ kriyā mwaṅ bratā /
hyaṅ werocana locanā lwiriran ekārcca prakāseṅ prajā //

Pigeaud translates it as follows :

Also in Sagala is a pratiṣṭhā (divine abode), a Jina likeness, infinite in splendour,

naturally an Ardhanareshwarī, with her, the honoured Illustrious Bajradewī, united,

His honoured associate as to increase in the world, one in kriyā (rites) and brata (observances).

The Holy Wairocana-Locanā was Their aspect, being one arcā (cult-statue), celebrated in the realm.

The above translation is not clear. The poet says that at Sākgala a Buddhist statue was established of excellent splendour. Kṛtanagara was united with his Queen Bajradevī in the same statue, it was virtually a statue of Ardhanārīśvara (right half Śiva, left half Pārvatī). The two together brought prosperity to the land, being one in rites and observances. It was Vairocana-Locanā, a conjoint image, and was worshipped by the people.

The yab-yum image of Kṛtanagara-Bajradevī was Ardhanārīśvara as well as Vairocana-Locanā. It must have shared Śaiva and Buddhist characteristics at the same time and it enlightened (*prakāśa*) the subjects of the realm in a unity (*eka*) of both the denominations. The name of the city Śākala also has a syncretic significance : it is a city in the Mahābhārata as well as in Buddhist texts. In Old Javanese texts, the consort of Vairocana is Vajradhātvīśvarī, and the consort of Akṣobhya is Locanā. Dhātvīśvarī and Locanā are also equated in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan p. 68 : *Dhātvīśvarī Locanekāt* Locanā is originally Rocanā, feminine of Rocana who is the main deity of the Avataṁsakā sūtras, and later evolved as the Abhisambodhi Vairocana (called Vairocana of the Garbha-maṇḍala in Japanese Mantrayāna). The name Rocana is known in Chinese and from the Sanskrit Gaṇḍavyūha. It has been mistranslated by modern scholars as Vairocana. This has led to several misunderstandings, including the interpretation of Locanā. This is to clarify the doubts raised by Pigeaud in his notes (1962 : 4. 133).

The tantric cult practised by Kṛtanagara pertained to mahāyoga-tantras represented by Guhyasamāja whose main deity is six-armed Akṣobhya, termed Mahākṣobhya in the Jaka Dolog inscription in contradistinction to the two-armed Akṣobhya in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. Gaṇacakra is a general tantric term and is not related exclusively to any specific tantric system, like that of Hevajra.

Nihom's paper invites a detailed consideration of Vajrayāna data in Old Javanese texts, inscriptions, sculptures, paintings and linguistic survivals (like Erucakra) in modern Javanese.

Lokesh Chandra

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Inhalt*

Ansprache des Herausgebers 3
Schriftenverzeichnis Annemarie v. Gabain 1928–1961 5
BAZIN, LOUIS: Y-a-t-il en turc alternances vocaliques? 12
ÇAGATAY, SAADET: Die Bezeichnung für Frau im Türkischen 17
CHANDRA, LOKESH: A conspectus of the Mongolian Tanjur 36
DÉCSY, GYULA: Nominalsatz und Existenzaussage im Ungarischen 41
ENOKI, KAZUO: Yü-ni-ch'êng and the site of Lou-lan 52
HAZAI, GEORG: Über den osmanisch-türkischen Abschnitt des dreisprachigen Sprachführers von Saloniki 66
IKEGAMI, JIRÔ: On the Santan vocabularies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 73
JOHANSEN, PAUL: Zur Frage der russischen Lehnwörter im Estnischen 78
KAKUK, SUSANNE: Türkische Volksmärchen aus Küstendil 90
KLJAŠTORNYJ, S. G.: Sur les colonies sogdiennes de la Haute Asie 95
KORKMAZ, ZEYNEP: Zur Ableitung der türkischen Postposition ucum üčün icin . . . 98
LENTZ, WOLFGANG: What is the Manichaean Nous 101
MENGES, KARL HEINRICH: Altaische Kulturwörter im Slavischen 107
MURAYAMA, SHITIRO: Die Formen des Dativ-Lokativ in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen und dem Hua-i ih-yü 117
NÉMETH, JULIUS: Reise um zwei kiptschakische Ortsnamen in Ungarn 122
PALLÓ, MARGIT K.: Die Vertretung ung. *sz(s)* < türk. *j* in den alten türkischen Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache 128
POPPE, NIKOLAUS: Jakutische Etymologien 136
PRITSAK, OMELJAN: Die Herkunft der Allophone und Allomorphe im Türkischen . 142
RÄSÄNEN, MARTI: Türk. anl. *h-* als Überbleibsel des alt. *p-* 146
N.-SEBESTYÉN, IRENE: Über die Heilkunst der samojedischen Schamanen 149
SINOR, DENIS: On Water-Transport in Central-Eurasia 156
SPULER, BERTOLD: Gemeinsamkeiten der (west-)innerasiatischen Entwicklung seit 1600 180
TEKIN, ŞINASI: Über die buddhistische Trinitätslehre in der uigurischen Version des Goldglanz-Sūtra 187
TEMIR, AHMET: Ein osttürkisches Dokument von 1722–1741 aus Turfan 193
WALDSCHMIDT, ERNST: Über ein der Turfan-Handschrift TM 361 fälschlich zugeteiltes Sanskritfragment 199

* s. auch Anmerkung der Redaktion am Ende dieser Festschrift.

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A conspectus of the Mongolian Tanjur

By Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi)

1. In the Band XXIV of this very Jahrbücher Walther Heissig gave a list of the exemplars of the Mongolian Tanjur that were known to exist in Mongolia, China and Japan. Most of them were in Inner Mongolia. Since then conditions have changed and the monasteries of Inner Mongolia have been subject to revolutionary upheaval: the exact fate of the monastic libraries is unknown. Heissig refers to eight mostly complete copies of the Mongolian Tanjur in the Wang-ye-fu in the Qaratsin-Gebiet (Wang Banner), Chi-ning-szu Monastery, I-hua-szu Monastery, Ch'ien-te-mu-ni miao, Yüan-chüeh-szu Monastery, Ku-la-ha-chi miao, Hui-ning-szu Monastery, and Chi-ching-szu Monastery.

According to the latest information kindly conveyed to me by Prof. Lubsanvandan some copies of the Mongol Canon have reached the research libraries in Hohehot (Köke Qoto) the present capital of Inner Mongolia. For example in the Institute for Mongol Language and History at Hohehot there is a complete copy of the Tanjur and three Kanjurs. Again in the National Library of Hohehot there is a complete set of the Mongol Kanjur and as well as of the Tanjur. In the University of Hohehot there are two copies of the Mongol Kanjur, one in the general library and another in the Seminar. It will be interesting to note that in the Institute for Mongol Language and History there are some volumes of the Ligdan Khan Kanjur[1].

2. Following the plan adopted by Louis Ligeti in his "Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol imprimé" (Budapest 1942), the eminent Mongol scholar Rinchen has been busy on the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of the Mongolian Tanjur. This catalogue is ready in the Mongolian script. It runs into 1729 pages of foolscap size, which are now in the possession of Raghu Vira in five bound volumes. The entire catalogue will be printed in romanisation by the International Academy of Indian Culture, in its Śatapiṭaka Series. On the reverse of one of its pages, on the basis of oral tradition it is annotated that the Mongol Tanjur was based on the Derge edition of the Tibetan Tanjur. The Tibetan Tanjur of Derge has been rightly held in the greatest respect for its accuracy by the learned monks of the lamaistic world and the aforesaid oral tradition in respect of the Mongol Tanjur seems to be just a reflection of the general esteem. A comparison of the arrangement of the volumes in the Mongol Tanjur clearly points to the Peking Red Tanjur of Tibetan as the basis. The Mongol Tanjur has the same system of dividing as the Tibetan: the first division is the *Bstod-tshogs* (the stotras or Odes), followed by the *Rgyud-ḥgrel*

[1] UAJb XXIV (1952) 122—123 and 130.

(commentaries on the Tantras) and the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (commentaries on the Sūtras). Each division is numbered by letters of the Tibetan alphabet in both the languages: the Stotras are contained in 1 volume, the Tantra-commentaries in 87 volumes and the Sūtra-commentaries in 136 volumes. In Tibetan, pothi *Tsha* (18) of the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* is split up into two volumes: the Mongol version too follows suit in having *Tsha* in two volumes. Another astonishing correspondence is that the text or texts included in the various volumes tallies exactly in both the Tanjurs. For instance volume *Gi* of the Tantra (serial no. 35) begins with *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* and ends with *Śrāddhapralāpa nāma stava* in both the languages. All facts point to the complete dependence of the Mongol on the Peking Red version in Tibetan.

3. In *Zur technischen Durchführung der mongolischen Tandjur Übersetzung* (UAJb XXVII 222—234) W. Heissig gave an idea of the 43 volumes deposited in the Kyoto University of Japan. The complete set of the Mongolian Tanjur in the State Library, Ulanbator was known to him, just through the Catalogue of the Library, *Ulus-un nom-un sang-un ači-yin anggi-dur bükü mongyol anggi-dur bičimel ba darumal nom bičig üd-ün büridkel.* In 1955 Raghu Vira and in 1957 the author had the privilege of visiting Ulanbator and seeing the Mongol Tanjur which was then lying in the general reading-room of the State Library in the Committee of Sciences. Hereunder follows a conspectus of all the 226[1] volumes of the Tanjur in Ulanbator. References to Rinchen's manuscript catalogue mentioned above, are followed by references to P. Cordier, Catalogue du fonds tibétain, parts 2,3 (Paris 1909, 1915) to indicate the texts included in each volume of the Mongol Tanjur till its full-fledged catalogue is published.

Ulanbator vol. Number	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
1	Stotra, ka	—	II. 3
2	Tantra, ka	I. 1	15
3	Tantra, kha	1	15
4	Tantra, ga	3	15
5	Tantra, ṅa	7	17
6	Tantra, ca	30	24
7	Tantra, cha	41	27
8	Tantra, ja	45	28
9	Tantra, ña	50	29
10	Tantra, ta	52	30
11	Tantra, tha	57	31
12	Tantra, da	58	31
13	Tantra, na	60	31
14	Tantra, pa	79	39
15	Tantra, pha	107	51
16	Tantra, ba	142	66
17	Tantra, ma	147	67
18	Tantra, tsa	149	67
19, 20	Tantra, tsha	152	69
21	Tantra, dza	159	71

[1] The sets of the Mongolian Tanjur in the I-hua-szu and Ch'ien-te-mu-ni miao consisted of 227 (sic) volumes according to W. Heissig, UAJb XXIV (1952) 123 and 130. The 227th volume must have been the Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra of 1763 A.D. (Ch'ien-lung's year 28). It is of the same format as the Tanjur and is sometimes found along with the sets of the Canon. It consists of the cover-folio +5+182+ the final cover folio with the illustrations of the four Lokapālas. Its marginal signature on the left is *Ñi Eldeb Usnir Bayatur-a yabuyči* and on the right it is in Chinese 首楞嚴経. This edition has not been noticed earlier. Cf. L. Ligeti, Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé, no. 889.

Ulan-bator vol. Number	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
22	Tantra, wa	I. 161	II. 71
23	Tantra, zha	172	75
24	Tantra, za	218	88
25	Tantra, ḥa	238	98
26	Tantra, ya	255	106
27	Tantra, ra	266	108
28	Tantra, la	278	113
29	Tantra, śa	II. 321	131
30	Tantra, sa	324	131
31	Tantra, ha	328	132
32	Tantra, a	332	133
33	Tantra, ki	333	134
34	Tantra, khi	334	134
35	Tantra, gi	335	134
36	Tantra, ṅi	352	141
37	Tantra, ci	357	144
38	Tantra, chi	361	144
39	Tantra, ji	362	145
40	Tantra, ñi	364	146
41	Tantra, ti	366	146
42	Tantra, thi	376	151
43	Tantra, di	388	156
44	Tantra, ni	395	159
45	Tantra, pi	402	160
46	Tantra, phi	460	188
47	Tantra, bi	505	204
48	Tantra, mi	522	211
49	Tantra, tsi	541	219
50	Tantra, tshi	562	230
51	Tantra, dzi	611	258
52	Tantra, wi	613	258
53	Tantra, zhi	613	258
54	Tantra, zi	617	260
55	Tantra, ḥi	618	260
56	Tantra, yi	619	260
57	Tantra, ri	621	261
58	Tantra, li	621	261
59	Tantra, śi	628	262
60	Tantra, si	636	265
61	Tantra, hi	639	266
62	Tantra, i	645	268
63	Tantra, ku	661	277
64	Tantra, khu	674	283
65	Tantra, gu	676	284
66	Tantra, ṅu	III. 688	290
67	Tantra, cu	691	291
68	Tantra, chu	696	292
69	Tantra, ju	III. 707	II. 297
70	Tantra, ñu	710	297
71	Tantra, tu	773	336
72	Tantra, thu	821	370
73	Tantra, du	877	III. 3
74	Tantra, nu	1003	80
75	Tantra, pu	1034	98
76	Tantra, phu	1058	117
77	Tantra, bu	IV. 1079	131
78	Tantra, mu	1088	139
79	Tantra, tsu	1098	160
80	Tantra, tshu	1098	161
81	Tantra, dzu	1100	161
82	Tantra, wu	1100	161
83	Tantra, zhu	1101	162
84	Tantra, zu	1124	175
85	Tantra, ḥu	1163	206
86	Tantra, yu	1194	227
87	Tantra, ru	1203	233
88	Tantra, lu	1222	247
89	Sūtra, ka	1260	273
90	Sūtra, kha	1264	274
91	Sūtra, ga	1267	275
92	Sūtra, ṅa	1267	276
93	Sūtra, ca	1268	276
94	Sūtra, cha	1210	276
95	Sūtra, ja	1274	277
96	Sūtra, ña	1279	279
97	Sūtra, ta	1283	280
98	Sūtra, tha	1285	281
99	Sūtra, da	1287	282
100	Sūtra, na	1289	283
101	Sūtra, pa	1291	284
102	Sūtra, pha	1292	284
103	Sūtra, ba	1295	285
104	Sūtra, ma	1298	286
105	Sūtra, tsa	1307	290
106	Sūtra, tsha	1320	296
107	Sūtra, dz	1327	299
108	Sūtra, wa	1331	300
109	Sūtra, zha	1331	301
110	Sūtra, za	1331	301
111	Sūtra, ḥa	1335	301
112	Sūtra, ya	1341	303
113	Sūtra, ra	1346	305
114	Sūtra, la	1351	306
115	Sūtra, śa	1354	307

Ulanbator vol. Number	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
116	Sūtra, sa	IV. 1361	III. 310
117	Sūtra, ha	1365	312
118	Sūtra, a	V. 1374	316
119	Sūtra, ki	1390	324
120	Sūtra, khi	1400	331
121	Sūtra, gi	1413	336
122	Sūtra, ṅi	1458	361
123	Sūtra, ci	1464	364
124	Sūtra, chi	1465	365
125	Sūtra, ji	1467	366
126	Sūtra, ñi	1473	369
127	Sūtra, ti	1477	371
128	Sūtra, thi	1477	371
129	Sūtra, di	1477	371
130	Sūtra, ni	1481	372
131	Sūtra, pi	1482	372
132	Sūtra, phi	1483	373
133	Sūtra, bi	1487	375
134	Sūtra, mi	1489	376
135	Sūtra, tsi	1489	376
136	Sūtra, tshi	1491	376
137	Sūtra, dzi	1495	378
138	Sūtra, wi	1497	378
139	Sūtra, zhi	1498	379
140	Sūtra, zi	1499	379
141	Sūtra, ḥi	1501	379
142	Sūtra, yi	1503	380
143	Sūtra, ri	1507	382
144	Sūtra, li	1508	382
145	Sūtra, śi	1512	384
146	Sūtra, si	1515	384
147	Sūtra, hi	1521	387
148	Sūtra, i	1523	388
149	Sūtra, ku	1524	388
150	Sūtra, khu	1531	392
151	Sūtra, gu	1533	394
152	Sūtra, ṅu	1534	394
153	Sūtra, cu	1535	395
154	Sūtra, chu	1535	395
155	Sūtra, ju	1536	395
156	Sūtra, ñu	1536	396
157	Sūtra, tu	1537	396
158	Sūtra, thu	1537	396
159	Sūtra, du	1540	398
160	Sūtra, nu	1540	399
161	Sūtra, pu	1543	400
162	Sūtra, phu	1543	400
163	Sūtra, bu	V. 1545	III. 401
164	Sūtra, mu	1545	401
165	Sūtra, tsu	1545	402
166	Sūtra, tshu	1547	402
167	Sūtra, dzu	1549	404
168	Sūtra, wu	1550	405
169	Sūtra, zhu	1551	405
170	Sūtra, zu	1552	406
171	Sūtra, ḥu	1554	406
172	Sūtra, yu	1554	407
173	Sūtra, ru	1556	407
174	Sūtra, lu	1556	408
175	Sūtra, śu	1557	408
176	Sūtra, su	1558	408
177	Sūtra, hu	1559	409
178	Sūtra, u	1561	411
179	Sūtra, ke	1572	417
180	Sūtra, khe	1574	418
181	Sūtra, ge	1576	419
182	Sūtra, ṅe	1577	421
183	Sūtra, ce	1595	434
184	Sūtra, che	1605	440
185	Sūtra, je	1606	440
186	Sūtra, ñe	1606	440
187	Sūtra, te	1607	441
188	Sūtra, the	1607	441
189	Sūtra, de	1608	442
190	Sūtra, ne	1608	442
191	Sūtra, pe	1610	443
192	Sūtra, phe	1611	443
193	Sūtra, be	1611	444
194	Sūtra, me	1612	444
195	Sūtra, tse	1612	445
196	Sūtra, tshe	1614	445
197	Sūtra, dze	1616	446
198	Sūtra, we	1616	446
199	Sūtra, zhe	1618	447
200	Sūtra, ze	1621	449
201	Sūtra, ḥe	1633	456
202	Sūtra, ye	1634	456
203	Sūtra, re	1636	457
204	Sūtra, le	1637	457
205	Sūtra, śe	1647	465
206	Sūtra, se	1655	468
207	Sūtra, he	1657	470
208	Sūtra, e	1695	471
209	Sūtra, ko	1695	471

Ulanbator vol. Number	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
210	Sūtra, kho	V. 1660	III. 471
211	Sūtra, go	1661	473
212	Sūtra, ṅo	1673	487
213	Sūtra, co	1676	491
214	Sūtra, cho	1676	491
215	Sūtra, jo	1679	493
216	Sūtra, ño	1680	495
217	Sūtra, to	1685	499
218	Sūtra, tho	1685	499
219	Sūtra, do	V. 1686	III. 500
220	Sūtra, no	1691	505
221	Sūtra, po	1700	509
222	Sūtra, pho	1709	515
223	Sūtra, bo	1713	518
224	Sūtra, mo	1715	519
225	Catalogue	—	—
226	Catalogue	—	—

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CONTENTS OF TWO CLASSICAL HIPPOLOGICAL TREATISES

LOKESH CHANDRA

International Academy of Indian Culture

NEW DELHI-16 (India)

1964

CONTENTS OF TWO CLASSICAL HIPPOLOGICAL TREATISES

LOKESH CHANDRA
International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi

In 1957 during an expedition to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic we had the pleasure of meeting several traditional and modern scholars who had a deep knowledge of their cultural and civilisational heritage, besides a rich recollection of the oral traditions which are fast disappearing but afford clues to unsolved problems. During a conversation I was told that Sum pa mkhan po Ye śes dpal ḥbyor the versatile polymath had written a horse-treatise. On returning to India I looked into the *opera omnia* of this celebrated historian ond to my surprise it appeared in the supplementary pothi, side-captioned as KHA. From the very title it is apparent that the work is styled on the Classical tradition. For its full appreciation it is necessary to survey the contents of the only Classical text contained in the Tibetan Tanjur in pothi DO of the Sūtra division (Cordier III.500). The full title in Tibetan is *Rtaḥi tsheḥi rig byed śā li ho tras bsdus pa* which is a translation of the Sanskrit *Śālihotrīyāśvāyurvedasaṁhitā*, that is an opus on horse medicine by Śālihotra the great sage (*draṅ sroṅ chen po*) of India who first wrote on this branch of veterinary science. Śālihotra, the son of Hayaghoṣa (*Rta skad*), propounded it to his disciple-son Suśruta (*Legs thos*) whose saṁhitā on human surgery has earned him a pre-eminent position in medical history. The hippological treatise is translated from Sanskrit which was in the indravajrā metre and was divided into 8 sections (Tib. *gnas*=Skt. *sthāna*) like Indian medicine in general The

sections were subdivided into 192 chapters (Tib. *lehu*=Skt. *adhyāya*). Unfortunately all the 8 sections are not extant. Only 3 sections exist, the first and the last two:

Section	Name	Chapters
1	Sūtra-sthāna (*mdo yi gnas*)	40
7	Siddhi-sthāna (*grub paḥi gnas*)	14
8	Rahasya-sthāna (*gsaṅ baḥi gnas*)	23

While the translation of the Sanskrit original into Tibetan was done by the imperial command of Bkra śis lha lde btsan, it is available today in the form it was revised by the Great Translator (*zhu chen gyi lotsaba chen*) Rin chen bzaṅ po.

The contents of the three sections are indicated below with some correspondences in printed Sanskrit works:

SECTION *I* (*Sūtra-sthāna*)

Chapter		Ends on folio*[1]
1	Origination of āyurveda	5a7
2	Ethics of teaching	6b8
3	Enunciation of the contents [Cf. Jay.[2] p. 1]	7b2
4	Mythic origin of horses [Cf. Nak.[3] p. 8]	15b1
5	Birth [Cf. Jay. p. 34]	20a6
6	Nature ? (*raṅ bzhin*) of horses [Cf. Jay. p. 146 *prakṛti-jñāna*]	21a3
7	Birth-place or provenance [Cf. Jay. p. 25, Nak. p. 66]	21b4

[1] References are to the Peking Red edition of the Tanjur.

[2] *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭāchāryya, Calcutta 1893.

[3] *Aśvaśāstra* of Nakula, ed. S. Gopalan, V. Svāminātha Ātreya and K. S. Subramanya Sastri, Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series no. 56, Tanjore 1952.

8 The four classes 24a2
9 Characteristics of the limbs [Cf. Jay. p. 2,5, Nak. p. 18] 27a2
10 *bstan pa rnams bśad pa* 28a7
11 Measurements (*tshad gzhal ba*) [Cf. Jay. p. 24 *daśā-kṣetra*, Nak. p. 130 *aṅga-māna*, Bho.[4] p. 5 *aśva-pramāṇa*] 30a4
12 Ten limbs (cf. chapter 11) 30b5
13 Differentiation of the auspicious and inauspicious 31b2
14 Measures (*tshad*) (cf. chapter 11) 33b7
15 Feeding [Cf. Jay. p. 49, Bho. p. 13] 35b2
16 ? (*Mdzes pa*) 36a8
17 Characteristics [Cf. Nak. p. 21 and references in ch. 9] 37b7
18 Colour [Cf. Nak. p. 91, Bho. p. 1] 40b1
19 Forehead marks (*zhur mdoṅs*) [Cf. Nak. p. 43 *puṇḍra*] 42a7
20 Auspicious and inauspicious marks 44b1
21 *śa raḥi mdog gi khyad par* 45a6
22 Multiple-coloured horses [Cf. Nak. p. 34 *miśrita-lakṣaṇa*] 48a3
23 Horses suitable for kings [Cf. Nak. p. 100, Bho. p. 7] 49b1
24 Examination of the eyes [Cf. Jay. p. 80] 50a1
25 Examination of teeth 50b4
26 *gtsug brtan pa* 55b3
27 Determination of age (*na tshod*) [Cf. Nak. p. 82 *vayo-jñāna*, Jay. p. 21 *āyur-vayo-jñāna*] 60a3
28 Determination of the span of life (*tshe*) [Cf. Nak. p. 113] 60b8
29 Smell [Cf. Nak. p. 49] 61b3
30 Neighing (?, *skad gsaṅs*) [Cf. Nak. p. 47] 62a6

[4] Śālihotra of Bhoja, ed. E. D. Kulkarni, Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography 11, Poona 1953.

31	Good and bad gait [Cf. Nak. p. 52, Bho. p. 6]	63b1
32	Strengthening the body [Cf. Bho. p. 17]	64b1
33	Galloping (*rgyug pa*) [Cf. Nak. p. 120 *dhārā*]	66b3
34	*gra ma can brtag pa*	68b4
35	Defects to be avoided (*ñes pa chen po*=*mahādoṣa*) [Cf. Nak. 54]	70b8
36	Examination of the vitality of horses (*sñiṅ stobs*=*sattva*) [Cf. Nak. p. 52, Jay. p. 27]	71b7
37	Sheen (*gzi mdaṅs*) [Cf. Nak. p. 50 *chāyā-lakṣaṇa*]	72b2
38	Examination of the blood stock (*rigs*) [Cf. Nak. p. 66 *kula-lakṣaṇa*]	74a4
39	*ston ka pa*	78b5
40	Trade	80a5

SECTION *VII* (*Siddhi-sthāna*)

1	Anupāna (fluid vehicle in medicine)	82a8
2	Merits and demerits of salts	83b7
3	*chu śor bahi nad gso ba*	85b4
4	The qualities of milk	87a2
5	Butter treatment [Cf. Jay. p. 68 *ghṛta-vidhāna*]	88b5
6	Sudorifics [Cf. Jay. p. 64] Tib. *dugs* is *sveda(na)* in Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya I.4.6, 4.11, 8.16 etc.	91a3
7	White mustard oil (*don grub*=Skt. *siddhārtha*)	91b1
8	Cauterisation (*me btsaḥi las*=*agnikarma* Aṣṭ. I.1.38 [Cf. Jay. p. 55]	94a6
9	Enema or purging [Cf. Jay. p. 61] Tib. *mas btaṅ ba* corresponds to Skt. *nirūha* (Aṣṭ. I.14.5, 19.35...) and *basti* (Aṣṭ. I.1.26, 4.21)	100b8

10 Diseases due (?) to instruments [Cf. Jay. p. 55] 102b5
11 Nourishment (*brta ba*) and milky enemata (*ḥo maḥi ḥjam rtsi*) 104b1
Tib. *brta ba* is *tarpaṇa*, *bṛṁhaṇa* in Aṣṭ. I.18.47, 24.21, I.4.29, etc.
Tib. *ḥjam rtsi* is Skt. *anuvâsana* which is oily enemata, as opposed to *nirûha* which is not oily.
12 The merits of good lubrication [Cf. Jay. p. 65] 107b4
13 Aphrodisiacs 110b1
14 Treatment of *sbubs* diseases 112a1

SECTION *VIII* (*Rahasya-sthâna*)
1 Determination of age and life-span from the lines 114a2
2 Forebodings of death (*ḥchi ltas*=Skt. *ariṣṭa* during disease [Cf. Jay. p. 72 *vedhâriṣṭa*]. 116b7
3 Forebodings of death in health [Cf. Jay. p. 70 *svasthâriṣṭa*] 118a3
4 121a5
5 Powders of various kinds including *triphala* 123b6
6 The important oils (?, *snum chen po*) 124a1
7 Medicated oils of different plants 127a7
8 Oils derived from plants [Cf. Jay. p. 617] 130a1
9 Fomentations (*sman khu*) 130b1
In Aṣṭ. I.22.13 Tib. *sman khu* is *rasakriyâ* which means "inspissation and application of fluid remedies or fomentations, Suśr." M. Monier-Williams' Skt. Eng. Dict.
.10 Indigestion [Cf. Jay. p. 109] 130b5

11 *so sor btuṅ ba* 131a2

12 Anupāna (*rjes su btuṅ ba*). *Anupāna* is a "fluid vehicle in medicine; drink taken with or after medicine" 131a3

13 Merits of enema or purging (cf. above VII.9) 131b3

14 Sternutatories (*sna sman*=Skt. *nasya* Aṣṭ. I.16.8, 20.30...) [Cf. Jay. p. 63, Bho. p. 16] 132a5

15 Unctuous enema (*ḥjam rtsi*=Skt. *anvāsana* Aṣṭ. I.19.54, 77...) [Cf. Jay. p. 61]

16 Plastering with powders (*phye maḥi lde gu*=Skt. *cūrṇa-lepa*) 133a8

17 Caustic treatment 133b5

18 Barley alkali treatment (*nas tshig ḥkhus paḥi thal pa*) [Cf. Jay. p. 55] 134a3
Tib. *nas tshig ḥkhus paḥi lan tshva*=Skt. *yavaśūkaja* (=*yavakṣāra*) Aṣṭ. 1,6.150. *Thal pa* = Skt. *bhasma*. *Yavakṣāra* "an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barley-corns, Suśr" M. Monier-Williams' Skt. Eng. Dict.

19 Treatment with salts 134b2

20 Treatment with *triphala*, myrobalan (*harītakī*), bdellium (*gu gul*), and garlic (*sgog skya*=Skt. *rasona* Aṣṭ. I.10.35). [Cf. Jay. p. 146 *rasona-kalpa*, p. 148 *guggulu-kalpa*] 138b4

21 *go cha la sogs paḥi khur bstan pa* 139b5

22 Method of yoking to a chariot [Cf. Jay. p. 27, Nak. p. 121, Bho. p. 7] 140b6

23 *rnam par bzlas pa bstan pa* 141a5

The above text is longer than all the three printed Sanskrit hippological works; namely, *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta, *Aśvaśāstra* of Nakula and *Śālihotra* of Bhoja. It seems that the Tanjur Śālihotra must have been an extensive and comprehensive treatise on horses in its day and its full text was a rarety even then. While the first section informs us about horses in all their aspects, the last two sections are strictly medical in character and go into great detail. The Tibetan text was transmitted to the Mongols in a Mongolian translation by Ye śes bkra śis of Left Sönid.

In the eighteenth century, the prolific writer Sum pa mkhan po Ye śes dpal ḍbyor, celebrated as a historian by his *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*[5], wrote a short treatise on the examination of horses entitled *Rgya gar paḥi lugs bstun rta dpyad dpal γyaṅ zhes bya ba,* which occurs at the end of the supplementary volume (*lhan thabs*) of his collected works printed at Hohehot, Inner Mongolia. The entire text is in 70 verses, which have been serially numbered for convenient reference though there is no numeration in the original xylograph. The sections are indicated in the xylograph by the sign ༄.

The title makes it clear that the examination of horses is according to the Indian method. After a homage to Vaiśravaṇa, immediately follow synonyms of the horse which are different from those in the classical lexicon Amarakośa, except *myur ḥgro*= *turaga, ḥgros legs*=*sādhuvāhin* (st. 1,2). In st. 4 ff. the horses are classified according to the dominance of the three humors

[5]*Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, p. xiii ff., gives his biographic details.

phlegm, bile and wind (cf. Jay. p. 76, Bho. p. 9). In stanza 9 the horses are alternately classed into the four castes, namely: brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra (cf. I.8 of Śāl.[6]). Stanza 10 commences a new section dealing with the different limbs (Cf. Śāl. I.9). St. 23 gives the characteristics of a mare. Stanza 24 starts a new section on the colors of horses (cf. Śāl. I.18). The next section commences with st. 30 and deals with marks on the forehead (cf. Śāl. I.19). The following sections give the inauspicious (*ṅan*: st. 37), auspicious (*śis*: st. 39), low (*dman:* st. 42), and very auspicious (*śin tu śis*: st. 43) characteristics. St. 49 deals with the defects of horses (cf. Śāl. I.35). The section starting with st. 56 defines the measurements of the body of a horse (cf. Śāl. I.11 and I.14). In the concluding stanza 58 of the section the dimensions are specified in figures for metric economy. Stanza 61 begins the section on the age of horses (cf. Śāl. I.27), followed by a section on their span of life as in the Śāl. I.28. Here too, the span of life is not expressed in words but in figures to promote metric brevity. The final section pertains to the food of horses (cf. Śāl. I. 15). The medical treatment of horses is not considered at all.

The text of Sum pa mkhan po is almost inaccessible. It is reproduced in the following pages for further research into hippologies written in the Tibetan and Mongolian languages. The present note is to stimulate studies on the horsemanship of the Mongols, among whom the animal commands reverence and affection besides being an important factor in their rise as a world power of the ancient world.

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[6] Śāl. is short for the Śālihotra of the Tanjur.

༄༅། །རྒྱ་གར་པའི་ལུགས་བསྟན་རྟ་དཔྱད་
དཔལ་གཡང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །
ཐམ་རྩོམ་སྲས་ལ་བཅུད་དེ་རྟ་ཡི་དཔྱད།
ཅུང་འདུས་འགོང་ནི་རྟ་ལ་ལ་མ་ལས་རྒྱལ།
ནི་ཙན་བརྒྱུར་འགྲོ་རྟེ་གཟྲ་འགྲོས་ལེགས་མཆོགས
འཕྲོག་བྱེད་ལས་རྟོགས་དཔལ་མོའི་བུ་ཡང་ཟེར།།༡
གསེབ་བསྲད་རྩོད་མངའ་འབྱུང་འདུས་དཀྱིམས་ཞུགས།
དེ་ཡུ་ཚགས་ཀ་ཁྱེབ་གཏུང་ཕྱེས་མཆི་མབང་འབྱུང་།
རླུ་བཅུན་མ་བཅུ་གཅིག་མང་ལ་གནས་ལྷུག་སུ་པར་པོད།
མི་གྲིས་སྐྱེ་སོ་སོ་བམ་འདྲེས་ཁྱབ་སྤུ་མདོག་འཆར།།༢
སྔོན་མ་པོང་འདྲེས་དྲེ་དེ་བཞིན་རེམ །
སྒོཾ་རི ; གེ་ཝེ ; གེ་ས་ཧྭ་ཝེ་ས་དང །
རྒྱུ་ཧྲུ་ར་ཙན་གྲགས་དེ་ལས་སྐྱར་པོང་སྒྲུ།
ཆེ་ཚད་དྲེ་དྲུང་པོང་སོགས་བཞན་རྟབ་སོ་གཉིས།༢

ཧྲཱི་རིགས་གསུམ་སྤྱི་ཀྱུ་ཧཱུྃ་མ་དཔལ་ལ་འཆོར་སྟན།
ཧ་མེག་ཞེ་རྫུ་ལ་གཉིད་ཆེ་དཀར་རྒྱུབ་པ་བཟོད།
འརྒྱུ་ལ་སླ་སྐྱོབས་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་ངང་དཀོན་གཞེགས་གཉེས་འགྲེས།
མེ་བྱུང་བོན་སོགས་མཆོད་འགྲོད་པད་མང་བཞིན།། ༨
གྲང་དགའ་མེར་འཛམ་རྟ་ཁྲབ་སྲུན་གཉིད་རྒྱུང་།
གཞེགས་བཅིག་འགྲེས་རྫེས་ཕྱོག་འགྲེ་རྒྱུ་ལ་འཛིགས་སྐྱེ།
བསླུབ་བ་ང་མེ་བརྗིད་རྒྱུབ་བུབ་མིཁྲི་སུ་མང་བཞིན།
མེ་བརྟན་འཛིགས་སླ་གཉིད་མེད་ཛ་རྫོག་གྲབ།། ༥
སྤྱོབས་རྒྱུང་སྐྱིད་ཞབ་བུབ་མཐའ་ལ་མརྒྱུ་བསླ།
རྒྱུ་བ་ཅེ་ང་འདུལ་དཀའ་སོ་བདེ་བ་གཞེགས་གཅིག་འདྲེས།
དབྱིངས་མདོག་མི་མཛེས་འགྲེག་དཀར་རྐྱེང་བཞེན།
དེ་འདྲེས་འདྲེ་ས་འབྱུང་བ་བཟང་འབྲེང་ཁྲ་གསུམ་ཡོད།། ༤
གཞན་ཡང་གཟེ་མ་དང་ས་སྐྱེང་སྤྱོབས་གཙང་སྒྲ་ཅེ།
མཛེས་རྒྱུ་ལ་མེ་ཉ་ལ་ལང་ས་གཉེར་ཕྱོག་ང་ལ་བཟོད།

ལོ་བ་རྒྱུར་མི་བརྗེད་ཅི་སྙེད་ཟློས་སྒྲུས་མཆོག །
སྨིན་ཡོན་འདྲེས་ལྡན་ལོ་བ་ལ་བང་བསླབ་པ་བརྗེད་རྒྱུར། ༎༧
དཔའ་འདྲ་བང་དང་དངས་སྨིན་སྐུ་གསུམ་བཞུས་པ་བད་སྒྲུར་བསྒྲོ།
ཧ་ར་སྤྲང་མཚན་ལུས་ཕ་བ་ཉལ་བཁྲི་ག་དགའ་འབྲིང་།
རྟོབ་འདྲ་བང་འཛིགས་རྒྱུར་ན་སླ་ག་སོ་དཀའ་འཕྲེད། །
ཉེན་མཆན་བརྒྱང་གཉིད་ཕྱུགས་མི་ཚོར་ཐམ ༎༨
ཡང་ན་བྲམ་ཟེ་རྒྱལ་རྗེ་སུ་གདོལ་རིགས་ཧ།
དྲི་ཟ་ག་ཞོད་སྨིན་སྲིན་པོ་ཀླུ་བདྲ།
ཞེ་སྡོབ་མདོག་དབྱེ་བས་སྐད་སྤྱོད་གཉིད་ཟས་འབྲིག །
དཔའ་སྤྲར་གཙང་རྩོགས་སྤྲ་སྙི་དྲིས་ཤེས་ཟེར། ༡༩
ལུས་ཆ་སོ་སོའི་དཔྱད་ནི་མགོ་མཆིམས་མཛེས།
སུམ་ལེགས་ཁྱད་པར་གདོང་སྤྲ་བྲུར་བཞི་ཡངས།
དཔྲལ་རྒྱས་གཉེར་མེད་མིག་སྒྲོང་འབྲམ་ཡངས་སྤྲ།
སུག་ཛིན་མེག་མཆུ་དངས་རིང་འཛམ་བྲུར་ནག་དྭངས། ༢༠

ཕྱགས་སྤྱན་སྨིན་སྨོམས་རྗེ་འབྲུག་རིང་ཕྲ་ནག །
རྣ་རིང་སྦྲུ་སྦྲང་གཉེར་མེད་རྩེ་རྣོ་སྤྲང །
སྣ་ཡངས་སྤྱན་ཟླུམ་དབུགས་བདེ་མཆུ་ལ་ཕྲ་ཟླུམ།
འཛུམ་བཞིན་དབུས་སྤྲ་བ་འབྲམ་གཉིས་མཐོ་མཛེས་དང་།། ༡༡
མཁུར་ཚོས་དབུས་སྤྲ་བ་ཀ་རྒྱུས་རིམ་ཞིང་ཆེ།
མ་མཆུ་འཕྱང་མེད་ཡ་མཆུ་ཆེ་ཟླུམ་རྒྱས།
ཁ་འབྲམ་སྤྲ་བ་གཉེན་ཟླུམ་ཡངས་འཕྱུར་བུ་གཞིབས།
མཁུར་འབྲམ་འཁྲིལ་མཛེས་འབྲམ་སྤྲ་ངར་རིམ་ཡངས་སྤྲ།། ༡༢
ཁ་ཆེ་དྲི་ཞིམ་སྔོན་དམར་རྒྱུ་ཙང་བརྩུམ།
སོ་ཕྲ་སྨོམས་དྲང་བཟང་མཐོ་སྤྲ་བ་རིས་གསལ།
མཆེ་རྣོ་འབྲམ་ཟླུམ་དཀར་སེར་ཞན་ཕྱུག་མེད།
ལྕེ་རྩ་ཐུང་མཐུག་དངོས་དམར་རིང་མཉེན་སྲབ།། ༡༣
ཀ་ན་དམར་རིས་ཟབ། །སྐྱེ་བུ་ཆུང་འཛམ་རིང་དམར།
རྗེ་འཛམ་སྐྱུམ་འབྱེལ་མང་ཕྱུང་རིང་སྦྲང་བ།

ཕྱུགཕྱུགབརྫངམཆེདཀབརྡེགབརྫུགཕྱུས།
སྟོགལྷུམགྲོམཁམཆེངཆེམཚོམཛུདལྷུམམནམཐང།།༧༤
སྤེངརེམལྷུམགྲོགརྫོངཔགསྤྲབགྱུག །
རྫོགནརྒྱུསམཕྲེགསརྒྱུམའཚོའགྲུགཔཡངསཕྲེལ།
སེལྟུཀཙངམཐོམཆེགཚུགབཟངདེ།
སེལྟུགཀཟགལྷུཔགོགཔརྒྱུསདངངཕྲེལ།།༧༥
དཔུངམསེཙརྒྱུསམེམཚོཧྲུངམཐོལྷུམ།
དཔུངགྲལྷུམརྒྱུསརེམཕྲུཆོགསཕྲེལཐུང།
ཕུསལྷུམཙེཆེགསམེམཚོདམབཀུགཔདེ།
ཆེགཐུངརེམལྷུམཔགྲུམེགསལ །།༧༦
ཆེདྲུབཕྲེངསྤུངལྷུམཆེགསམེམཚོད།
ལེངདངགྲོགམཁརརེངཡོགངབཕྲེལམཉམ།
ཆེདྲུཆེརེངལྷུམདབུསབཟངགྱུངཆེབྱུཕྱུསགཡོག།
སྨེགམཐོཕྲམབྱུགམདེགགཅེགལྷུམཕྲོལདྲ།།༧༧

ཞི་གཏོར་མཐའ་ཡས་རྒྱལ་བ་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་པ་བོ། །
མཐོང་བ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལ་འཚམས་མཆོག་གི་སྐྱེ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ཀྱང་། །
སྐྱབས་གནས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་བླ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཡང་། །
རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་བདག་ཉིད་འཁོར་བ་སྟོང་། ། ༡༨
ཉོན་མོངས་ཀུན་ཤེས་ཁམས་གསུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མགོན་ཁྱོད། །
གསུང་གཅིག་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་མཆོག་གྱུར། །
བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཕྲིན་ལས་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་སྟོང་མེད། །
རྒྱལ་བ་སྟོང་འཕྲོ་ཡིད་སྤྲུལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་མགོན། ། ༡༩
ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡང་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་རིགས། །
བསྐྱེད་རིམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཅིག་ཆར་བཟང་། །
རྒྱལ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་སྟོང་གི་རྒྱུ་མེད་ཕྱག་གཉིས་པ་དེ། །
རྒྱལ་བ་རྗེ་བཙུན་སྐུ་མི་མཆོག་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ། ། ༢༠
བདེ་ཡང་སྐྱབས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་ཞིག་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙོ། །
རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་མཆོག །

བརྟན་ནས་ཙང་ཡང་ལས་མིན་དོན་ལ་བཙན་ཅིང༌།
རྨིག་མཚམ་མ་ཕྱུ་མེད་ཏུ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཡི་ལམ་ཡང་བདྲ།། ༡༧
ཕོ་མཚོར་བསྒྲིམ་པ་རིམ་ཕྱེས་སྦྲ།
ལྷམ་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱུ་བཞག་ལ་བརྟེན་ཚེ་བཞིན་སྒྱུར་ཤང་།
ཕྲུབ་ཡང་ལས་ཀ་ཆེ་གཉེན་རིང་མདོག་གཅིག་ལྷུམ།
ཚོགས་གྲང་མཐའ་ཆད་སྤྱང་ངང་འདྲ་བོ།། ༡༨
སྦེད་མ་འི་མཚན་གསལ་ལ་ཕྲུག་ཡང་ལ་མང་ལ་བཤད་ཨེ།
སྐུ་སྨྲ་མ་ཆེ་སྤུང་སོགས་ལ་མཛན་ཐོ་རྒྱུས་ཡེ་ལགས།
སོད་ལུས་སྒྲིམ་ཀྱང་སྒྲ་བ་འདྲ་སྒྲ་བ་ཀྱང་མདང་།
གསལ་བས་ཕོ་མས་དྲེབས་ལེ་གས་མདོག་མཛེས་སྐོག་ཀྲ
ཁ་དོག་ཕྱག་ལས་སྤྲུང་ཇོག་ཀུན་དགའ་རང་།
ཀུན་དམ་ར་ཞབ་ག་སེར་གཞི་བཞི་དེ་ནག་འབྲེལ།
མང་ཡང་མདོར་དྲིལ་དེ་བཞིན་གནང་རྒྱུ་གསལ།
དཔལ་ཡོན་གཡོག་ཙན་ནས་བཞག་སྒྲ་གསང་།། ༡༩

དཀར་པོ་ཟླ་སྤོ་ཧོ་རྫོགས་ན་ག་ག་མ་སྒོ།
ཤ་ར་བ་གྲ་གས་སྐྱེད་དཀར་ཀ་ཤ་མ་མདོག་གཞན།
སྨུག་མདོག་དྭངས་མཛེས། ངང་སེར་ཞུར་མདོག་ཅན།
ལུས་དམར་རྐང་པ་ནམ་མཆིག་སྤྲོད་ཀར་སེར་ནག །༢༥
ཁྲ་བོ་ག་ཡས་དཀར་ཤ་ཆེ་ག་ཡོན་ཁྲི་ག་ཡོད།
སྐད་དཀར་སྟོད་ནག་སྟོད་དཀར་སྨད་མདོག་གཞན།
ནག་པོ་རྐང་བཞི་འམ་ལྕེ་མི་སྨེ་བ་དཀར་དང་།
ནག་པོ་མདོང་ལྡན་ལྷ་བྲང་མི་གཉིས་དཀར།། ༢༦
ནག་པོ་རྡོ་དཀར་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ཡུང་ཤིས་དེ་བཞིན།
མདོག་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་དེ་དག་སྤྱིར་བདང་།
ནག་ཀྲ་མེ་གཏོག་མ་ཁྲང་ཡང་དཀར །
ནག་གམ་སྔོན་པོ་མགོ་ཁ་ང་ལྟ་དཀར་བཟུང་།། ༢༧
ལྗན་པོ་ཕྱ་སྤྱི་ཕྱི་སྤྱི་ག་ཡང་ག་ཞི་ཅན།
ཤ་ཁྲ་ག་ཅན་དབང་པ་ར་བ་ཞི་ཟ་ཅན་དང་།

ཐལ་དྲུ་ཐུབ་ག་རྫེ་སྨྱོ་ཆེ་པའི་མདོག །

གཞུང་ཐིག་ཅན་དང་མཛེས་ཞིག་མེད་ཅན་དང་།། ༢༨

མདོག་གཞན་རྫ་རྟོག་དམར་ནར་མ་ནག་ལོ་བ་ཁྱུར།

དཀར་རྒྱང་བ་ཞེན་མདོག་གིས་མཐའ། སྨུས་ལོ་ཞིབ། །

རྫ་རྩ་མདོག་གཞན། ཤང་རི་འམ་གསུམ་སྒྲིབ་དཀར།

ཏྲ་རྒྱ་ཀར་སོགས་ལ་ཞག་ཐི་རྒྱུང་ཡང་དཀན། ༢། ༢༩

ཞུར་ཞི་མཆུ་ཕྱུག་ཞབས་ས་མ་སྨུག་གོ་ཞབས།

སྦུམ་པ་ར་དཔྲལ་སྨིན་སྣ་གདོང་བར་མཐེས།

དེ་ཡང་ཞེད་ལ་གཡུ་རྫུང་ར་ལ་གྲི་གཞུ།

མེ་ལོང་གདུག་ས་ཟླུམ་མིག་མང་འདྲ་སྙིང་ཡངས།། ༣༠

གདོང་བཙམ་མ་མ་ཐབ་བཅས་མགོ་དཀར་ལེགས།

མདོག་འདྲེས་ཡོ་ཆད་དཔྲལ་ཆ་གསུར་འགྲམ་ཟླེབ།

འཕྲེང་སྦུབ་མིག་ས་ལ་གཡོན་ཆེ་དཀར་པོར་ཞག །

དབུགས་ཆོ་གཞན་ལ་བང་གློག་མདུང་འདྲ་ཡོད་ཞེ།། ༣༡

དཔལ་བའི་མདོང་ཡུང་ནླ་སྐར་དཀར་ཞིམ་ནས།
རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཇ་སླུ་ལ་ཛ་མོང་ནྲ་དཔེ་བས་ཤེས།
མི་གསལ་གཡེན་ཡོ་ཕྱུར་བཀྲ་མདོག་འདྲེས་ཆད།
མདོག་གཞན་མི་སྨུག་དམར་དང་ནག་པོའི་ངང་ཞེ། ༢༤
ཐིག་ལེ་དཀར་དམར་སེར་སོགས་རང་མདོག་མཐུན།
དཀར་པོར་གཞན་ཐིག་ནག་པོར་དམར་དང་དཀར།
སྒྲོ་མདོང་ཞབས་འདྲ་མདོག་མང་དམར་ཤས་ཆེ།
ཡུ་མཚུ་རྨིག་སྙིང་དཀར་དང་དཔལ་མིག་ལྗོག ། ༢༣
ཁ་འབྲུམ་མཆུ་སྒྲོ་ཀེ་ཀེར་ཕྲག་སོ་སྙིང་།
རྣ་གཡས་དཔྱང་གཡས་རྗེ་བས་གཡས་དཔལ་མཚམས་སྐྱེ།
ཐིག་ལྟག་རྒྱ་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་མཇུ་མཚམས་ནི་ག །
ཧྲེ་ཙ་སྐྱད་ཁ་ཡན་ལག་ཀུན་ལ་ཡོད།། ༢༩
མདོར་ན་ཤེས་ལུས་རྗེས་མཐུན་མདོག་ཅན་སྨུམ།
ལུས་ཆ་ལ་འཚམས་ཐིག་ལེ་མཛན་ལྗོས་ལེགས།

མཆོགཏུདགརབཞགལེརདངགྲོགསྐྱེདགྲོགས །
ཏལུསདགརཔོརགྲིགལེདམརརཨབནག །༢༥
དམརལསེརབགཞནགཔོརབཞགགམདམར །
དབྲིབསཀྱངམིལྷུགརྒྱབརྟེསཆམིསྨོས།
འགྲོརཞབཟླུབདདགནསཀྱངསྐྱེརོསྐྱ།
མཐྲུམྲུངའབྲམཐཡུམམཆེཕྲེནམཐུར།། ༢༦
ནགཡོནཔཀྱུངགཡོནབཟིངལྷགམགྲུལབྲིལུསྨེ།
བྲིལུསྨགཕུ རསམཚནཔཊེཔེཚོལུཚོདཀྱུ།
པདྨཔྲཇིངཀམཚོསརྒྱུབསུམཕྱེདར།
ཨོངཏྲོམཧྲུགཏྲོཧཱུཾཧྲུམཡེདཏུན།། ༢༧
གཙུགལཔཏནབརྟུམིབཀྲནམཏངཡོདཅེང།
དཔེབསལཔངངདྲེསགཅེགཔབཏུསསྒྲུགགངབརྒྱུ།
ཤེངཕྲམསྐམཕྱེདཏཕྱེསབཏྲབརྒྱུདཡོད།
གནསདཔྱེདཕྲལཔརཅིགནསབཞེབརདང།། ༢༨

ཁ་འབྲམ་མཉན་རྩ་མགོ་མཐིབ་བདག་སྲུང་གཉིས་པ་རེ།
ཕྲུལ་མཚམ་སྒོག་སྐྱེད་རྒྱུད་ཡོང་ལ་པ་རེ།
བྲང་ལ་བརྩུག་བཟང་གསུམ་སྙིང་ཕྱི་ཕུ་གིས།
ནུ་རྩེ་བྲུར་འབྲམ་མཇུར་གོང་མཆེ་སྣུན་སྨེད།། ༥
སྣ་ཡོང་སྤུ་རྩེ་ཨ་ནུ་ར་ཚོས་འབྲམ་སྒྲོ་ལིང་།
མིག་དང་སྙེ་དུ་ཕྱང་རྩེ་འུ་རྒྱུང་རྩེ་བ་ལོ་གིས་དབུ།
ཕྱུས་མཆན་རྒྱུ་བཙོས་གཉིས་གཉིས་སོ་དྲུག་དང་།
སྣ་གདོང་ཡ་མཆུ་མཆུ་ཁྱག་དཔུང་སྣ་སྙིང་།། ༦
གྲོལ་མཆུང་ཟེ་དུ་ཟེ་དུ་ཁྱག་དྲུག་མདོ་སྐུབ །
སྙིབ་མཛུག་སྤྲུབ་སྨ་བེག་རེ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ།
ཆེ་གྲུང་ཆེ་གྲུང་ཕྲ་མོ་ཆོ་ཆུ་ཆོ།
ཚེ་དུ་སྤྲུ་སྤྲ་ཕེ་རང་པ་བཞི་རེ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག ། ༧
སྙིང་ཨ་སྔོ་རྐ་དགབ་འི་གཉིས་རེ་བཞི།
མཆུ་སྒྲོས་བྲང་སྙེ་གནས་གསུམ་དོན་དྲུག་དམན།

ཀུན་གྲོམ་གོ་སྐྱག་ཅེས་གྲགས་འཁྲམ་གླང་རྡིག །
འབྲིག་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལང་ཏུན་ཆང་འཕྲིར་གནས་ལས་འགོར།
ས་རྟན་རྡུམ་ལས་མེད་དང་དམན་གཡས་བཟང་གཡོན་གཅེལ།
གཙུག་ཕྱུང་ས་བཙིར་དང་མདོག་འཕྱེངས་མི་སྨུག་ཏུན།
བཟང་བཅེལ་ཁ་འབུས་ཞུ་སྦྱེས་གཡས་བཅེལ་གསལ།
གཙུག་ཤྱག་སྤུ་སྨུག་གཡོན་བང་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཤིས།། ༦༢
འཚེར་སྣང་བསྐྱེས་སྨོམ་ངལ་སྦྱིའི་དུས་མེན་བརྟགས།
དེ་ཡང་ཆེ་གསལ་སྨན་དུས་མཚེར་རྟེང་རིང་།
འཇམ་འདྲེལ་མི་འཆང་ངང་འོལ་རྒྱ་སྨྲ་འདྲ།
གཡས་སུ་བལྟ་ནམ་རྫོས་བཟང་མཐོང་མང་འཚེར་ཀ།
ཤ་འཚེར་གཞན་མང་གཞན་འཚེར་རྫེས་འཚོ་ཐང་བཟང་།
རྟ་པ་འཛེར་དང་ངར་ཕྱུང་ཐན་སྤྱོད་ཆགས་དང་།
སྐྱང་འབྲུག་སྡོད་བདག་ཕྱུར་དང་གཡོན་བལྟས་འཚེར།
ངན་མཐོང་མང་འཚེར་མི་གསལ་མི་སྨན་ཏུན། ༧།༥

འགྲོས་ལ་སྤྱོར་འགྲོ་གཤོག་མཆུ་མ་གཤོག་བརྡུང་དང་།
སྤྱོད་པ་གཅིག་འགྲོས་བཞི་ཟླ་ར་དཔུང་ཚམ་འདེགས།
འབྲུམ་རེ་ངལ་གོམ་འཆོལ་འགྲོར་སྒྲུ་བཙ་མོང་བླང་།
ཁྱི་ཕག་འགྲོས་འདྲ་རྒྱུ་རྩུ་འཕུབ་མདང་ནི།།༡༦
མགོ་མགྲིན་རྨི་གབ་འདེགས་ལྷག་བྲུས་ཕྲ་མིག་གཡོ།
གོམ་རྒྱུར་བར་མཚམས་མེད་སྣུམ་ཞེ་ཐུབ་ལེའི་འགྲོས།
མགོ་དྲང་…… སྙེ་འཕང་བ་བསྐྱོད་བདག་མཐུན་བལྟ།
མེ་ཏུབ་རྒྱུབ་ང་མི་ཐུབ་རྨ་བྱུ་ཤེ་འགྲོས།། ༡༧
ཞེན་མི་བཏེགས་སྣ་མ་མཆུ་ཡིས་ལ་རྐོ་འདྲ།
མིག་ཡང་གོམ་ཕྱུགས་འདེར་ཞེང་ལུས་མི་བསྐྱོད།
ལམ་ངོམ་མེད་འདྲ་གོང་སྒྲིག་འགྲོགས་སུམ་ལེགས།
རྒྱུག་ཚེ་ནང་ཚད་མེད་ལྡེག་བསྐྱོད་སྨ…… བ……བཟང་།།༡༨
ཧ་རེ་རྒྱན་སྐྱུར་ཆེན་བང་པོ་དྭངས་བཟང་ཞིན།
གདོང་རིང་རྒྱལ་ཞུམ་མཐོ་དམན་བྲལ་བཞུ་ཙམ།

ཁྱད་པར་མགོ་ཐུམ་རྡོག་མཐར་འཛམ་ཐུབ་རྒྱ།
ཟ་གསུམ་ཐང་ལྷ་རྒྱེག་གཉིས་མཐེང་མཚེ།། ༥༩
ཡན་ལག་མཚང་ཚད་ཐལ་སྒྲིག་མཚན་ཆེ། །
ཛ་རྡོག་མེད་དམ་སྒྲིག་པ་…སོ…ཅན་སྒྲིས།
སོ་སྒྲིབ་ནག་ལོ་ཤ་བྲམ་སྟུག་སྤུ་མདོག །
ཤིན་ཏུ་ན་མ་བཅོས་མ་བསྐྱུད་སྐྱུ་བཅས་བཟང་།། ༦༠
རྣ་ཁ་བར་ཤ་མཚོན། རྐང་ནག་མིག་ཐང་ངན།
རྡོག་མཇུག་ཁ་བཞུམ་མཚན་སྒྲིག་མགོ་གདོང་ནག །
ཤན་འབྱེད་ནག་ཁམ་འགྲོ་ལྷག་ས་དྲི་ངན། །
སྣག་འདྲ་བ་མ་མདོག་ཅན་དེ་འདྲ་བ་མིག་ཕྲེ་ལ་ལྗུ་མ། ༦༡
སོ་སྒྲོས་ག་ཁ་ལེགས་ཤ་ལྷག་ཁ་ནག་སྐྱུང་ངོ་།
དུག་ཐེབ་ཐར་ལོག་ཐེ་མིག་མིག་ཡང་ལེན།
ཛ་རྡོག་མི་སྒྲོ་ན་མ་པ་ཅན། དྲེ་ནུ་འདྲ།
སོ་ལྷུ་ནི་བར་སྒྲིག་མེད་དམ་གཅིག་གསུམ་ཅན།། ༦༢

ཚིག་བྲ་སྤུ་རིང་སྤུ་སེར་བྲེག་བེ་ཅན།
ཤིན་འབྱུང་སོག་མ་ཞན་དེ་ལས་ཤིན་ཏུ་གདོང་།
ཆེ་ཙམ་ལ་ཡར་ཆད་རྡུང་། སྨིན་ཕྲན་ཙམ།
གཏན་མེད་སྣེ་དང་དཀར་ཉེས་པ་ཆེར་མི་སྨྱོད། ཀ༥༣
ཏ་སོད་བྲ་མཚན་གྲུ་གསལ་གདོན་རྒྱུ་ངེས།
གསོད་ཏག་ས་བཟྲ་མཐུ་མདའ་ལ་གདོང་ཕྲུག་སོང་གཉེར།
ཕོ་མཚོན་ཀ་བ་ཡི་མིག་སྤྲེ་མ་སེར་ར་མཐག །
ཡ་མཇུ་བྱུང་ཕག་ཀ་ནན་ག་གཏུར་ཆེར་འབུམ། ༥༤
རག་ཅིན་ཟུར་ཞུན་སོད་ཀ་བ་གཅིན་འཁྱུར།
ཕྱུང་ལ་ཀར་ཚ་གསུམ་ཙན་ཏྲ་སོ་ཀ་ལ་མིག་བསྐུས།
ཤེ་རྡུ་ལ་བལ་དང་བཟྲ་མདུས་དོམ་གཟྲིག་ལ་སྐྱེར།
ཕྱང་ཀླུ་མཐུའི་མཐྲིས་བདུག་ཀྱི་ག་བདོན་བུལ། ཀ༥༥
ལུས་ཚད་ཆེ་འབྲིང་ཆུང་གསུམ་མི་འདྲ་ཡང་།
ལུས་དང་མགྲིན་སྐེ། མགོ་སྐྱིད་ང་ཤིང་མཉམ།

ཨོཾ་ཧྲཱིཿ་བྲང་ཞེད་ཕྱུར་མི་ཚོ་བུ་མཉམ་མདངས།

སེང་ཞེང་དཔང་ཚམ་མ་ནེམ་བརྗོམས་ཚམ་ཚམ་མ་བཞི་ལྔ།།༥༦

ལུས་དཀྱུས་མེ་ནུ་མནས་བསྒྲུང་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཧྲཱི་པར།

དཔང་སྐྱོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཐར་བསྒྱུར་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཧྲཱུཾ་འབྲི།

མཆོག་འབྲི་དཀྱིལ་ཚད་ཕྱུག་ཕྲང་སོར་ཡིན་དཔྲལ།

ཧྲཱུཾ་མཆོག་རྡོ་རྗེ་མེ་བཞི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བཞི་ཕྱུག་མཉམ་མདངས་ཡང་།།༥༧

ལུས་དཀྱུས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་བཞི་ཕྱུག་སྒོམ་མོ།

བཞི་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཞེས་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཧྲཱུཾ་བགག་ཧྲཱུཾ་བསྐྱར་ཧྲཱུཾ་སྒྲུང་དཔྱང་།

ཕྱུལ་ཚོགས་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཚོགས་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཚེ་རྩེ་ཧྲཱུཾ་ཚེ་ཕྱུ་ཧྲཱུཾ་སོགས་ཧྲཱུཾ།

རང་རང་ཚེད་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བསྡོམས་བཅུ་མཉམ་བཞག་པ།།༥༨

མདོ་ནང་མཚན་ཉིད་མཐར་ཚད་སྔོན་དཀར་པང་།

མ་དེ་བསྒྲུག་དཀར་མཚན་ཡིད་བྱ་ཀར་མེད་པ།

ལུས་རྒྱས་ཚད་ཕྱག་སྐྱེད་སྒྲོན་བཞི་མདངས་དེ།

གཙུག་མདོ་པ་རྒྱ་གཙོར་བཞི་བ་བསྒོམས་ལེགས།།༥༩

གསོ་སྨན་བརྗོད་ཕྲ་མགོ་མཇུག་ཕྲད་ཉིད་མཛེས།
ཡིད་དང་མིག་གསལ་ལ་ཡན་ལག་ག་རྒྱུད་ཚིགས་བཅུ།
ཤ་མཁྲིག་སྐྱོབས་ཚེ་མཆོག་ནུས་མཉེན་སོགས་ལྡན་པའི།
ཀྲ་རི་བདག་ཆོས་མཚོར་སྨན་གྲགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤུ་བཞེལ། ༦༠
ཧ་རི་ལོ་སེ་མི་རྟོགས་གཅོད་ཤེད་བདུན་བཅུ་གཉིས།
མཆེ་བ་བཞི་ལྡང་འབྲམ་ཉེར་བཞི་ལས་རི་རྒྱ་པར།
མདུན་དཔུང་གཉིས་འབུར་དེ་གསལ་ལྷ་རྡོར་སྐུར་རྫོགས།
བར་གཉིས་སྤྱི་བོ་ཕ་སྤྱི་འབྲམ་སོ་ཁང་བརྡོལ།། ༦༡
བརྫོགས་དཔུས་དཀར་འབྲམ་རྫོགས་ཕུན་དཀར་ཆུར།
ཏེའུ་ཀླུ་གཅིག་ནས་བཟུང་ལོ་གཅིག་ལོན།
སེར་ཕྱུར་ལོ་གཉིས་དཔུས་བར་བརྟེས་གསུམ་བཞི།
ཐ་བརྟེས་ལོ་ཕྱིན་སོ་གཅིག་པར་གྲགས།། ༦༢
མཆེ་ལོ་གཉིས་ནས་ཕྱུབ་བར་མདངས་སྐྱེ།
ཞ་ལོ་ཐིག་ཁང་ནི་ཁ་ལ་གསེབ་ཕྱིར་ཅོམ།

དེ་ནས་མཧུན་སེའི་དཔྱེལ་དུ་ནག་སེར་དཀར།
མ་ཆེ་བ་སྦྲང་མ་དེས་ཧུད་ལ་ནག་ཧུན་དེ་ཕྱིམས་དང་།། ༦༣
ས་ཏུ་ལ་ལྡུང་སེ་རེ་འང་རེ་མི་པར་དཔེས་པར་མཐར།
འབྱུང་བར་སོ་གཉིས་ཐོན་…… བརྩེ་དེ་ལྷ་ཀྲུང་ལོན།
ཕྱིས་སུ་ཆེ་ཆུང་སྒྲིམ་བསྐྱོད་སོགས་གང་འདེང་།
རྗེ་དུས་ཕྱུགས་པ་རྐ་སོགས་ལས་བྱུང་རྟོགས།། ༦༤
༈ ཚེ་ཚད་རྟེན་བེ་སྒྲིམ་སྐྱོད་ཉལ་ལྷུང་དེ།
སོགས་ཕྱེས་རགས་ཙམ་ཤེས་བྱུང་ཞེ་པ་པར་ནི།
མཇུ་ལྷག་སོར་བཞི་འི་འཚམས་རེས་ལས་ཤེས་ཏེ།
ཕྱིན་སོར་གཅིག་ཡོད་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་གཉིས་ཚེ།། ༦༥
འཆེ་བཞིན་འཕྲེང་དཔྱེ་དེ་དམར་པོ། གཉིས་རྩེ་ཡོ།
གཉིས་པོ་ཡོ། སོར་ཕྱེད་ཀ་ཙོ་ཆུང་། སོར་གསུམ་ཡོད།
ནས་འདྲ་སྤྱིམ་ཡོད། མཇུ་ལྷག་དང་མཉམ་ཕྱེན།
མི་འགྲོ་སྦྲང་དང་། ངང་འདྲ་སོར་གཉིས་སྨིག ། ༦༦
ནས་འདྲ་འཕྲེང་ཟེ་སེ་སོར་ཕྱེད། ཕྱི་རོགས་རྟེས།
རྟེ་ཡོ་ཙམ་ཕྱིན་ཕྲེང་རྟ་འི་མཆོག རེ་མོ་གསུམ།

-CULTURAL CONTACTS OF INDONESIA AND SRI LANKA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY AND THEIR BEARING ON THE BARABUDUR

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CULTURAL CONTACTS OF INDONESIA AND SRILANKA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY AND THEIR BEARING ON THE BARABUDUR

1. Prof. J.G. de Casparis (1961) has written a fascinating paper on the 'New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times' based on the Ratubaka Inscription in Pre-nagari, dated Śaka 714=A.D.792/3. The 12th strophe of the inscription reads:

ayam-iha jinasūnoḥ padmapāṇeh kṛpāloḥ
prathita ⏑⏑⏑ –––⏑––⏑pādaiḥ
Jina-vara-vinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṁ [ya]tīnāṁ=
abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritaḥ siṁhalānāṁ

Casparis (1961:242) raises a doubt about its syntactic interconnections: "The instrumental case of what is probably a compound ending in °pādaiḥ could be an attribute to Jinavaravinayoktaiḥ but it is difficult to see how any of the meanings of pāda could be applied to the words of the Buddha. It is therefore more likely that the instrumental depends on kāritaḥ, an epithet referring to those who had the vihāra built" The prose order of the strophe would be: ayam iha prathita...pādaiḥ Jinavaravinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṁ siṁhalānāṁ yatīnāṁ [kṛte] kṛpāloḥ Jinasūnoḥ Padmapāṇeh Abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritaḥ. It means: "Here this Abhayagiri monastery consecrated to Jinasūnu Padmapāṇi the Compassionate has been constructed for the sake of Siṁhala monks who have been trained in the Vinaya of the Buddha (Jinavara) as enunciated (ukta) by the celebrated (prathita) Venerable (pāda) .... (name lost in the lacuna of ten syllables). This is a crucial strophe for the cultural history of Indonesia, and merits consideration at length. Two main points are emphasised in this stanza, which were distinctive characteristics of the Abhayagiri-vāsins: (i) The Indonesian monastery was dedicated to Padmapāṇi in his Mahākāruṇika aspect, who must have been predominant

at Abhayagiri. (ii) Digression from the Theravāda Vinaya so as to merit special mention of the teacher who initiated the changes and whose name is unfortunately lost though the traces of four akṣaras on fragment e may preserve the name of the founder of the Abhayagiri school*, namely Dhammaruci (Zeyst 1961:28). The differences between the orthodox Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri vihāra were doctrinal and mainly on account of Vinaya rules. According to the Mahāvaṁsa 33.95 Mahātissa was expelled from the Mahāvihāra on account of his frequenting lay families. At the instance of Saṅghamitta of Abhayagiri, king Mahāsena withdrew royal support from the Mahāvihāra as their monks did not teach the correct Vinaya. "It is noteworthy that no accusation of heretical doctrine was professed. Soon it became impossible for the monks to continue to live in the Mahāvihāra, and after it had been deserted for nine years, its building material was removed to enrich the Abhayagirivihāra". Some three hundred and sixty four colleges and great temples were uprooted and destroyed, says an ancient chronicle; and the spoils gathered from them went to enrich and adorn the home of heresy, the Abhayagiri, which, now splendid in ornaments and rich in possessions, stood pre-eminent over all as the greatest and wealthiest monastery in Lanka" (Zeyst 1961:26). The Abhayagiri monks rejected Parivāra the fifth book of the Vinaya, and in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Mahāyāna canon divides the Vinaya into four and not five parts (Zeyst 1961:28).

2. Padmapāṇi is Avalokiteśvara, whose name appears earlier in line 7 of the inscription as Kamalapāṇi. Sarkar (1971:48v) has not recognized this word as a synonym of Avalokiteśvara and has translated it in a general way "having lotus-like palm", while it means "he who holds the lotus in his hand". Later on Padmapāṇi is rendered by Sarkar as "Lord with his lotus-feet" (sic!). The epithet kṛpāloḥ is equivalent to Kārunika or Mahākāruṇika which are synonymous

*Malalasekera (1938) gives a succinct and detailed account of the events leading to the heterodoxy of Abhayagiri (1.130), adoption of Vetullavāda by them (2.918) and its prevalence among them as Dhammārucikas (1.1147-48).

with Avalokiteśvara.

3. The Abhayagiri-vāsins were adherents of Vetullavāda as is well known from the Sinhalese chronicles Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa and the commentary on the Kathāvatthu. The reading vaitulya is found in place of vaipulya in the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. The vulgate title Saddharma-puṇḍarīka dharma-paryāya is Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Mahāratna Vaitulya-sūtra in the Kashgar manuscript and in one occurence the reading is vaitupulya (Kern 1907:3.99), a clear indication of the transition from vaitulya to vaipulya. Thus the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (SP.) was an important sūtra of the Vaitulyakas, and as such a scripture of the Abhayagiri-vāsins. This is confirmed by the fact that they had a monastery dedicated to Padmapāṇi in Indonesia. The 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is a description of the miracles of Avalokiteśvara (Avalokiteśvara-vikurvaṇa-nirdeśa). In Japan, this chapter is treated as an independent sūtra and bears the title Kannon-gyō 'Avalokiteśvara-sūtra'. It is recited daily by Japanese devotees to ward off evils and calamities. Avalokiteśvara has vowed to save all beings in His infinite compassion, where He is known as Daihi-shōja or Mahākāruṇika-muni. The SP. says that if a ship sailing on the ocean be cast on the Rākṣasī-dvīpa and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokiteśvara all will be saved. In the Kāraṇḍavyūha devoted to the glorification of Avalokiteśvara, the Rākṣasī-dvīpa is identified with Srilanka (Kern 1909:407, n.1): an ancient link between Avalokiteśvara and Srilanka.

4. The sustained patronage of Sinhalese kings to Abhayagiri must have stemmed from their deep belief in the miraculous protective powers of the SP. (Visser 1935:2.621). The state is in constant need of stability and security: and this could be accomplished by the SP. Theravāda had no royal ceremonies: either for the consecration or well-being of the king, or for the stability of the State. Hence recourse to other sūtras. The royal preceptors to the Thai King, inspite of his being a follower of Theravāda, are Śaiva priests who discharge ritual functions of State to this day. In Japan, from

olden times this king of sūtras has been worshipped together with the Kāruṇikarāja-sūtra (Ninnōkyō) and Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (Saishōōkyō) as "wonderful texts protecting the state" (Jap. chingo kokka no myōten) by all the sects (Visser 1935:2.702). During the early years of the advent of Buddhism prince Shotoku completed a commentary on the SP. in A.D.615 (ibid. 622). The blessing power of the SP. was invoked by its recitation and making images of Avalokiteśvara not only to secure recovery of imperial personages from illness, but also to suppress rebellion in order to afford peace to the people (ibid.640). This sūtra was studied and venerated as a "text of the utmost importance and blessing power" (ibid.677). In A.D.836 the Japanese Emperor Nimmyō issued an ordinance stating that the protective power of the SP. was such that it turned misfortune into felicity (ibid.655).

5. Avalokiteśvara images in Srilanka. From the 6-7th century onwards upto the present day the worship of Avalokiteśvara has been popular in Srilanka. Statuettes of him belonging to the 6-7th century, are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and from Elahera. The most remarkable of Sinhalese statues of Avalokiteśvara for its height and proportions, with an Amitābha in his headdress, is the one found at Buduruvegala, whose details are finished in stucco. The sunken relief rock sculpture of Avalokiteśvara at Weligama (Southern province), the ten-foot high Dambulla Avalokiteśvara in the cave shrine of the eighth century, the Situlpavva granite statue of the 7-8th century, Ambalantota head in limestone, and metallic images attest the widespread worship of Avalokiteśvara in Srilanka. Cūlavaṁsa refers to the worship of Avalokiteśvara in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269). The renowned scholar Srī Rāhula of the Totagamu vihāra who lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1415-1467) was a devotee of Nātha Avalokiteśvara. The veneration of Avalokiteśvara during the reign of Kīrtiśrīrāyasiṁha (1747-1782) is referred to by the Cūlavaṁsa. To this day, worship of Avalokiteśvara continues at the Nātha-devale at Kandy and Lokeśvara-Nātha-devale at Wegiriya (Mudiyanse 1967:8,38,11,10).

6. Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:2.335) halted for some time at Kanchi in A.D.640 in the hope of visiting Srilanka. Prior to his departure the king of Siṁhala died and the country was in disorder so much so that three hundred monks left the country and arrived at Kanchi. It cannot be ruled out that in course of this exodus some of them migrated to Indonesia, stayed on and established themselves there. In times to come, in A.D.792/3, an Abhayagiri vihāra was constructed for their denomination. Prof. de Casparis says: "The epithets referring to the high standard of learning of the Sinhalese need not imply more than the conventional kind of praise. It is, however, possible that they were added in order to impress upon the Javanese monks that the Abhayagiri Vihāra, of which not many Javanese might have heard, was not just an ordinary monastery but a place that enjoyed great prestige in the Buddhist World". It should be noted that Amoghavajra had travelled from Central Asia for his initiation in Srilanka, sailed to Indonesia where he met his would-be teacher Vajrabodhi in A.D.718. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in A.D.719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in A.D.720. He worked with Vajrabodhi in China, and on his teacher's death he left China in 741 for Srilanka and South India to acquire new tantra literature, and in A.D.746 king Sīlamegha of Srilanka sent through him letters and presents to the emperor of China (Chou 1945:284-307). This is a clear indication that lines of communication between Central Asia, South India, Srilanka, Indonesia and China were open and the sea route was frequented both for trade and culture. Amoghavajra may have been initiated at the Abhayagiri monastery itself The probability is that the Indonesians were fully aware of the renown and glory of Abhayagiri of Siṁhala. It was the monastery where Chinese scholars collected Sanskrit texts of the vinaya and tantras. The cultural interflow between Srilanka and Indonesia was brisk and lively as late as the fifteenth century when a manuscript of the poem Jānakīharaṇa was procured from Indonesia by king Parākramabāhu VI of Koṭṭe (1410-1465). The author (Lokesh Chandra 1979) has identified the 28 stanzas of the first canto of this work in the Indonesian palmleaf manuscript or cakěpan

preserved at the Leiden University Library Cod. Or.5089, which affirms the presence of Jānakīharaṇa in Indonesia.

7. Besides strophe 12, Prof. de Casparis (1979) has deciphered and translated the first three invocatory stanzas of this inscription from Ratubaka and tried to link them with the Barabudur.

Dhī-gambhīra-guho [vara]smṛti-śīlaḥ sadvākya-dhātūj[j]valo
maitrī-prasravaṇaḥ samādhi-vanavān=alpecchatā-kandaraḥ /
yo [']ṣṭābhir=a(2)pi lokadharmma-pavanair=ugrair=na saṁkampitas=
tam samvuddha-sumerum=ūrjjita-guṇaṁ jñānogra-śaktin=name // 1 //

I pay homage to Sambuddha who is verily the Sumeru, of vigorous qualities, and endowed with the awe-inspiring power of knowledge, whose deep caves are [profound] wisdom, whose rocks are lofty tradition, whose Good Words are brilliant [like the sheen of] metal (dhātu [of Sumeru]), whose cascades are Love, whose forests are meditation, whose glens are few desires, who is not shaken by the violent tempests of the eight ways of the world. // 1 //

Loke carrṣi-vara-pravāhi-samayān=ākramya (3) yo dīpyate
vitrastāḥ pratiyānti tīrthya-vṛṣabhā yasya prabhāv-oddhatāḥ /
nānā-dṛṣṭi-[vi]marśa-vṛndam=api yo bhasmīkaroti kṣaṇāt=
tam sarvv-ānu(4)[niba]ndha-pradahanaṁ saddharmmavahnin=name //2//

I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics [strong like] bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who burns out all bondages.

Śaikṣāśaikṣa-sahasra-nakra-makaro yaḥ śūnyatānimitto
nirmmokṣ-aikarasaḥ subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro hrī-hradaḥ /
[saṁg]ūḍārtha-vicāraṇa-vara-nadī-vegaiḥ samāpyāyitaṁ
śikṣā-vandanā-vaddha-velam=amalam=vande guṇāgrā[rṇa]vam // 3 //

I pay obeisance to the Ocean of Supreme Virtues whose nakras and makaras are the thousands of disciples (of the first seven stages) and the arhats (aśaikṣa, the eighth stage), who is Voidness (śūnyatā) and causelessness (ānimitta), whose only essence (rasa) is complete liberation, whose is a great mine of jewels: his wise words, whose conscientiousness (hrī) are like the splashing waters (hrada, [of the ocean]), nourished-and-invigorated (samāpyāyita) by the rushing flow of excellent rivers which are deliberations on esoteric concerns; bounded (vaddha) by clean (amala) shores (velā) which are immaculate (amala) discipline and worship.

8. The first stanza compares the Perfectly Enlightened One (Sambuddha) to Sumeru which cannot be shaken by raging storms. The components of the montane environs are correlated to the Buddha:

Sumeru	SamBuddha
deep caves (guhā)	profound wisdom (dhī)
rocks (śilā)	lofty traditions (smṛti)
shining metals (dhātu)	Good Words (sadvākya)
cascades (prasravaṇa)	Love (maitrī)
forests (vana)	meditation (samādhi)
valleys (kandarā)	few desires (alpecchatā)
violent tempests (ugra pavana)	eight ways of the world (aṣṭa loka-dharma)

Dhī-gambhīra-guho is treated by Casparis as 'whose profound caves are knowledge' which may better be rendered as 'whose deep caves are profound wisdom': gambhīra meaning both deep and profound,

implying physical depth and spiritual profundity. sadvakya-dhatujjvalo is translated by Casparis as 'whose brilliance is owing to its relic: the Good Word', dhatu does not refer to relics but to the precious metals like gold, silver, sapphire and amber that adorn the Sumeru mountain:

> "he must imagine an earth surface (*bhūmitala) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, Oṁ cala vī[ra] hūṁ svāhā.
>
> Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (padma) and the blue lotus (utpala), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula, Oṁ vimala dhahā hūṁ.
>
> In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (indranīla), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (kalpa-vṛkṣa) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the center of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175).

kandarā is translated by Casparis as 'Mount' but it means a narrow valley, glen (MW): kaṁ jalena dīryate iti kandarā 'that which is cut across by water': the narrow valleys are counterbalanced by few desires. Casparis reads aṣṭābhir=a(2)dhi wherein the dubious adhi has to be corrected to api which supplies the requisite emphasis. Casparis translates the third quarter as 'which is not shaken by the eight horrible winds: the worldly qualities': horrible winds should be violent winds and eight does not refer to them but

to lokadharma, which are enumerated in the Dharmasaṅgraha 61: astau lokadharmāh / lābhah, alābhah, sukham, duhkham, yaśah, ayaśah, nindā, praśamsā ceti. These eight are also enumerated in Pali texts (Dīghanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya, Culla-niddesa, Patisambhidāmagga, Vibhaṅga, etc., PTSD). This is a common epithet: anupalipto lokadharmaih (Mvy.873, LV.352.10) 'not defiled by the ways of the world', astalokadharmānupalipta in Lalitavistara 275.5, Śiksāsamuccaya 180.2. Sambuddha-sumerum is translated as a genetive tatpurusa compound 'the Sumeru of the Buddhas' by Casparis, while the Buddha and Sumeru are in apposition: the Sumeru-like Buddha.

9. Now let us take up the second stanza. Casparis reads the first quarter as: Lokair=/va/rasadhara-pravāhi-samayān=ākramya yo dīpyate, and translates it as 'which burns after having grasped the tides (of the ocean), which ... ... (?)'. The reading has to be emended to loke carssivara°. It refers to the Buddha who vanquishes the might of the prevailing doctrines, carries the day and shines with the newly won laurels. Dīpyate is 'burns' in the case of fire, and 'shines forth' in the context of the Buddha. Casparis translates the second quarter as "by whose majesty the heretic bulls, excited, approach without fear". It is contrary to the general tenor of the stanza wherein the Buddha vanquishes the mightiest of heretics who vanish away in fright; vitrastāh is 'frightened, alarmed, terrified' (MW): vi is intensive and not privative (as taken by Casparis: 'without fear'). Pratiyānti is not 'approach' but 'go away' or run away in panic. uddhata in the present context means struck out, pushed out, thrown away, uprooted. In the third quarter Casparis reads nānā-drsti/vi/śaṅka where viśaṅka is doubtful. The word drsti 'view, opinion', is "rarely in a good sense, it is as in Pali, almost always wrong opinion, heresy" (Edgerton 1953:269) Five drstis are enumerated in the Dharmasaṅgraha 68, Mahāvyutpatti 1955-59: satkāya-drsti, antagrāha-drsti, mithyā-drsti, drsti-parāmarśa, śīla-parāmarśa. Drsti-parāmarśa, 'clinging or attachment to heresy' is paraphrased by the Abhidharmakośa v.15,18 as hīnocca-d° 'regarding as high what is low' (Edgerton 1953:269-270). The metre requires three syllables and

so it cannot have paramarśa which comprises four syllables. It has to be substituted by vimarśa which would also alliterate with the next word vrndam. Thus the conjectural viśaṅka 'considerations' which does not fit into the context can be replaced by vimarśa in the meaning of parāmarśa 'clinging to, attachment to ...' (in a disapproved way) and we have a powerful and eloquent statement of the intentions of the author of the inscription. In the fourth quarter the word anu(4)[nibа]ndha is not quite clear. Edgerton does not give this word, but vinibandha 'bondage, attachment' is cited from Mahāvyutpatti 2199, 7232 and the Daśabhūmika 51.14,15. The five bondages of the mind (cetaso vinibandhā) are frequently enumerated in Pali texts: Dīghanikāya 3.238, Majjhimanikāya 1.103, Aṅguttaranikāya 3.249, 4.461, 5.17, Vibhaṅga 477.

10. The third stanza commences with: śaikṣāśaikṣa-sahasra-cakra-makaro, translated by Casparis as 'whose makaras are the multitude of those who are in training and those who are beyond training śaikṣa and aśaikṣa are technical terms. Śaikṣa is a disciple undergoing training in the first seven stages of religious discipline, while aśaikṣa is the eighth stage of the arhat who no longer needs training (Edgerton 1953:80). cakra (Edgerton 1953:221a) is one of the four states of (desirable, happy) existence (in which gods and men may find themselves) enumerated in the Mahāvyutpatti 1603-7 in the chapter on catvāri deva-manuṣyāṇāṁ cakrāṇi. Similarly in Pali Aṅguttaranikāya 2.32, Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.16, 63 (catucakka). The compound cakrabheda 'sowing discord' (Mvy 9114), and the Pali cakkabheda, parallel with saṅghabheda, occurs in Vinaya 2.198, 3.171. As a technical term cakra hardly fits our context. Though the reading cakra may be explained, yet nakra would be preferable if it can be read on the stone inscription. That would counterpoise the śaikṣa against nakra 'alligator and aśaikṣa contra makara. It would be better diction. Casparis reads śūnyatānisvaro where svaro is a dubious reading. Śūnyatā (Edgerton 1953:532) is often associated with ānimitta and apraṇihita in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, 137.2, Lalitavistara 422.20, śūnyatānimitta-praṇihitam in

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, Śikṣāmuccaya 6.15 (Edgerton 1953: 47b). In Pali it is used as an epithet of vimokkha, nibbāna, also as a substitute for the latter (Edgerton 1953:47a). In the inscription śūnyatānisvaro (?) is followed by nirmoksai karasaḥ and it would be better to read it as śūnyatānimitto. In the second quarter, subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro means that while the ocean is replete with riches of the deep, the Buddha is an endless treasure-house of noble words. hrīhradaḥ is translated by Casparis as 'the Lake of Modesty': can there be a lake in the ocean? It should have a meaning more coherent in this passage. Hradin 'abounding in water (as a river)' MBh., Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa (MW.1306-7), √hrād 'to sound, roar ...', hrādayati 'to cause to sound, to refresh, delight'. The original meaning of hrī may be gleamed from the Pali phrases hiri-nisedha 'restrained by conscience', hiri-bala 'the power of conscientiousness', hiri-mana 'conscientious', ahirika 'shameless, unscrupulous', hiriyati 'to feel conscientious scruple' (Davids/Stede 1921). Thus hrada refers to the surging waters breaking in the joy (hrād/hlād) of waves, and this oceanic abandon of the Buddha is the overflow of Cosmic Consciousness that He is. The third quarter saṅgūḍārtha-vicāraṇā is rendered by Casparis as 'the discussion on hidden (?) meanings'. It is a reference to the constant development of Buddhist thought culminating in the esoteric systems of the tantras. This becomes clear when we bear in mind that the present inscription pertains to a monastery of the Abhayagiri denomination, which was constantly in touch with developments of Buddhist thought in the mainland of India, in contradistinction to their opponents the adherents of Mahāvihāra. The static orthodoxy of the Theravādins of Mahāvihāra was in sharp contrast to the ever-new philosophic dynamism of the Abhayagiri-vāsins. This was predominantly in the context of the development of the esoteric (saṅgūḍha) doctrine of Tantras, which samāpyāyita 'nourished, invigorated and refreshed' (MW) the new order. The torrential flow (vega) of mighty (vara) rivers emptying into the ocean is put into bounds (vaddha) by undefiled (amala) beaches (velā). This brings us to the fourth quarter: śikṣā-vandana-vaddha-velam amalam which is

translated by Casparis as 'whose tides reflect the praising of the (Three) Instructions'. Here vela is not tide, but 'coast , shore' (velāyām 'on the seashore, coastwise, MBh.' (MW.1018). Velā is "boundary of sea and land (personified as the daughter of Meru and Dhāriṇī, and the wife of Samudra)" (MW). Śikṣā are the Three Instructions of the Vinaya in reference to moral conduct (adhiśīlam), by the Sūtra in reference to thought, intellect (adhicittam), and by the Abhidharma in reference to wisdom, insight (adhiprajñam). Vandanā is the first of the seven acts of worship (saptavidhā anuttara-pūjā) which are enumerated in Dharmasaṅgraha 14. Śikṣā refers to the way of śrāvakas and vandanā to that of Mahāyāna. This twofold division is well known in Tibet (Lessing/Wayman 1968:17,21).

11. The first three invocatory stanzas refer to Sumeru, fire (vahni) and waters (arṇava), corresponding to the mahābhūta or elements : earth, water, fire and the fourth element wind may be found in the succeeding stanza. The four elements alone are recognised by Vasubandhu in his Abhidharmakośa (Visser 1931:6). The fifth element ākāśa 'ether' is not included in his system. In the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala too only these four elements guard its corner directions (Lokesh Chandra 1972:464-467).

12. In the three stanzas the terms lokadharma, śaikṣāśaikṣa, śūnyatāni mitta refers to śrāvakayāna (Theravāda). subhāṣita-mahāratnākara may veil an allusion to the Ratnakūṭa sūtras. Ratnākara is the name of a mountain in the Mahāmāyūrī 253.32 (Edgerton 1953:452b), and the Ratnakūṭa sūtras of the Āndhrakas are mentioned in the Nikāya-saṅgraha as being prevalent in Srilanka (Mudiyanse 1967:17). The Abhayagiri-vāsins were assailed by orthodox Theravāda sects but remained unperturbed and unshaken (na saṁkampitaḥ). They went on progressing into the ever-evolving world of Buddhism, from the Vedalla/Vetulla/Vepulla sūtras into Vajrayāna. The Nikāya-saṅgraha explicitly states that their Vetulla-piṭaka had texts of all shades of the spectrum of Vetullavāda from early Mahāyāna to Ratnakūṭa and finally to the Tantras. Saṁgūḍhārtha-vicāraṇā-vara-nadī-vegaiḥ samāpyāyitam refers to the

spread of esoteric (samgūdha) texts of the various tantras in Srilanka. This brings us to the consideration of the denominational system or systems prevalent among the adherents of Abhayagiri who went to Indonesia.

13. In the reign of Voharika Tissa (A.D.209-301) the Abhayagiri-vāsins who "had earlier received a body of Vajjiputta monks from Pallārāma in India led by their teacher Dhammaruci, are reported to have adopted some views belonging to the Vetulya-vāda" (Zeyst 1961:25). "In the time of Silākāla (518-531) a Vaipulya Sutta (Mahāyāna text) known as Dhammadhātu was brought from India by a merchant of Kāsī, named Pūrṇa. This text was readily accepted by Abhayagiri and was honoured in the palace". In the ninth century a follower of the "Vajraparvata sect in India came to reside in Abhayagiri from where he spread his secret teachings" (ibid:26) "The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength ... The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the Vetulya-piṭaka. The Vetulyas or adherents of Vetulla-vāda are well known by name both in the Sinhalese chronicles and in the commentary to the Kathāvatthu" (ibid.27). In Pali Vetulla, Vetulya occurs as a dissenting sect in °vāda (Mahāvaṁsa 36,41, Dīpavaṁsa 22,45) and in °vādin. Davids/Stede say that the "Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term" Vaitulya is a derivative of vitula 'incomparable', vi 'not' tula 'comparable', like atula. In Pali, which preserves an earlier tradition, the form vepulla does not occur as a variant for vetulla.

14. The word Vetulla is Vaitulya in Sanskrit. In the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the title is 'constantly' sūtraṁ mahāvaitulyaṁ bodhisattvotpādam (Kern 1909, preface ix, 65 n.1) instead of the Nepalese sutrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam. In the Central Asian manuscript of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra written in Upright Gupta script we get sarva-mahāyāna-sūtra vaitulya-param-āmṛta-saddharma ... (Hoernle 1916:95.8).

Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 354.6, 415) cites from the Candrapradīpa-sūtra (=Samādhirāja) : vaitulya-śikṣitāḥ, where Tibetan has rab-rgyas-dag-gis bslabs which is a translation of vaipulya and dag-gis is instrumental plural. The Samādhirāja-sūtra is also a vaipulya-sūtra (Mudiyanse 1967:18). In later manuscripts vaitulya has been replaced by vaipulya. Saddharma-puṇḍarīka calls itself a vaipulya-sūtra-rāja (1.3), and speaks of the plurality of vaipulya-sūtrāṇi (46.4), vaipulya-sūtrāṇa (98.3). This sūtra also terms itself as dharma-paryāyaṁ sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādaṁ (19.12), saddharma-puṇḍarīkaṁ (followed by the same four words as in 19.12) in 21.6, 22.15, 65.1, saddharma-puṇḍarīkaṁ nāma dharma-paryāyaṁ sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyam. Vaipulya and mahāvaipulya are used as synonymous terms. Lalitvistara speaks of itself as a mahāvaipulya sūtra : Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo bodhisattvakuśala-mūla-samudbhāvanaḥ (4.18), Lalitavistaro nāma dharma-paryāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikrīḍitaḥ (438.20), vaipulya-sūtra (7.9).

15. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and Samādhirāja are three of the nine sūtras (nava-dharmāḥ) of the Buddhists of Nepal, the other six being Laṅkāvatāra, Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Gaṇḍavyūha, Daśabhūmika, Suvarṇaprabhāsa and Tathāgata-guhyaka (Guhyasamāja). These nine texts might have formed a part of the Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins, referred to in the Nikāyasaṅgraha 32, along with other texts.

16. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and Samādhirāja were (Mahā)Vaitulya/Vaipulya texts as is evident from these Sanskrit texts themselves. The Tibetan and Chinese titles show that there were other texts of the (mahā)vaipulya class : The Avataṁsaka is a mahāvaipulya sūtra: it is entitled Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra in the Tibetan Kanjur (Toh.44) and Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra in the Chinese translation (Nj.87=T.278, Nj.88=T.279). The Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh.494, T.848=Nj.530) is the basic text (mūla-tantra) of the division of caryā-tantras.

17. The tradition of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras starting with the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition in the following classification :

A (1) the biography of Śākyamuni

(2) compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition

(3) compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:

(1) Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (bkaḥ) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh.1-7).

(2) The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. śūnyatā) (Toh.8-30).

(3) The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh.44 Avataṁsaka and 45-93 Ratnakūṭa).

(4) The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh.94-359).

C Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:

(1) Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh.360-478)

(2) Yoga-tantra (Toh.479-493)

(3) Caryā-tantra (Toh.494-501)

(4) Kriyā-tantra (Toh.502-827)

18. The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the same tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭakas" (Beal 1884:2.247), which shows their oecumenical approach. The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.20) records that

in the reign of Sena I (846–866) vajiriya-vāda was introduced to the Virāṅkura monastery by a monk of the Vajraparvata-nikāya of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967:8). In a prior context the Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.9-10, Mudiyanse 1967:17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras:

(1) Varṇa-piṭaka of the Hemavatas
(2) Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka of the Rājagirikas
(3) Gūḍha-Vessantara of the Siddhārthakas
(4) Rāṣṭrapāla-garjjita of the Pūrvaśailīyas
(5) Ālavaka-garjjita of the Aparaśailīyas

Works by Vajraparvatavāsins (6-31)

(6) Gūḍha-Vinaya
(7) Māyājāla-tantra
(8) Samāja-tantra
(9) Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra
(10) Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra
(11) Bhūtaḍāmara-tantra
(12) Vajrāmṛta-tantra
(13) Cakra-saṁvara-tantra
(14) Dvādaśacakra-tantra
(15) Herukādbhuta-tantra
(16) Mahāmāya-tantra
(17) Padanikṣepa-tantra
(18) Catuṣpiṣṭa-tantra
(19) Paramardda-tantra
(20) Mārīcyudbhava-tantra
(21) Sarvabuddha-tantra
(22) Sarvaguhya-tantra
(23) Samuccaya-tantra
(24) Rāja-kalpa
(25) Herambha-kalpa
(26) Trisamaya-kalpa
(27) Rāja-kalpa
(28) Vajra-gandhāra-kalpa
(29) Mārīcī-guhya-kalpa

(30) Śuddha-samuccaya-kalpa
(31) Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa
(32) Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins
(33) Ratnakūṭa sūtras of the Āndhrakas
(34) Akṣarasāriya-sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas

19. The aforesaid texts can be arranged into the following groups according to the Vajrayāna system of classification (Lessing/Wayman 1973:233-239):

Ratnakūta genre of texts (Toh.45-93, Ns.34)

Sūtras
Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (Toh.62, Ns.4)
Aṅgulimālīya (Toh.213, Ns 2)

Anuttara-yoga-tantras
Herukābhyudaya (Toh.374, Ns.15 Herukādbhuta-tantra. Tantras pertaining to the Heruka group are Toh.368-427).
Cakrasaṁvara-tantra (Toh.385, Ns.13)
Mahāsamaya-tantra-rāja (Toh.390, Ns.9 Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra)
Mahāmāya-tantra-rāja (Toh.425, Ns.16 omits °rāja)
Catuṣpīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja (Toh.430,Ns.18 Catuṣpīṭha-tantra)
Vajrāmṛta-tantra (Toh.435, Ns.12)
Guhyasamāja-tantra (Toh.449, Ns.8 Samāja-tantra). The Guhyasamāja section extends from Toh.442 to Toh.453 (both inclusive, Wayman 1973:235).
Māyājāla-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.466, Ns.7 Māyājāla-tantra)

Yoga-tantras
Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh.479, Ns.10 adds °tantra)
Paramādya nāma mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh.487,Ns.19 Paramarda-tantra)

Caryā-tantra
Padanikṣepa-tantra (Ns.17). Padanikṣepa is one of the Eight Mahāvidyārāja in Shingon or Japanese mantrayāna (Taishō Zuzō 164

no.1, 165 no.1 Hachi-dai-myōō-zuzō 'figures of aṣṭa-mahāvidyārāja', two scrolls kept at the Daigōji monastery).

Kriyā-tantras

Māyā-Mārīci-jāta-tantrād uddhṛtaṁ kalpa-rāja (Toh.565,Ns. Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa)

Mārīcy-udbhava-tantra (Ns.20), Mārīci-kalpa (Ns.24), Mārīci-guhya-kalpa (Ns.29) can be compared to Toh.566.

Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.747, Ns.11 B.-tantra)

General

Kriyā-samuccaya (Toh.3305, Ns.23 Samuccaya-tantra)

Trisamayarāja-sādhana (Toh.3144,3401), Trisamaya-samaya-sādhana (Toh.3147) can be compared to Trisamaya-kalpa (Ns.26) and Rāja-kalpa (Ns.27)

Vajragandhara-kalpa (Ns.28) can be compared to Vajragāndhārī-sādhana (Toh.3260,3385,3594,3595).

20. The Nikāya-saṅgraha makes it explicit beyond doubt that the Ratnakūṭa and all the four divisions of Tantras were prevalent in Srilanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-Tantric and Tantric heritage with the Indonesians. The mention of Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra (Ns.10), the basic text (mūla-tantra) of the yoga-tantras is of special importance. Quotations from an explanatory tantra of yoga-tantras, namely, the Śrī-paramādya-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa (Toh.488), also known as Adhyardha-śatikā Prajñāpāramitā in its Chinese version, have been traced in the Indonesian text Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (Jong 1974:469). The Tattva-saṅgraha is important because it is visualised as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Its graphic expression is a painting of this maṇḍala. This maṇḍala can also be constructed as a gigantic architectural structure, which in terms of Tantric ritual is ādhārotpatti. In tantric rites meditation with japa or muttering is divided into three sections: (i) preliminary acts, (ii) main part, and (iii) terminating acts. The main part has, inter alia, generation of deity in front in six steps. The

first step is ādhārotpatti or generation of the residence for the deities and the second step is invitation to the deities to be resident therein (ādheya). These details have been cited earlier in paragraph 8. It has to be borne in mind that the ocean (arṇava) and Sumeru were vital to Tantric evocation and elaborate reference to them in the invocatory stanzas of the Ratubaka Inscription implies a Tantric milieu in which it was written. The Ratubaka Inscription attains fundamental relevance to the definition of the general framework of Śailendra monuments for it provides us the denominational context in which these works of great art arose within less than a century.

21. The Ratubaka Inscription provides the following footholds:

(1) The Abhayagiri-vāsins were present in Indonesia in A.D.792/3.

(2) A monastery was constructed for them by a Śailendra king, in which Padmapāṇi was consecrated and Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara stems from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. The Ratubaka complex could well be this monastery.

(3) The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed Vaitulyavāda which comprised Vait(p)ulya sūtras like Lalitavistara, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and the Tantras as can be ascertained from the list of the Nikāya-saṅgraha.

(4) The invocatory stanzas of the inscription refer to Sumeru and the Ocean whose evocation is the first step in Tantric ritual. It implies that they were written in the milieu of Vajrayāna. The Śailendras were followers of Vajrayāna and the presence of Abhayagiri-vāsins was but natural. The fame of Indonesian centres of Vajrayāna had reached far and wide, so much so that Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra visited Indonesia in the eighth century, prior to their journey to China where they resided for life, and translated Tantras into Chinese to introduce Vajrayāna there.

(5) The contacts of Abhayagiri with Indonesia and the multiplicity of textual traditions followed at Abhayagiri lends confirmation to the fact that the Śailendra monuments should also

pertain to the immensity (vaipulya) of the sūtras and tantras, the various stages of whose continuous development were preserved in the synthesis of the ecumenical approach of Vajrayāna, and that the Barabudur was an expression of this broad and universal approach. We cannot but agree wth Prof. de Casparis "that there are a number of contemporary or near-contemporary inscriptions which may throw light on the basic problems of Barabudur", though his presumption will have to undergo modifications in details. For instance he says that the Javanese text Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan is based on "still unidentified Indian prototype (or on several prototypes)": two of the prototypes have been identified by Jong (1974). The Ratubaka Inscription does not refer specifically to any monument, certainly not to the Barabudur, in the compound Såvuddha-Sumeru but only to its general context indicated above. It points to the fact that the 8/9th century was the golden age of Vajrayāna in Java, when the Barabudur came into existence. As we have already shown in a paper to be published in the proceedings of the seminar on "The Symbolism of the Stūpa" held at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg in 1978, the Barabudur was the Sumeru, the residence for the images of deities to be resident. The bipolarity of the ādhāra (Sumeru) and ādheya (deities) was also expressed in the Barabudur being in stone and the deities in precious metals and hence now lost.

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GANESA IN JAPAN

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LOKESH CHANDRA, NEW DELHI

GAṆEŚA IN JAPAN

The manifestation of divinity which our senses can perceive can be expressed in terms of category. All that can be comprehended is a category, a *gaṇa (gaṇyante buddhyante te gaṇāḥ)*. Category is the fundamental element of existence. Lording over these categories is Gaṇapati, the Cosmic Person. The Elephant-headed Man, as Gaṇapati is, expresses the unity of man the microcosm with the Great Being, the Macrocosm, pictured as an elephant. Gaṇapati is obese, because many universes were born from His belly (*tasyodarāt samutpannaṁ nānāviśvam*), yet He Himself transcends all.

As the spirit of Japan chose the transcendental path in the unique personality of Kobo daishi, Gaṇeśa became a part of Japanese esoterism, of her Mantrayāna. In 804 Kobo daishi (774-835) went to China 'to search the Dharma', where esoterism was at its apogee, with the Chinese translations of basic texts and commentaries already accomplished by the great Ācāryas of India like Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.

Amoghavajra or Amoghajñāna (705-774) was a Brahmin who arrived at the Chinese capital Lo-yang in 720 and he was ordained at the Kuang-fu temple in Lo-yang. The Chinese Emperor lavished favours on him and he was held in the highest veneration at the court. Yuan-chao wrote of him as "the one who excels all ancients and moderns" in his "Memorials of Amogha, the Tripiṭaka-bhadanta of Eloquence and Wide Wisdom" (Taisho 2120). He was also responsible for collecting all the Sanskrit manuscripts that lay scattered in the monasteries of the Empire, for their restoration, translation and propagation. Amogha's major subject of study under Vajrabodhi was the kalpa of Vajradhātu. This formed the fundament for the development of his thought that "the mantric method is a more efficient expedient than the exoteric in practice and achievement" (*Ency. Buddh.* 1:485). The translation of complex Mantrayānic texts into Chinese was well-nigh impossible. It was only the genius of Amo-

ABBREVIATIONS

Nanjio=Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (Oxford 1883).

Tajima=Ryujun Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'esoterisme Shingon* (Tokyo 1959).

ghavajra who lived the major part of his life in China and his perfect command of Chinese that enabled him to translate abstruse Sanskrit texts into Chinese with eloquent fluency. He rendered into Chinese extracts of the kalpa of Vajradhātu, which forms a part of the First Assembly in the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra, under the title *Chin-kang-ting-i-ch'ieh-ju-lai-chên-shih-shê-ta-chêng-hsien-chêng-ta-chiao-wang-ching*, or whose Sanskrit would be: *Vajraśekhara-sarvatathāgata-Tattva-saṁgraha-mahāyāna-pratyutpannābhisambuddha-mahātantrarāja-sūtra* (Taisho 865). Hence onwards Vajradhātu-kalpa became the foundation of various contemplative systems of esoteric yoga, in which Gaṇeśa occupied a place of honour.

Amoghavajra had a brilliant Chinese disciple Hui-kuo (746-805), from whom Kobo daishi received his *abhiṣeka* or initiation into Mantrayāna. Kobo daishi assimilated the quintessence of the new Way of the Mantra, which had been transplanted to China but was to find its efflorescence and fruition in Japan. In 806 Kobo daishi returned to Japan with profound Gods born unto him, with homa consuming baser passions, his total being illumined by a new vision.

While Kobo daishi carried the sūtras expounding the Vajradhātu, he also took along with him its pictorial representation in the form of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Hui-kuo had it drawn, for the sake of Kobo daishi in accordance with the Tattva-saṁgraha, by the famous painter Li-chên assisted by more than ten other artists. The original maṇḍala was polychrome. In the central Vajradhātu-maṇḍala Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka occurs in five manifestations in the exterior circle of the central square called the mahābhūta-maṇḍala. So the earliest reference to the worship of Gaṇeśa in Japan can be dated to 806 A. D. the year of Kobo daishi's return to his country, Japan.

The Japanese names of Gaṇeśa are Binayaka, Shōden and Kangiten. Binayaka is the most usual application in the *Hizoki*. Kangiten denotes the god of happiness, prosperity, and well-being. Shōden can be rendered into Sanskrit as Āryadeva. Besides, specific manifestations have individual names.

The five manifestations of Gaṇeśa in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are:

2. Vināyaka is called Binayaka-ten or Kangi-ten the 'god of good luck' in Japanese. In one hand he holds a radish and in the other a *laḍḍu.*

3. According to the *Hizoki,* which is a collection of notes on all the divinities and doctrines of Mantrayāna by Kobo daishi[1], one performs circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) from the north-east corner. In the east is Vajracchinna or Kongō-zai-ten in Japanese[2]. The *Hizoki* (12 b 19) terms it a Vināyaka with an umbrella or Chattra-Vināyaka. He holds a white umbrella[3]. He is illustrated alongside (*Esot. Icon.* 446).

[1] Some ascribe its authorship to Wen-pi, but the general consensus is that its author was Kobo daishi. It is included in his collected works: *Kobo Daishi Zenshū,* vol. 5. It is also reproduced in *Taisho Zuzo,* vol. 1. All the references are to the *Taisho Zuzo* edition.

4. In the south is Vajrabhakṣaṇa or Kongō-jikiten in Japanese. The *Hizoki* (12 b 21) calls him Mālya-Vināyaka. He is adorned with a garland of flowers. His depiction is alongside (*Esot. Icon.* 451).

5. In the West is Vajravāsin or Kongō-eten in Japanese. According to the *Hizoki* (12 b 23) he is the Vināyaka carrying a bow and arrow, he is the Dhanur-Vināyaka. He is illustrated alongside (*Esot. Icon.* 456).

[2] Tajima pp. 192-196.

[3] Taisho no 1796, translated by I-hang or Ichigyō (in Japanese pronunciation), 683-735 A. D., a disciple of Śubhakarasiṁha and Vajrabodhi (*Hōbōgirin*, fascicule annexé, 1931, p. 140a s. v. Ichigyō).

6. In the North is Jaya or Jōbuku-ten in Japanese. According to the *Hizoki* (12 b 17) he holds a sword and is of a pale flesh colour. He is the Khaḍga-Vināyaka, illustrated alongside (*Esot. Icon.* 461).

It is worth noting that the *Hizoki* uses Binayaka as the generic appellation for all the epiphanies of Gaṇeśa. Kobo daishi must have obtained it as an oral tradition from Hui-kuo, going back to Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi. All the five forms of Gaṇeśa are comprised under the Twenty Devas who are guardians of Mantrayāna. They are also enumerated in the *Kongôchōyuga-chūryakushutsunen-jukyō* (Taisho 866) translated by Vajrabodhi in 723 A. D. during the T'ang dynasty (Nanjio 534). The names and the placement of the Gaṇeśa-epiphanies slightly varies from one text to another, e. g. in the *Kiao wang ching* (Taisho 882) which was done into Chinese by Dānapāla in 980-1000 A. D. during the later Sung dynasty from the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-Tattva-saṁgraha* (Nanjio 1017). The five Gaṇeśa are also enumerated in the *Kengōjūrokuson* (Taisho 881, Tajima p. 191).

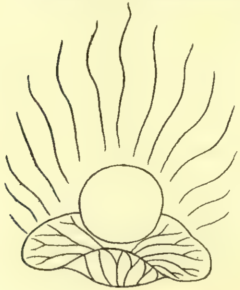
There are other forms of each of the Five Gaṇeśa in other parts of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala which comprises nine divisions:

5	6	7
4	1	8
3	2	9

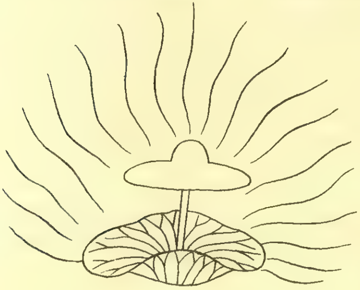
The names of the above nine divisions are: 1. Vajradhātu-mahābhūta-maṇḍala, 2. samaya-maṇḍala, 3. sūkṣma-maṇḍala, 4. pūjā-maṇḍala, 5.

caturmudrā-maṇḍala, 6. ekamudrā-maṇḍala, 7. naya-maṇḍala, 8. Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala, 9. Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala. The forms described and depicted above are according to the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala. Out of the remaining eight sub-maṇḍalas five (nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9) depict them in various aspects representing ascending planes of realisation.

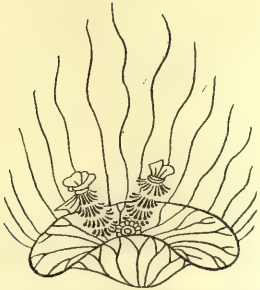
Now we shall take up the forms of Gaṇeśa as depicted in the second samaya-maṇḍala or dhāraṇī-maṇḍala which represents the divinities of the mahābhūta-maṇḍala in their samaya or esoteric form, which is figured by one or more objects or symbols peculiar to each divinity. The samaya is the vow, the resolve, the fundamental characteristic of a divinity (Tajima p. 197). The five Gaṇeśa in their samaya forms are depicted as follows:



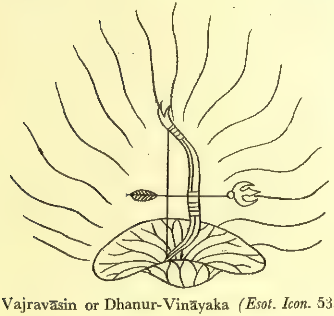
Vināyaka (*Esot. Icon.* 537)



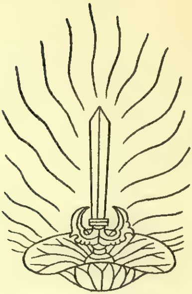
Vajracchinna or Chattra-Vināyaka (*Esot. Icon.* 523)



Vajrabhakṣaṇa or Mālya-Vināyaka (*Esot. Icon.* 528)



Vajravāsin or Dhanur-Vināyaka (*Esot. Icon.* 533)



Jaya or Khaḍga-Vināyaka (*Esot. Icon.* 538)

The attributes are placed on lotus-leaves with rays of illumination issuing out of them. Vināyaka is represented by a *modaka* or patisserie. The illustrations are from the author's forthcoming book *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas* (with its serial numbers).

In the third sūkṣma-maṇḍala the divinities are represented in their samaya aspect of the subtle and indestructible knowledge of the vajra, the Absolute, whence the *She pa huei che kuei* calls it a sūkṣma-vajra-maṇḍala. Graphically, the divinities are represented adossed with a three-pronged vajra. The Twenty Devas, which also comprise the Five Gaṇeśa, are not adossed by a vajra, and hence their forms are nearly the same as in the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala, with minor variations in the position of the hands. Their graphic representations can be seen in the author's *Esot. Icon.* (Vināyaka 610, Chattra-Vināyaka 596, Mālya-Vināyaka 601, Dhanur-Vināyaka 606 and Jaya or Khaḍga-Vināyaka 611).

In the fourth pūjā-maṇḍala, the depiction of the Five Gaṇeśa is nearly the same as in the first maṇḍala. They can be seen in the author's *Esot. Icon.* In the original xylograph reproduced by the author, Mālya-Vināyaka 676, 678) and Khaḍga-Vināyaka (671, 685) have been repeated and Chattra-Vināyaka and Dhanur-Vināyaka are lacking. Vināyaka occurs as no. 672.

In the eighth or Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala the graphic representations are again identical with those in the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala.

In the ninth Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala the depiction of the Five Gaṇeśa is almost similar to those of the second samaya-maṇḍala. They are represented by their attributes on a lotus-leaf, surrounded by flames. Their representations can be seen in the author's *Esot. Icon.* nos. 844, 849, 854, 859, 860.

The graphic representation of the Five Gaṇeśa can be categorised into: (i) anthropotheriomorphic as in India, and (ii) symbolic or samaya form, a tradition lost in Indian art though known from the Chinese and Tibetan translations of original Sanskrit texts.

Besides the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, Kobo daishi had also brought the Mahākaruṇā-garbha-maṇḍala. In its Quarter of Vajras, Gaṇapati is depicted with an axe and a radish. His name is transcribed into Japanese as Binayaka and in the Siddham script it is given as *Gaṇapata*, and the bija is *GA* (*Esot. Icon.* 348).

There is a lovely illustration of this Gaṇeśa with an axe and a radish in a 9th century scroll, kept in the Daigoji monastery at Kyoto, drawn in the 12th

year of Konin (821 A. D.) entitled *Shishu-goma-honzon narabini kenzoku zuzō* 'figures of the main divinities and their attendants (*parivara*) of the four kinds of homa' (*Taishō Zuzō* 1:837 fig. 20).

毘那夜迦

以二小二無名指鉤向内以二中指。竪相交叉以二風各附中指以二大附近頭指側加持五処

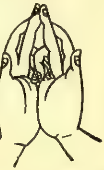
In Japanese worship, mudrās are an integral part to evoke the visual presence of divine epiphanies in the mind of the initiate to transform his inner being. According to the Japanese work *Dainichikyō*[4], the mudrās or hand gestures endow the thoughts, consecrations, dhāraṇī-mantra, all that is beyond form with a visible shape, thereby crystallising a trans-material state for meditation. Gaṇeśa is represented by two mudrās in the popular mudrā-manual for worship entitled *Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shu* 'A Collection of the Drawings (*zu*) of the mudrās of Mantrayāna'. Vināyaka has the mudrā: →

There are two mudrās of Shōden (lit. Ārya-deva) or Gaṇapati:

聖天 請召印

二小指二無名指相鉤向内二中指竪相刃二頭指各竪(或直)附中指二大指亦竪附近頭指側

二手五指舒掌仰二小指二無名指屈内向二中指以右押左相交申二頭指附二中指背附二大指二頭指側附



又説

結内三鈷印以二頭指附二中指背二大指

内縛二中指立合二頭指以二中指背附二大指開二頭指側附

[4] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 177a; E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā* (London 1960) p. 35.

The *Bussetsu-Daibirushana-jōbutsu-jimben-kaji-kyō-shū-shingon-gyō-daihi-taizōshō-dai-mandara-ō-futsū-nenju-giki,* a kalpa for the Mahākaruṇodbhava-mahāmaṇḍala, gives five separate mudrās and mantras for the Five Gaṇeśa:

(i) Vināyaka and his consort (*Taisho Zuzo* 8:147 fig. 333) with the mantra: *oṁ vajra-vināyaka hūṁ.*

(ii) Vajracchinna and Vajracchinnī (*ibid.* fig. 335).

(iii) Vajrabhakṣaṇa and Vajrabhakṣaṇī (*ibid.* fig. 336).

(iv) Vajravāsin and Vajravāsinī (*ibid.* fig. 337).

(v) Vajrajaya and Vajrajayī (*ibid.* fig. 338).

Gaṇeśa has also been represented in bīja form. A bīja or germ-syllable is termed *shuji* in Japanese. The recitation of a bīja impregnates the faithful with the energies and essences contained in it, establishing a psychic union between the adept and the divinity. On p. 59 of the *Shuji-shū* 'Collection of Bījas', published by Bhikṣu Chōzen in the Kwambun era (1661-73) the bīja of Gaṇeśa is *gaḥ* or *gaḥgaḥ* in the splendid calligraphy of the Siddham script. This tradition of the bīja has continued to the present day. In a modern 'Collection of Siddham Bījas' entitled *Bon-shu Shittan shuji ruishu* (Koyasan) the bījas as calligraphed by Chōzen are reproduced:

The double *gaḥ* represents the Twin Gaṇeśa with two bodies. In the same

text there is another bīja of Gaṇeśa: *kaṁ*, followed by the mantra *oṁ gaḥ goḥ hūṁ svāhā.*

In later Tencho era, in about 824, the Takao maṇḍala was painted from the original polychrome maṇḍala brought back from China by Kobo daishi in 806 A. D. It was copied in gold and silver lines on purple damasksilk. Now it is preserved at the Jingōji monastery. All the Five Gaṇeśa are painted in colours in all their manifestations in the six parts of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

Another copy of the original polychrome maṇḍala was that kept at the Tōji monastery. In the end of the 9th century its first copy was prepared. It was discovered in 1934 in a black-lacquer box which has a lacquered inscription at the back of the lid dated 899 A. D. It is kept at the Shingon-in temple. Herein are delineated all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa.

During the Kenkyū era (1190-1198) the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was painted on silk from the original Tōji maṇḍala. It has all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa in its six sub-maṇḍalas.

Late in the Kamakura period, in the Einin era (1293-1298) the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was once again painted from the original Tōji maṇḍala. Being used over a long period, its colours have peeled off. It has all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa.

The Five Gaṇeśa are depicted in their exoteric and esoteric manifestations in the following scrolls of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala:

(i) In the Kōzanji scroll. Towards the end of the Kamakura period, in the 14th century, a new copy of the Takao maṇḍala was painted which was handed down in the Kōzanji monastery, Kyoto.

(ii) In the Keishō-in scroll. In 1693 bhikṣu Shūkaku painted the maṇḍala for the donator Keishō-in. This is the copy in use at the Tōji Monastery.

(iii) In 1773 bhikṣu Jōtō of Koyasan got the Tōji maṇḍala copied by Shimizu Nobumasa for being printed by wooden blocks. The size was reduced to one-fourth of the original. The woodblocks have perished in a fire.

(iv) In the Hasedera scroll. In 1834 bhikṣus Yūkō and Kainyo of the Buzan school commissioned the painter Tōshuku Hasegawa to copy the Tōji maṇḍala, to commemorate the 1000th anniversary of the nirvāṇa of Kobo daishi.

(v) In the Omuro woodblock edition. In 1869 Sompō of the Shima province got the woodblocks of bhikṣu Hōun produced. They are remarkable for their clarity. They have been reproduced in this paper.

The Five Gaṇeśa are illustrated in their various manifestations in texts on the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala:

(i) *Kongō-kai-mandara*, kept at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto (*Taisho Zuzo* 1:1021, etc.).

(ii) The *Kongō-kai-sammaya-mandara-zu* kept at the Ishiyamaji monastery depicts only the samaya forms of the Five Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 1:1082).

(iii) The *Sammaya-gyō-Hōrin-in-bon* 'Book of Samaya Symbols' once owned by the Hōrin-in monastery, but now preserved at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto depicts the symbolic forms of Five Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 1:1129, etc.).

(iv) The *Gohitsu-shishu-goma-dan-sanjūshichi-son-kengō-sammaya-gyō* 'the samaya symbols of the 37 divinities, 16 Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa for the four kinds of homa altars', kept at the Daigoji, Kyoto illustrates the Five Gaṇeśa in their samaya form (*Taisho Zuzo* 1:1157, 1158 fig. 47, 48, 51, 52, 53).

Besides the main form of Vināyaka (with axe and radish) in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha-maṇḍala and the multiple forms of the five manifestations in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, there are also other representations of Gaṇeśa in Japan. While the forms of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are two-armed (*dvi-bhuja*), elsewhere the forms of Gaṇeśa are four-armed or six-armed or twin. Besides the Five Gaṇeśa in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, there is another concatenation of Four Gaṇeśa which is first depicted by Shinkaku in the 12th century, then by Shōchō in the 13th century, and in the *Zuzō-shō*. Some of them have been repeated individually in other series in works to be detailed hereafter.

FOUR GAṆEŚA

Shinkaku (?-1180 A. D.) wrote a description of divinities i. e. the *Besson-zakki* which is now preserved in 57 scrolls at the Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto. In his *magnum opus* Shinkaku has described the images of Gaṇeśa, given His mantra, and drawn four forms of Shōden or Gaṇeśa, all in a standing posture. Fig. 233 is four-armed, fig. 234 and 235 are six-armed though with varying attributes, and fig. 236 is Twin, i. e. two forms embracing each other (*Taisho Zuzo* 3:532 ff.).

In the 13th century, Shōchō (1205-1282) of the Tendai sect wrote his comprehensive work on divinities entitled *Asava-shō*. Asava is a collocation of Sanskrit bīja-mantras wherein *a* represents Tathāgata the Unborn Eternal (*aja*), *sa* stands for lotus, and *va* for vajra; the three bījas symbolising the mantras of every divinity belonging to the Mahākaruṇodbhava-maṇḍala. The author devotes section 149 to Kangiten or Gaṇeśa and His worship (*pūjā*, *Taisho Zuzo* 9:477-487). It begins by giving the Sanskrit name *Gaṇapati* in Siddham letters, followed by the Japanese names *Binayaka* and *Shōden*. Four Gaṇeśa are delineated. Figure 84 depicts the arragement of three altars for the pūjā of Gaṇeśa:

for the morning offering, late night offering and daytime offering. Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the general pūjā of Vināyakā deva with the placement of the offerings of soup, boiled rice, cakes, radish, fire for homa, etc. (see *Taisho Zuzo* 9:482 plate 85).

Section 150 is devoted to the worship of Udaka-Gaṇapati who is not pictured. The arrangement of his altar is drawn on p. 487 of *Taisho Zuzo* volume 9.

The *Zuzō-shō* 'selection of figures' which is preserved at the Entsūji monastery (Koyasan) in ten scrolls, describes and illustrates the Four Gaṇeśa as follows (*Taisho Zuzo* 3:42 figs. 98-101):

7. Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (fig. 98). His six hands hold the mace, tusk, noose/ sword, bowl and cakra.

8. Caturbhuja (four-armed) Gaṇeśa (fig. 99). His four hands hold the *laḍḍu*, axe/ mace and tusk.

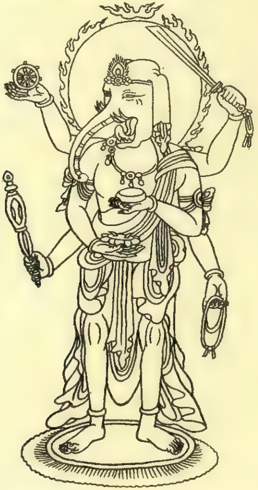
9. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati or the golden-coloured Gaṇapati: the word Gaṇapati is transliterated in Kanji (fig. 100). His six hands hold the goad, mace, noose/ *laḍḍu*, sword and vajra-sword.

10. Twin Gaṇeśa (fig. 101)

OTHER FORMS

Shinkaku also compiled the *Shoson-zuzō* 'Figures of Divinities' in two fascicules, now kept in the Kanchi-in temple of the Tōji monastery, Kyoto. Herein are illustrated six forms of Gaṇeśa, out of which two are new:

11. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 3:739 fig. 93).



Twin Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 94)=10.
Gaṇeśa with axe and radish (*ibid.* fig. 95)=1.

Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati with six arms (*ibid.* 3:741 fig. 96)=9.

12. Another form of Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati (*ibid.* fig. 96).

Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 97)=7.

Kakuzen wrote a detailed study of all the divinities and also drew their illustrations in about 1183-1213. They are preserved at the Kajūji monastery of Kyoto in 136 scrolls, besides copies in monasteries at Koyasan and Tokyo. It depicts nine different forms of Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 5:439-444) with detailed descriptions:

— Twin Gaṇeśa (fig. 335, 336).

— Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 337)=8.

13. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 338). His four hands hold the noose, —/ vajra, and axe:

14. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 339). His six hands hold the noose, mace, goad/ sword, *laḍḍu*, and *cakra*:

15. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (5:442 fig. 340). His six hands hold a mace, goad, noose/ sword, *laḍḍu* and *cakra*:

16. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa (5:443 fig. 341). Two hands are folded and the other two hold a radish and *laḍḍu* each:

17. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa (5:444 fig. 342). His four hands hold a mace, —, sword, and *laḍḍu*.

18. Twin Gaja-śīrṣa Varāha-śīrṣa Gaṇeśa (fig. 347). He is the elephant headed and boar-headed twin Gaṇeśa.

The epiphanies of Gaṇeśa described above are repeated in other texts, some of which are specified below. While the characteristics remain the same, their sequence in the hands is slightly altered.

The Tōji monastery has a *Shōten-zō* or a sheet depicting the figure of Twin Gaṇeśa. It was drawn by Chinkai (1091-1152 A. D.). It is reproduced

in *Taisho Zuzo*, vol. 7, sheet 13, no. 223.

In the 14th century Ryōson (1279-1349) compiled the *Byaku-hok-ku-shō* 'White Jewel Oral Traditions' in 167 scrolls, kept at the Kongō-sammai-in monastery, Koyasan. Its sections 130-134 detail the rites of worshipping Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 7:171-198). There are no illustrations in this text.

In the *Shika-shō-zuzō* 'figures copied by four masters' Gaṇeśa is represented in four forms:

(i) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 3:910 fig. 221 = 11.
(ii) Vināyaka with an axe and a radish (*ibid.* fig. 222) = 1.
(iii , iv) Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati with six arms, in two forms (*ibid.* fig. 223)=9, 12.

In the *Jō-bodai-shū* 'collection for the realisation of enlightenment', compiled by Eihan, there is a chapter for the sādhana of Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 8:750).

In the *Shozon-zuzō-shū* 'collection of figures of divinities', three scrolls kept at Kanazawa-bunko, Kanazawa four forms of Gaṇeśa are delineated:

(i) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (*Taisho Zuzo* 12:926 fig. 79)=11.
(ii) Twin Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 80).
(iii) Vināyaka (*ibid.* fig. 81)=1.
(iv) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 82).

Thus we see that the iconography of Gaṇeśa is very rich in Japan. The different iconic representations of Gaṇeśa in Japan may be summed up as follows:

1. Vināyaka (axe and radish)

FIVE GAṆEŚA (all are two-armed)

2. Vināyaka (*laḍḍu* and radish)
3. Chattra-Vināyaka or Vajracchinna (umbrella)
4. Mālya-Vināyaka or Vajrabhakṣaṇa (garland)
5. Dhanur-Vināyaka or Vajravāsin (bow and arrow)
6. Khaḍga-Vināyaka or Jaya (sword)

All have esoteric forms, bījas and mudrās.

FOUR GAṆEŚA

7. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: mace, tusk, noose/ sword, bowl, cakra
8. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: *laḍḍu*, axe/ mace, tusk
9. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati. His six hands hold: goad, mace, noose/ *laḍḍu*, sword, vajra-sword
10. Twin Gaṇeśa.

OTHER FORMS

11. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: cakra, tusk, mace/ sword, bowl, noose
12. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati. His six hands hold: radish, vajra, noose/ sword, *laḍḍu*, vajra-sword
13. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: noose, ?/ vajra, axe
14. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: noose, mace, goad/ sword, *laḍḍu*, cakra
15. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: mace, goad, noose/ sword, *laḍḍu*, cakra (a variation of no. 14)
16. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa. Two hands are folded and the other two hold a radish and *laḍḍu* each.
17. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: mace, ?/ sword, *laḍḍu*
18. Twin Gaja-śīrṣa Varāha-śīrṣa Gaṇeśa.

Gaṇeśa is still worshipped in Japan. At the Jingoji monastery of Takao a special temple is consecrated to the esoteric Twin Gaṇeśa and every year a worship is held in his honour. In some other Mantrayānic monasteries too special shrines are dedicated to Gaṇeśa. Homes in Koyasan are hallowed by Gaṇeśa. On the last day of my stay at Koyasan, I sat on a bench for the bus to the railway station. Curiosity took me inside the shop and there was a graceful image of a standing Gaṇeśa in white wood. My repeated entreaties to the shop-owner to give it to me only evoked smiles and polite bowings. Alas for my vain desire! The overflowing bounty of the grace of Gaṇeśa still glimmers in the adoring hearts of Japan.

HYMN TO NĪLAKAṆṬHA IN VAJRABODHI'S VERSION

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Vajrabodhi, Chin-kang-chih in Chinese, was a native of Malaya in South India. Malaya is located near the Potalaka mountain where Avalokiteśvara's palace was situated. His father was the Royal Preceptor of the Pallava king of Kanchi. He came to China by sea, and reached Canton in A.D. 719. By his untiring exertions, Vajrayāna or Tantric Buddhism gained popularity in China. He translated a number of Tantric texts into Chinese. During the years A.D. 731-736 he translated the hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha under the title Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa kuang-ta-yüan-man wu-ai ta-pei-hsin t'o-lo-ni chou-pen (T 1061, K 1270, not in Nj). The literal meaning of the title is: the complete and unabridged dhāraṇī of the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva the Mahākāruṇika. This title was borrowed (with changes) from the earlier translation of Bhagavaddharma done during A.D. 650-661. Nanjio 320 has translated the title of Bhagavaddharma's version as: Sahasrabāhu-sahasrākṣa-avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva-mahāpūrṇa-apratihata-mahā-kāruṇikahṛdaya-dhāraṇī-sūtra. It should be noted that Nīlakaṇṭha does not appear in the Chinese title. Nīlakaṇṭha was an epiphany of Hari-hara who was the Sovereign patron of the State (Lokesh Chandra 1979:12). The epithets sahasrabhuja and sahasrākṣa represent his invincible and all-pervading power lending credence and authority to the State.

The Nīlakaṇṭha hymn is available in eight Chinese translations or transliterations:

A.D.	translator	K	T	Nj
624-649	Chih-t'ung	K 292	T 1057b	Nj 318
650-661	Bhagavaddharma	K 294	T 1060	Nj 320
709	Bodhiruci	K 293	T 1058	Nj 319
731-736	Vajrabodhi	K 1270	T 1061	-
-	"	-	T 1112	-
723-	Amoghavajra	-	T 1111	-
723-	"	-	T 1113b	-
14th cent.	Dhyānabhadra	-	T 1113a	-

All the versions show variations in readings and have conspicuous additions and omissions. In an earlier paper (1979) I had taken up the reconstruction of the versions of Amoghavajra and Chih-t'ung. These reconstructions can be considerably and substantially improved by the version of Vajrabodhi. This paper presents the reconstituted text of the Nīlakaṇṭha hymn on the basis of the Siddham text given by Vajrabodhi. The original readings of the Siddham text are cited in the notes. The Siddham text is preceded by its Chinese transliteration. T. 1062A is again a Chinese transliteration by Vajrabodhi of a shorter version of the hymn.

The Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (p.324) gives the following hṛdaya of Avalokiteśvara: "Om Padma Nīlakaṇṭha śaṁkha-cakra-gadā-padma-pāṇi vyāghra-carma-nivasana kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta 'jina-carma-vāma-skandhottarīya Nārāyaṇa-[rupa-dha]ra tri-netra mumcāṭṭahāsaṁ, praveśaya samayān, dehi me siddhim, Avalokiteśvara hūṁ". It has all the four attributes of Viṣṇu: śaṅkha, cakra, gadā

and padma, while gadā 'mace' is missing in Vajrabodhi's version. Its Nārāyaṇa-rūpa-dhara helps to restore the corresponding reading in our version (note 15[a]).

The present hymn preserves incontrovertible evidence of the origin of Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara. He is a metamorphosis of Harihara, a syncretic form of Viṣṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara). The hymn invokes Hari in the vocative form Hare twice. Nārāyaṇa and Mahā-Padmanābha are also invoked. Padmanābha is an aspect of Viṣṇu. Three attributes of Viṣṇu are referred to: padma-hasta, cakrāyudha, śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhana. The fourth attribute gadā 'mace' may be found in another version.

Śiva is invoked as Nīlakaṇṭha, Maheśvara, Niścareśvara, Tripuradahaneśvara, and as the great yogin: siddha-yogeśvara (twice), mahāsiddha-vidyādhara, mahāsiddha-yogeśvara, mahāsiddha, siddha-vidyādhara, sarva-siddheśvara. His aspect as the supreme siddha can be seen in Central Asian murals (Lokesh Chandra 1982:1-3). He is prayed to as Mahākala, and spoken of as of black colour (kṛṣṇa-varṇa), of the colour of long darkness (dīrgha-tama), of the long dark fortnight (dīrgha-kṛṣṇa-pakṣa). The following four attributes also derive from those of Śiva:

(i) His hairstyle is a crown of black matted locks (kṛṣṇa-jaṭā-makuṭa-dhara).

(ii) A black serpent or cobra forms his sacred thread: kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta (twice).

(iii) He has subdued the deadly poison: halāhala-viṣa-nirjita.

(iv) He roars with laughter (mahāṭṭahāsa). Aṭṭahāsa is specific to the laughter of Śiva.

(v) Like Śiva, the deer-skin covers his left shoulder (vāma-skandha-veṣa-sthita-kṛṣṇājina) and a tiger-skin is his apparel (vyāghra-carma-nivasana).

"The triple god Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, who is the same as Dattātreya, Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Varāha may well be worshipped by all, and they bestow their blessings on all alike" (Rao 1914:1.238). In the present dhāraṇī we find that Nīlakaṇṭha has the faces of a varāha and of a siṁha: varāha-mukha or mahāvarāha-mukha and siṁha-mukha or mahāsiṁha-mukha.

The end fragment of the Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī in Brāhmī and Sogdian from Tun-huang (1912) is a valuable help to correct a number of readings. Its important variants are cited in the critical apparatus.

The vocative final e in padma-hasta e, vegadhara e, and rūpa-dhara e is a fascinating stylistic element. It foreshadows its use in Jayadeva's Gītagovinda 2.1 dhṛta-kuṇḍala e, 2.2 bhava-khaṇḍana e, 2.3 jana-rañjana e, et passim.

Namo Ratna-trayāya

1. Namaḥ Āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya sarva-bandhana-cchedana-karāya sarva-bhava-samudra-śoṣaṇa[1]-karāya sarva-vyādhi-praśamana-karāya sarvety[2]-upadrava-vināśana-karāya sarva-bhayebhyo trāṇa-karāya/

2. Tasmai namaskṛtvā oṁ[3] nama āryāvalokiteśvara-bhāṣita-Nīlakaṇṭhebhyo[4] namaḥ[5]/

3. hṛdayaṁ vartayiṣyāmi[6] sarvārtha-sādhakaṁ śubham/
ajeyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ bhava-mārga-viśodhakam//

4. Tadyathā/

Oṁ āloke ālokamati lokātikrānta ehi hare āryāvalokiteśvara mahābodhisattva / he bodhisattva he mahābodhisattva he vīrya-bodhisattva he mahākāruṇikā smara[7] hṛdayam / hi-hi hare āryāvalokiteśvara maheśvara paramārtha[8]citta mahākāruṇikā kuru-kuru karma/ sādhaya-sādhaya vidyām / [9]dehi-dehi tvaraṁ kāmam[9] / gama-vigama siddha-yogeśvara / dhuru-dhuru viyati[10] mahā-viyati / dhara-dhara dharendreśvara[10] / cala-cala vimala-mūrte[11] āryāvalokiteśvara jina kṛṣṇa-jaṭā-makuṭa-dhara / pralamba-vilamba[12] mahāsiddha-vidyādhara / vara-vara mahāvara bala-bala mahābala cara-cara mahācara/ kṛṣṇa-varṇa[13] dīrgha-kṛṣṇa-pakṣa dīrgha-tama[14] he padma-hasta e / cara-cara niśācareśvara[15] kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta / ehy-ehi mahā-varāha-mukha tripura-dahaneśvara nārāyaṇa-rūpa-bala-vega-dhara e[16]/ he nīlakaṇṭha he mahākāla halāhala-viṣa-nirjita lokasya rāga-viṣa-vināśana dveṣa-viṣa-vināśana moha-viṣa-vināśana hulu-hulu mara / hulu-hale mahā-padmanābha / sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru muru-muru/

buddhya-buddhya bodhaya-bodhaya maitreya[17] nīlakaṇṭha / ehy-ehi vāma[18]-sthita-siṁha-mukha / hasa-hasa muñca-muñca mahāṭṭahāsam/ ehy-ehi mahāsiddha-yogeśvara/ bhaṇa-bhaṇa[19] vāca[20]/ sādhaya-sādhaya vidyām/ smara-smara taṁ[21] bhagavantaṁ lokita-vilokitaṁ lokeśvaraṁ tathāgatam/ dadāhi me darśana-kāmasya darśanam/ prahlādaya mām[22] svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogeśvarāya svāhā/ nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/ varāhamukhāya svāhā/mahāsiṁhamukhāya[23] svāhā/ siddha-vidyādharāya svāhā/ padmahastāya svāhā/ kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavītāya svāhā/ mahā-lakuṭa-dharāya svāhā/ cakrāyudhāya svāhā/ śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā/ vāma[24]-skandha-veṣa-sthita[25]-kṛṣṇā-jināya svāhā/ vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya svāhā/ lokeśvarāya svāhā/ sarva-siddheśvarāya svāhā/

5. namo bhagavate āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya/ siddhyantu me mantrapadāni[26] svāhā//

Variants

[1] V. sukṣaṇa

[2] V. sarvetityubhandrava- (the breakup of the sandhi of iti is indicated)

[3] V. i(it is a mistake for om̐ which is written . As om̐ is rare it was replaced by the commoner i by adding two dots above)

[4] V. nirakaṁtabhai

[5] V. nāma for nama(ḥ)

6 V. vrataīcchyami

7 V. smīra

8 V. paramatra-

9-9 V. ṇihe-ṇihe tavaraṁ kamaṁ

10 V. viyatti. viyat 'sky'. Dharā 'earth' occurs in the next sentence. Nīlakaṇṭha lords over both heaven and earth.

11 V. vimalamara

12 V. praraṁma-viraṁma, Tunhuang: avalaṁmba vā pralambaṁ:

13 V. kṛṣṇivṛṇa

14 V. dīrghatana, Tunhuang: nirghātana

15 V. diśacaleśvara, Tunhuang: niśācareśvara

16 V. varupa-vara-mārga-ari. Compare STTS where Tibetan has ruba-dare (=rūpadhara e), Tunhuang: -vegadharī

17 V. maite, Tunhuang vāma-

18 V. mama-

19 V. saṇa-saṇa, Tunhuang: haṇa 2

20 V. vāce, Tunhuang: vāceṁ

21 V. śaṁ, Tunhuang: ntaṁ

22 V. prakradayamana, Tunhuang: prahlādaya menaṁ

23 V. mahādarasyiṁha, Tunhuang: mahāsiṁgha-

24 V. mama-

25 V. viṣa-sthita-, Tunhuang: -veṣa-sthita-

26 V. vantrapadāya

ABBREVIATIONS

K = Korean Tripiṭaka
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Nj
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T
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Tunhuang
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V
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Rao 1914
T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Madras 1914 (reprinted in 1968 by Paragon Book Reprint Corp.).

陀羅尼呪一卷

[illegible]

[illegible]

千手千眼觀世音菩薩大身呪本

No. 1062 A [cf. Nos. 1056-1058, 1060, 1061; 1062 B-1064]

大唐贈開府儀同三司諡大弘教
三藏沙門金剛智奉　詔譯

曩謨薩嚩二合惹耶一 那謨囉怛娜二合 哆囉二
合夜耶二 娜莫阿弭馱嚩耶 怛他識多耶囉賀
羝三藐三勃馱耶那莫阿引 唎夜嚩路枳帝濕
嚩二合囉耶母地薩怛嚩二合耶莽賀薩怛嚩二
合耶莽賀迦嚕拏迦耶娜麼莽賀薩他摩跛囉
二合鉢哆耶母地薩怛嚩二合耶莽賀薩怛嚩二
合耶莽賀迦嚕拏迦耶那謨薩上識嚩帝尾補
攞尾莽那素鉢囉二合底瑟恥二合多僧去企夜
二合素唎耶舍哆娑訶薩囉阿羝唎迦鉢囉二合
婆嚩娑悉 哆慕㗚帶曳二合 莽賀麼抳莽矩吒
軍荼囉陀哩泥薄識嚩帝鉢納麼播拏曳薩嚩
路迦引 播耶舍摩那耶尾尾陀上 嚩野羯佉三
摩稗舍尾瑟吒二合薩嚩薩怛嚩二合 跛哩慕者
那耶怛儞也二合 他唵勃嚕部嚩 莽賀嚩迦羯
囉拏怛麼悉底弭囉鉢吒囉尾娜舍那迦囉耶
遲我儞吠二合 邏慕賀惹引 攞奢麼迦者些迦
嚩叉迦薩嚩引 跛耶羺佉訥識 底鉢囉二合 舍
麼那迦囉耶薩麼怛他識哆些摩滿馱那羯囉
薩嚩薩怛嚩舍引 鉢唎布嚩迦薩 麼薩怛嚩二

①此梵字眞言依靈雲寺版普通眞言藏載之 ②麗本

一〇六二　千手千眼觀世音菩薩大身呪本

Vajrabodhi's version in Siddham script (T. 1061)

With affectionate regards
to Mr. Gene Smith
Lokesh Chandra
2.7.75

HYMN TO TWENTY - ONE TĀRĀS

LOKESH CHANDRA

Reprinted from
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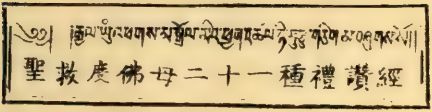
edited by Perala Ratnam

LOKESH CHANDRA, NEW DELHI

HYMN TO TWENTY-ONE TĀRĀS

Herewith are reproduced two bilingual xylographs of the famous 'Hymn to Twentyone Tārās.' The first is an illustrated xylograph in Tibetan with an interlinear Chinese translation. It was obtained by my father, Prof. RaghuVira, from Peking in 1955. The other xylograph contains the Sanskrit text followed by its Tibetan version. The Sanskrit is astonishingly correct. This xylograph was given by Academician Rinchen to my father during his visit to Ulanbator in the winter of 1955.



ༀ། ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏཱ་རེ་མྱུར་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཔའ་མོ། ། །ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཡིས་འཇིགས་པ་ཀུན་སེལ། ། །

唵敬禮多哩速疾勇　咄多哩者除怖畏

ཏུ་རེས་ཡི་གས་མཆོག་ཐམས་ཅད་སྩོལ་བ་མ། ། །སྭཱཧཱའི་ཡི་གས་མཛད་མ་ལ་བདག་བསྟོད། ། །

咄哩能授諸勝義　具莎訶字我讚禮

ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྒྲོལ་མ་མྱུར་མ་དཔའ་མོ། ། །སྤྱན་ནི་སྐད་ཅིག་གློག་དང་འདྲ་མ། ། །

敬禮救度速勇母　目如剎那電光照

འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་མགོན་ཆུ་སྐྱེས་ཞལ་གྱི། ། །གེ་སར་བྱེ་བ་ལས་ནི་བྱུང་མ། ། །

三世界尊蓮華面　從妙華中現端嚴

ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྟོན་ཀའི་ཟླ་བ་ཀུན་ཏུ། ། །གང་བ་བརྒྱ་ནི་བརྩེགས་པའི་ཞལ་མ། །

敬禮百秋朗月母 普徧圓滿無垢面

སྐར་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ཚོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི། ། །རབ་ཏུ་ཕྱེ་བའི་འོད་རབ་འབར་མ། །

如千星宿俱時聚 殊勝威光超於彼

ཕྱག་འཚལ་སེར་སྔོ་ཆུ་ནས་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི། ། །པདྨས་ཕྱག་ནི་རྣམ་པར་བརྒྱན་མ། །

敬禮紫磨金色母 妙蓮華手勝莊嚴

སྦྱིན་པ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་དཀའ་ཐུབ་ཞི་བ། ། །བཟོད་པ་བསམ་གཏན་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་ཉིད་མ། །

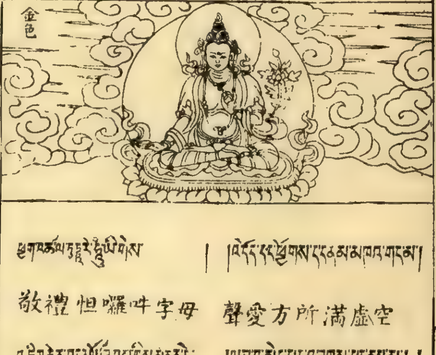
施精勤行柔善靜 忍辱禪定性無境

ཕྱག་འཚལ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་གཙུག་ཏོར། །མཐའ་ཡས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བར་སྤྱོད་མ། །

敬禮如來頂髻母　最勝能滿無邊行

མ་ལུས་ཕ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཐོབ་པའི། །རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་ཀྱིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་བསྟེན་མ། །

得到彼岸盡無餘　勝勢佛子極所愛



ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུཏྟཱ་ར་ཧཱུཾ་ཡི་གེས། །འདོད་དང་ཕྱོགས་དང་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་མ། །

敬禮怛囉吽字母　聲愛方所滿虛空

འཇིག་རྟེན་བདུན་པོ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མནན་ཏེ། །ལུས་པ་མེད་པར་འགུགས་པར་ནུས་མ། །

運足徧履七世界　悉能鈎召攝無餘

ཕྱག་འཚལ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་མེ་ལྷ་ཚངས་པ། །རླུང་ལྷ་སྣ་ཚོགས་དབང་ཕྱུག་མཆོད་མ། །

敬禮釋梵火天母　風神自在衆俱集

འབྱུང་པོ་རོ་ལངས་དྲི་ཟ་རྣམས་དང་། །གནོད་སྦྱིན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་མདུན་ནས་བསྟོད་མ། །

部多起屍尋香等　諸藥叉衆作稱讚

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏྲཊ་ཅེས་བྱ་དང་ཕཊ་ཀྱིས། །ཕ་རོལ་འཁྲུལ་འཁོར་རབ་ཏུ་འཇོམས་མ། །

敬禮特囉脈發母　於他加行極摧壞

གཡས་བསྐུམ་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མནན་ཏེ། །མེ་འབར་འཁྲུག་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་འབར་མ། །

展左踡右作足踏　頂髻熾盛極明耀

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུ་རེ་འཇིགས་པ་ཆེན་མོ། །བདུད་ཀྱི་དཔའ་བོ་རྣམ་པར་འཇོམས་མ། །

敬禮都哩大緊母　勇猛能摧怨魔類

ཆུ་སྐྱེས་ཞལ་ནི་ཁྲོ་གཉེར་ལྡན་མཛད། །དགྲ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ལུས་གསོད་མ། །

於蓮花面作頻眉　摧壞一切寃家衆

ཕྱག་འཚལ་དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་མཚོན་ཕྱག་རྒྱའི། །སོར་མོས་ཐུགས་ཀར་རྣམ་པར་བརྒྱན་མ། །

敬禮三寶嚴印母　手指當心威嚴相

མ་ལུས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་བརྒྱན་པའི། །རང་གི་འོད་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་འཁྲུག་མ། །

嚴飾方輪盡無餘　自身熾盛光聚種

ཕྱག་འཚལ་རབ་ཏུ་དགའ་བ་བརྗིད་པའི་ ། །དབུ་རྒྱན་འོད་ཀྱི་ཕྲེང་བ་སྤེལ་མ་ །

敬禮威德懽悅母　寳冠珠鬘衆光飾

བཞད་པ་རབ་བཞད་ཏུཏྟཱ་ར་ཡིས ། །བདུད་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་དུ་མཛད་མ། །

最極喜笑覩怛哩　鎮世間魔作攝伏

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ས་གཞི་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ ། །ཐམས་ཅད་འགུགས་པར་ནུས་མ་ཉིད་མ། །

敬禮守護衆地母　亦能鈎召諸神衆

ཁྲོ་གཉེར་གཡོ་བ་ཡི་གེ་ཧཱུྃ་གིས ། །ཕོངས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་པར་སྒྲོལ་མ། །

搖顰眉面吽聲字　一切衰敗令度脫

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཟླ་བའི་དུམ་བུས་དབུ་བརྒྱན། ། བརྒྱན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤིན་ཏུ་འབར་མ། །

敬禮頂冠月相母 冠中現勝妙嚴光

རལ་པའི་ཁྲོད་ན་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ལས། ། རྟག་པར་ཤིན་ཏུ་འོད་རབ་མཛད་མ། །

阿彌陀佛髻中現 常放衆妙寶光明

ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྐལ་པའི་ཐ་མའི་མེ་ལྟར། ། འབར་བའི་ཕྲེང་བའི་དབུས་ན་གནས་མ། །

敬禮如盡劫火母 安住熾盛頂髻中

གཡས་བརྐྱང་གཡོན་བསྐུམ་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐོར་དགའི། ། དགྲ་ཡི་དཔུང་ནི་རྣམ་པར་འཇོམས་མ། །

普徧喜悅半趺坐 能摧滅壞惡寃輪

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ས་གཞིའི་ངོས་ལ་ཕྱག་གི། །མཐིལ་གྱིས་བརྡུང་ཞིང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བརྡུང་མ། །

敬禮手按大地母　以足踐蹋作鎮壓

ཁྲོ་གཉེར་ཅན་མཛད་ཡི་གེ་ཧཱུྃ་གིས། །རིམ་པ་བདུན་པོ་རྣམས་ནི་འགེམས་མ། །

現顰眉而作吽聲　能破七險鎮降伏

ཕྱག་འཚལ་བདེ་མ་དགེ་མ་ཞི་མ། །མྱ་ངན་འདས་ཞི་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་ཉིད་མ། །

敬禮安隱柔善母　涅槃寂滅最樂境

སྭཱ་ཧཱ་ཨོཾ་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན་པས། །སྡིག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འཇོམས་པ་ཉིད་མ། །

莎訶命種以相應　善能消滅大災禍

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐོར་རབ་དགའ་བའི། །དགྲ་ཡི་ལུས་ནི་རྣམ་པར་འགེམས་མ། །

敬禮普徧極喜母　　諸怨支體令脫離

ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པའི་ངག་ནི་བཀོད་པའི། །རིག་པ་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཉིད་མ། །

十字咒句妙嚴布　　明咒吽聲常朗耀

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུ་རེ་ཞབས་ནི་བརྡབ་པས། །ཧཱུྃ་གི་རྣམ་པའི་ས་བོན་ཉིད་མ། །

敬禮都哩巴帝母　　足躡相勢吽字種

རི་རབ་མནྡ་ར་དང་འབིགས་བྱེད། །འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་རྣམས་གཡོ་བ་ཉིད་མ། །

彌嚕曼陁結辣薩　　於此三處能搖動

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལྷ་ཡི་མཚོ་ཡི་རྣམ་པའི། །རིགས་ནག་རྒྱ་ཙན་ཟུག་ནབསྣམས་ས། །

敬禮薩囉天海母　手中執住神獸像

ཧཱུྃ་དག་སྙིང་བཛྲ་དར་ཏྲི་ཡི་གེས། །དུག་རྣམས་མ་ལུས་པར་ནི་སེལ་ལམ། །

誦二怛囉作聲聲　能滅諸毒盡無餘

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལྷ་ཡི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ལྷ་དང་མི་འམ་ཅི་ཡིས་བསྟེན་ས། །

敬禮諸天集會母　天緊那羅所依愛

ཀུན་ནས་གོ་ཆ་དགའ་བའི་བརྗིད་ཀྱིས། །རྩོད་དང་རྨི་ལམ་ངན་པ་སེལ་མ། །

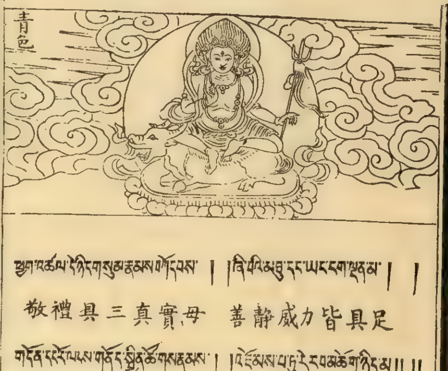
威德歡悅若堅鎧　滅除鬪諍及惡夢

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉི་མ་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱས་པའི། །སྤྱན་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་འོད་དང་བ་གསལ་ལམ། །

敬禮日月廣圓母　目覩猶勝普光照

ཧ་ར་གཉིས་པའི་ཧེ་དང་ཏུ་ཏྟཱ་ར་ཡིས། །ཤིན་ཏུ་དྲག་པོའི་རིམས་ནད་སེལ་ལམ། །

誦二喝囉咄怛哩　善除惡毒瘟熱病



ཕྱག་འཚལ་དེ་ཉིད་གསུམ་རྣམས་བཀོད་པས། །ཞི་བའི་མཐུ་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན་མ། །

敬禮具三真實母　善静威力皆具足

གདོན་དང་རོ་ལངས་གནོད་སྦྱིན་ཚོགས་རྣམས། །འཇོམས་པ་ཏུ་རེ་རབ་མཆོག་ཉིད་མ།། །།

藥义執魅尾怛辣　都哩最極除災禍

ཙ་བའི་སྔགས་ཀྱི་བསྟོད་པ་འདི་དང་ ། །ཕྱག་འཚལ་བ་ནི་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙ་གཅིག །

若有智者勤精進　至心誦此二十一

ལྷ་མོ་ལ་གུས་ཡང་དག་ལྡན་པས ། །བློ་ལྡན་གང་གིས་རབ་དད་བརྗོད་དེ། །

救度尊處誠信禮　是故讚嘆根本咒

སྲོད་དང་ཐོ་རངས་ལངས་པར་དྲན་ནས ། །དྲན་པས་མི་འཇིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རབ་སྟེར། །

每晨早起久時禮　憶念施諸勝無畏

སྡིག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞི་བས ། །ངན་འགྲོ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཇོམས་པ་ཉིད་ཐོབ།

一切罪業盡消除　悉能超越諸惡趣

རྒྱལ་བ་བྱེ་བ་ཕྲག་བདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས ། །མྱུར་དུ་དབང་ནི་བསྐུར་བར་འགྱུར་ལ། །

此等速能得聰慧　七俱胝佛所灌頂

འདི་ལས་ཆེ་བ་ཉིད་ནི་འཐོབ་ཅིང་ ། །སངས་རྒྱས་གོ་འཕང་མཐར་ཕྱུག་དེར་འགྲོ། །

現世富貴壽延安　當來趣向諸佛位

དེ་ཡིས་དུག་ནི་དྲག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ ། །བརྟན་གནས་པ་འམ་གཞན་ཡང་འགྲོ་བ། །

有時悞服諸毒物　或自然主或合成

ཟོས་པ་དང་ནི་འཐུངས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ ། །དྲན་པས་རབ་ཏུ་སེལ་བ་ཉིད་འཐོབ། །

憶念聖尊真實力　諸惡毒藥盡消滅

གདོན་དང་རིམས་དང་དུག་གིས་གཟིར་བའི། །སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཚོགས་ནི་རྣམ་པར་སྤངས་ཏེ། །

或見他人遭鬼魅　或發熱病受諸苦

སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་བཟླས་ལ་ཡང་རུང་། །གཉིས་གསུམ་བདུན་དུ་མངོན་པར་བརྗོད་ན། །

若轉此讚二三七　彼諸苦惱悉蠲除

བུ་འདོད་པས་ནི་བུ་ཐོབ་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། །ནོར་འདོད་པས་ནི་ནོར་རྣམས་ཉིད་འཐོབ། །

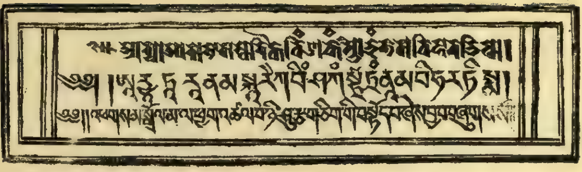
欲乞男女得男女　求財寶位護富饒

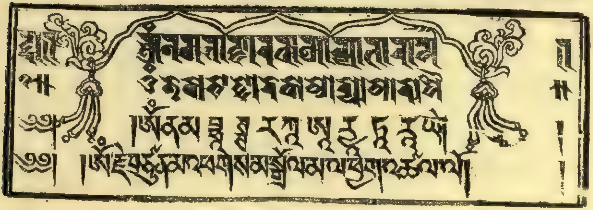
འདོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར་ལ། །བགེགས་རྣམས་མེད་ཅིང་སོ་སོར་འཇོམས་འགྱུར། །

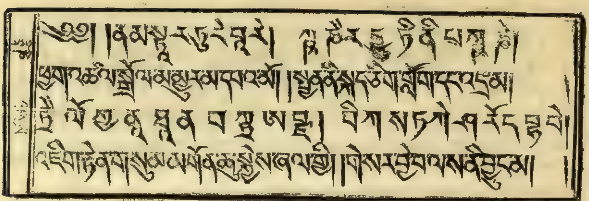
善能圓滿隨意願　一切障礙不能侵

༄༅། [illegible]

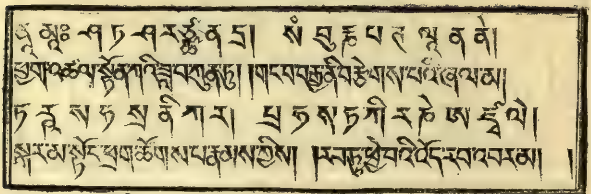
聖救度佛母二十一種禮讚經



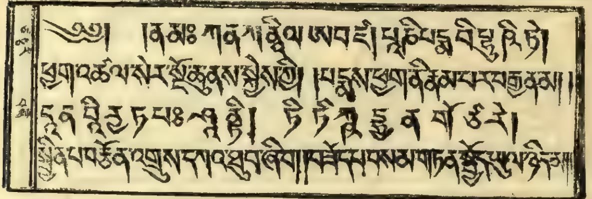




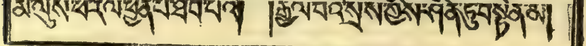
ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྒྲོལ་མ་མྱུར་མ་དཔའ་མོ། །སྤྱན་ནི་སྐད་ཅིག་གློག་དང་འདྲ་མ།
འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་མགོན་ཆུ་སྐྱེས་ཞལ་གྱི། །གེ་སར་ཕྱེ་བ་ལས་ནི་བྱུང་མ།



ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྟོན་ཀའི་ཟླ་བ་ཀུན་ཏུ། །གང་བ་བརྒྱ་ནི་བརྩེགས་པའི་ཞལ་མ།
སྐར་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ཚོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །རབ་ཏུ་ཕྱེ་བའི་འོད་རབ་འབར་མ།



ཕྱག་འཚལ་སེར་སྔོ་ཆུ་ནས་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི། །པདྨས་ཕྱག་ནི་རྣམ་པར་བརྒྱན་མ།
སྦྱིན་པ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་དཀའ་ཐུབ་ཞི་བ། །བཟོད་པ་བསམ་གཏན་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་ཉིད་མ།



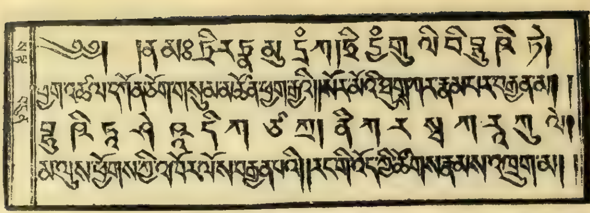
ཕྱག་འཚལ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་གཙུག་ཏོར། །མཐའ་ཡས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བར་སྤྱོད་མ།
མ་ལུས་ཕ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཐོབ་པའི། །རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་ཀྱིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་བསྟེན་མ།

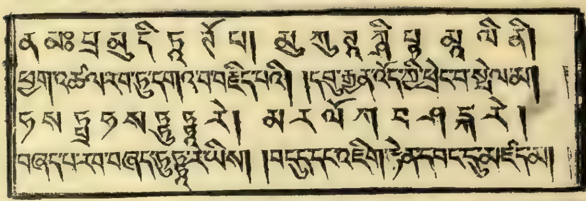
༄༅། །ན་མ་སྟུ་ཏྟཱ་ར་ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར། པཱུ་རི་ཏཱ་ཤཱ་དི་ག་ནྟ་རེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུཏྟཱ་ར་ཧཱུྃ་ཡི་གེས། །འདོད་དང་ཕྱོགས་དང་ནམ་མཁའ་རྣམས་ཀུན་བཀང་མ།
ས་པྟ་ལོ་ཀ་ཀྲ་མཱ་ཀྲཱ་ནྟེ། ཨ་ཤེ་ཥཱ་ཀ་རྵ་ཎ་ཀྵ་མེ།
འཇིག་རྟེན་བདུན་པོ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མནན་ཏེ། །ལུས་པ་མེད་པར་འགུགས་པར་ནུས་མ།

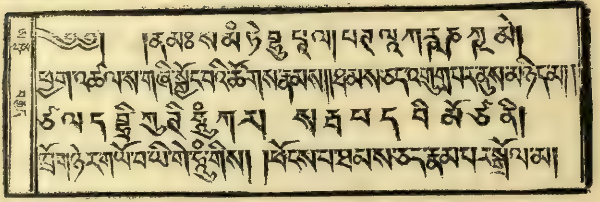
ན་མཿ ཤ་ཀྲཱ་ན་ལ་བྲ་ཧྨ། མ་རུ་དྭི་ཤྭེ་ཤྭ་རཱ་རྩྩི་ཏེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་མེ་ལྷ་ཚངས་པ། །རླུང་ལྷ་སྣ་ཚོགས་དབང་ཕྱུག་མཆོད་མ། །
བྷཱུ་ཏ་བེ་ཏཱ་ལ་གན་དྷརྦ། ག་ཎ་ཡ་ཀྵ་པུ་ར་སྐྲི་ཏེ།
འབྱུང་པོ་རོ་ལངས་དྲི་ཟ་རྣམས་དང་། །གནོད་སྦྱིན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་མདུན་ནས་བསྟོད་མ། །

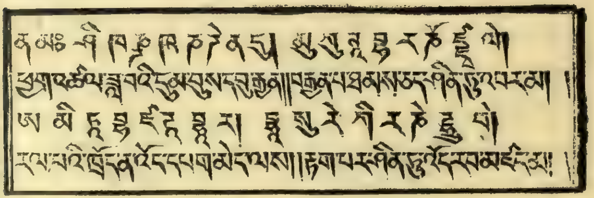
༄༅། །ན་མ་སྟྲ་ཊི་ཏི་ཕཊ་ཀཱ་ར། པ་ར་ཡནྟྲ་པྲ་མརྡྡ་ནི།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏྲཊ་ཅེས་བྱ་དང་ཕཊ་ཀྱིས། །ཕ་རོལ་འཁྲུལ་འཁོར་རབ་ཏུ་འཇོམས་མ། །
པྲ་ཏྱཱ་ལཱི་ཌྷ་པ་ད་ནྱཱ་སེ། ཤི་ཁི་ཛྭཱ་ལཱ་ཀུ་ལོ་ཛྫྭ་ལེ།
གཡས་བསྐུམ་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མནན་ཏེ། །མེ་འབར་འཁྲུག་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་འབར་མ། །

ན་མ་སྟུ་རེ་མ་ཧཱ་གྷོ་རེ། མཱ་ར་བཱི་ར་བི་ན་ཤ་ནི།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུ་རེ་འཇིགས་པ་ཆེན་མོ། །བདུད་ཀྱི་དཔའ་བོ་རྣམ་པར་འཇོམས་མ། །
བྷྲི་ཀུ་ཊཱི་ཀྲི་ཏ་བ་ཀྟྲཱ་བྫ། སརྦ་ཤ་ཏྲུ་ནི་ཥཱུ་ད་ནི།
ཆུ་སྐྱེས་ཞལ་ནི་ཁྲོ་གཉེར་ལྡན་མཛད། །དགྲ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ལུས་གསོད་མ། །









༄༅། །ན་མཿ ཀལྤཱནྟ་ཧུ་ཏ་བྷུག་ཛྭཱ་ལཱ་མཱ་ལཱནྟ་ར་སྠི་ཏེ།

ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྐལ་པའི་ཐ་མའི་མེ་ལྟར། །འབར་བའི་ཕྲེང་བའི་དབུས་ན་གནས་མ།

ཨཱ་ལཱི་ཌྷ་མུ་དི་ཏཱ་བདྡྷ་རི་པུ་ཙཀྲ་བི་ནཱ་ཤི་ནི།

གཡས་བརྐྱང་གཡོན་བསྐུམ་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐོར་དགེས། །དགྲ་ཡི་དཔུང་ནི་རྣམ་པར་འཇོམས་མ།

ན་མཿ ཀ་ར་ཏ་ལཱ་གྷཱ་ཏ་ཙ་ར་ཎཱ་ཧ་ཏ་བྷཱུ་ཏ་ལེ།

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ས་གཞིའི་ངོས་ལ་ཕྱག་གི། །མཐིལ་གྱིས་བརྡེབས་ཤིང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བརྡུང་མ།

བྷྲུ་ཀུ་ཊཱི་ཀྲྀ་ཏ་ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར། ས་པྟ་པཱ་ཏཱ་ལ་བྷེ་དི་ནི།

ཁྲོ་གཉེར་ཅན་མཛད་ཡི་གེ་ཧཱུྃ་གིས། །རིམ་པ་བདུན་པོ་རྣམས་ནི་འགེམས་མ།

༄༅། །ན་མཿ ཤི་བེ་ཤུ་བྷེ་ཤཱནྟེ། ཤཱནྟ་ནིར་བཱ་ཎ་གོ་ཙ་རེ།

ཕྱག་འཚལ་བདེ་མ་དགེ་མ་ཞི་མ། །མྱ་ངན་འདས་ཞི་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་ཉིད་མ།

སྭཱ་ཧཱ་པྲ་ཎ་བ་སཾ་ཡུཀྟེ། མ་ཧཱ་པཱ་ཏ་ཀ་ནཱ་ཤི་ནི།

སྭཱ་ཧཱ་ཨོཾ་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན་པས། །སྡིག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འཇོམས་པ་ཉིད་མ།

ན་མཿ པྲ་མུ་དི་ཏཱ་བདྡྷ། རི་པུ་གཱ་ཏྲ་བི་བྷེ་དི་ནི།

ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐོར་རབ་དགའ་བའི། །དགྲ་ཡི་ལུས་ནི་རྣམ་པར་འགེམས་མ།

ད་ཤཱཀྵ་ར་པ་ད་ནྱཱ་སེ། བི་དྱཱ་ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར་དཱི་པི་ཏེ།

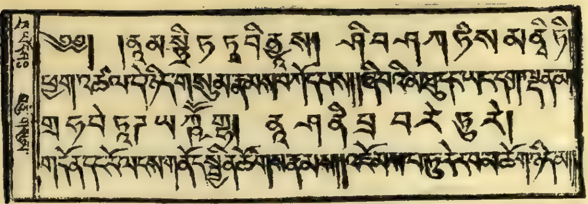
ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པའི་ངག་ནི་བཀོད་པའི། །རིག་པ་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཉིད་མ།

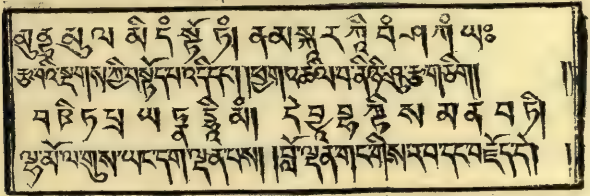
༄༅། །ན་མ་སྟུ་རེ་པྲ་ཏ་ཀྵ་ཀ། ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར་པཱུ་ར་བཱི་ཛེ་ཏེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏུ་རེ་ཞབས་ནི་བརྡབ་པས། །ཧཱུྃ་གི་རྣམ་པའི་ས་བོན་ཉིད་མ།
མི་རུ་མ་ན་ད་ར་ཀཻ་ལ་ས། བྷུ་བ་ན་ཏྲ་ཡ་ཙ་ལི་ནི།
རི་རབ་མནྡྷ་ར་དང་འབིགས་བྱེད། །འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་རྣམས་གཡོ་བ་ཉིད་མ།

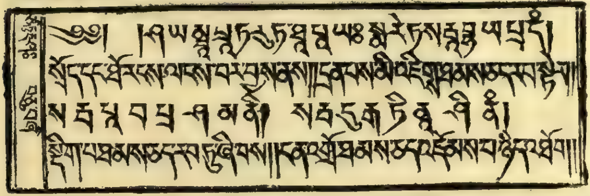
ན་མཿ སུ་ར་ཤ་ར་ཀཱ་ར། ཧ་ར་ཎཱ་ཀ་ཀ་ར་སྠི་ཏེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལྷ་ཡི་མཚོ་ཡི་རྣམ་པའི། །རི་དྭགས་རྟགས་ཅན་ཕྱག་ན་བསྣམས་མ།
ཏཱ་ར་དྭི་རུ་ཀ་ཏ་ཕཊ་ཀཱ་རཻ། ཨ་ཤེ་ཥ་བི་ཥ་ཨ་པ་ཧ་ནི།
ཏཱ་ར་གཉིས་བརྗོད་ཕཊ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེས། །དུག་རྣམས་མ་ལུས་པ་ནི་སེལ་མ།

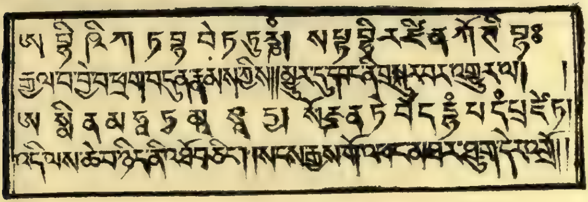
༄༅། །ན་མཿ སུ་ར་ག་ཎ་ནཱ་ཐ། སུ་ར་ཀིན་ན་ར་སེ་བི་ཏེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལྷ་ཡི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ལྷ་དང་མི་འམ་ཅི་ཡིས་བསྟེན་མ།
ཨཱ་བཾ་ཛཱ་མུ་དི་ཏ་བྷོ་ག་ཀ་ལི། དུཿ་སྭ་པྣ་ནཱ་ཤ་ནི།
ཀུན་ནས་གོ་ཆ་དགའ་བའི་བརྗིད་ཀྱིས། །རྩོད་དང་རྨི་ལམ་ངན་པ་སེལ་མ།

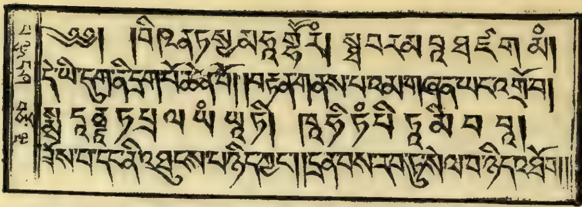
ན་མཿ ཙནྡྲཱ་ཀཱ་སཾ་པཱུརྞ། ན་ཡ་ན་དྱུ་ཏི་བྷཱ་སུ་རེ།
ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉི་མ་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱས་པའི། །སྤྱན་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་འོད་རབ་གསལ་མ།
ཧ་ར་དྭི་རུ་ཀྟ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ། བི་ཥ་མ་ཛྭ་ར་ནཱ་ཤ་ནི།
ཧ་ར་གཉིས་བརྗོད་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཡིས། །ཤིན་ཏུ་དྲག་པོའི་རིམས་ནད་སེལ་མ།

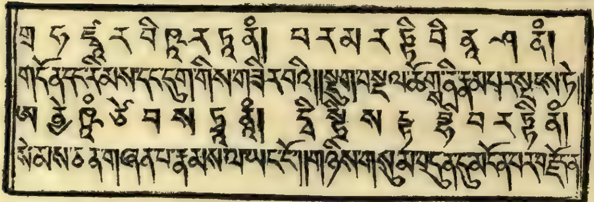


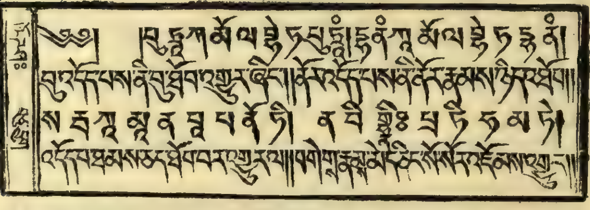


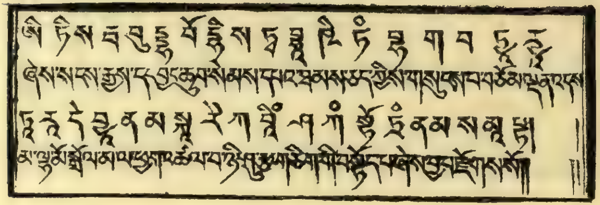


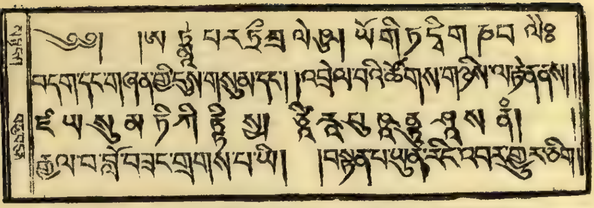






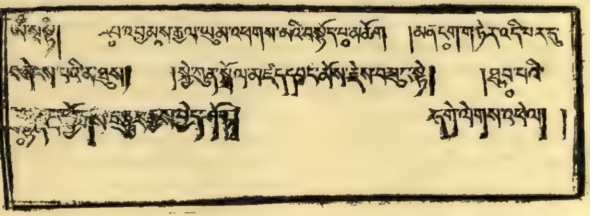






བདག་དང་གཞན་གྱི་དུས་གསུམ་དང་། །འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས།།

རྒྱལ་བ་བློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ་ཡི། །བསྟན་པ་ཡུན་རིང་[illegible]



དགེ་ལེགས་འཕེལ། །

॥ आर्य-तारा-नमस्कारैकविंशकं स्तोत्रं नाम ॥ ॥ ओं नमो भट्टारिका-आर्य-तारायै ॥

नमस्तारे तुरे वीरे क्षण-द्युति-निभेक्षणे । त्रैलोक्यनाथ-वक्त्राब्ज-विकसत्-केसरोद्भवे ॥१॥
नमः शत-शरच्चन्द्र-सम्पूर्ण-पटलानने । तारा-सहस्र-निकर-प्रहसत्-किरणोज्ज्वले ॥२॥
नमः कनक-नीलाब्ज-पाणि-पद्म-विभूषिते । दान-वीर्य-तपः-शान्ति-तितिक्षा-ध्यान-गोचरे ॥३॥
नमस्तथागतोष्णीष-विजयानन्त-चारिणि । अशेष-पारमिता-प्राप्त-जिनपुत्र-निषेविते ॥४॥
नमस्तूत्तार-हूंकार-पूरिताशा-दिगन्तरे । सप्त-लोक-क्रमाक्रान्ते अशेषाकर्षण-क्षमे ॥५॥
नमः शक्रानल-ब्रह्म-मरुद्विश्वेश्वरार्चिते । भूत-वेताल-गन्धर्व-गण-यक्ष-पुरस्कृते ॥६॥
नमस्त्रडिति-फट्कार-पर-यन्त्र-प्रमर्दनि । प्रत्यालीढ-पद-न्यासे शिखिज्वालाकुलेक्षणे ॥७॥
नमस्तुरे महाघोरे मारवीर-विनाशनि । भृकुटी-कृत-वक्त्राब्ज-सर्व-शत्रु-निसूदनि ॥८॥
नमस्त्रिरत्न-मुद्रांक-हृद्यांगुलि-विभूषिते । भूषिताशेष-दिक्चक्र-निकर-स्वकराकुले ॥९॥
नमः प्रमुदिताटोप-मुकुटाक्षिप्त-मालिनि । हसत्-प्रहसत्-तूत्तारे मार-लोक-वशंकरे ॥१०॥
नमः समन्त-भूपाल-पटलाकर्षण-क्षमे । चलद्-भृकुटी-हूंकार-सर्वापद-विमोचनि ॥११॥
नमः शिखण्ड-खण्डेन्दु-मुकुटाभरणोज्ज्वले । अमिताभ-जटा-भार-भासुरे किरणे ध्रुवे ॥१२॥
नमः कल्पान्त-हुतभुग्-ज्वाला-मालान्तर-स्थिते । आलीढ-मुदिताबद्ध-रिपु-चक्र-विनाशनि ॥१३॥
नमः करतलाघात-चरणाहत-भूतले । भृकुटी-कृत-हूंकार-सप्त-पाताल-भेदिनि ॥१४॥
नमः शिवे शुभे शान्ते शान्त-निर्वाण-गोचरे । स्वाहा-प्रणव-संयुक्ते महापातक-नाशनि ॥१५॥
नमः प्रमुदिताबद्ध-रिपु-गात्र-प्रभेदिनि । दशाक्षर-पद-न्यासे विद्या-हूंकार-दीपिते ॥१६॥
नमस्तुरे पादाघात-हूंकारकार-बीजिते । मेरु-मण्डल-कैलाश-भुवनत्रय-चालिनि ॥१७॥
नमः सुरसराकार-हरिण्यंक-कर-स्थिते । तारा-द्विरुक्त-फट्कार-अशेष-विष-नाशिनि ॥१८॥
नमः सुरगणाध्यक्ष-सुर-किन्नर-सेविते । आबद्ध-मुदिताभोग-करि दुःस्वप्न-नाशनि ॥१९॥
नमश्चन्द्रार्क-सम्पूर्ण-नयन-द्युति-भासुरे । हर-द्विरुक्त-तूत्तारे विषम-ज्वर-नाशनि ॥२०॥
नमस्त्रितत्त्व-विन्यास-शिव-शक्ति-समन्विते । ग्रह-वेताड-यक्षौघ-नाशनि प्रवरे तुरे ॥२१॥

मन्त्रमूलमिदं स्तोत्रं नमस्कारैकविंशकम् । यः पठेत् प्रयत्नाद् धीमान् देव्या भक्तिसमन्वितः ॥२२॥
सायं वा प्रातरुत्थाय स्मरेत् सर्वाभयप्रदम् । सर्व-पाप-प्रशमनं सर्व-दुर्गति-नाशनम् ॥२३॥
अभिषिक्तो भवेत्तूर्णं सप्तभिर् जिन-कोटिभिः । अस्मिन् महत्त्वमासाद्य सोऽन्ते बौद्धं पदं व्रजेत् ॥२४॥
विषं तस्य महाघोरं स्थावरं वाथ जंगमम् । स्मरणात् प्रलयं याति खादितं पीतमेव वा ॥२५॥
ग्रह-ज्वर-विषार्तानां परमार्ति-विनाशनम् । अन्येषां चैव सत्त्वानां द्विस्त्रि-सप्ताभिवर्तिनाम् ॥२६॥
पुत्र-कामो लभेत् पुत्रान् धन-कामो लभेद् धनम् । सर्व-कामानवाप्नोति न विघ्नैः प्रतिहन्यते ॥२७॥

इति सर्व-बुद्ध-बोधिसत्त्व-भाषितं भगवत्यार्य-तारा-देव्या नमस्कारैकविंशकं स्तोत्रं नाम समाप्तम्

(translation of the Tibetan finale, which gives the name of the patron of this xylograph as Rab-ḥbyams-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-thub-bstan)

आत्मापर-त्रिकालेषु योगित द्विगण-बलैः । जय सुमतिकीर्त्तिस्य चिरा पुष्टिन्तु शासनं ॥

IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN THE FORMATION OF TANTRIC BUDDHISM

by

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CONTENTS

3 The 19th century framework of Buddhist art and thought

4 The fallacy of the Five /Dhyāni-/Buddhas

9 The core characteristic of the Tantras is Light

10 Centrality of Light in Vaipulya texts

14 Some Vaipulya sūtras in Sanskrit

16 Vaipulya sūtras in the Chinese Tripiṭaka

32 Vetullavāda in Srilanka

40 North West India: the tangled region of Iranian and Hellenic ideas

50 The deification of kings as a substratum for Amitābha and Vairocana

55, Amitābha

60 Vairocana

68 Heruka

71 Literature cited

THE 19TH CENTURY FRAMEWORK OF BUDDHIST ART AND THOUGHT

Brian Houghton Hodgson, in his epoch-making paper'Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Buddha Scriptures of Nepal' (1828) laid down the foundations for a study of Buddhist art and thought. At that stage of knowledge or rather unknowing, how could he recognise that the system of Five Buddhas he was enunciating pertained to the Yoga-Tantras. Misnomers like Dhyāni-Buddhas and Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas crept in due to misunderstanding the replies of Pt. Amritananda in Sanskrit. Moreover, the posed questions to Amritananda in a theistic conceptual framework, because of his Christian background of God. It was but natural in the age he lived. These and other acts of omissions and commissions, have compounded misinterpretations, and played havoc in studies on the origin and development of Buddhist Tantras and their visualisation in art. Sculptures and paintings of the Five Buddhas over the centuries and in varied climes are significant in supplying chronological milestones for evaluating the evolution of Tantras. Besides the yab-yam Heruka, Amitābha and Vairocana are kuleśas of their respective Tantras, and share the common characteristics of Tantric thought in spite of glaring morphological and other differences.

The basis of the present study is the fourfold categorisation of the Tantras in the Indo-Tibetan tradition, and their iconographic representation from Amitābha downwards. The visual representation of the four divisions of the Tantras provides a focal point in highlighting the distinctive features of each division. The specific characteristics of each division are detailed in Tibetan by great masters. This division was known in Nepal, as evidenced by the 12th century manuscript of the Vajrāvalī whose first leaf has the following (Shastri 1917:160, ms. 3855):

Kriyā Trisamaya-rāja Bhūta-dāmara-tantra//
Caryyā Vairocan-ābhisambodhi-tantr-ādi //
Yoga Tattva-saṅgrah-ādi-tantra //
Yogottara Samāja-tantr-ādi //
Yoga-niruttara Sambarodaya Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara Ḍākārṇava
Abhidhānottar-ādayaḥ iti yoginī-tantra //

But this classification seems to have been more or less bypassed in India and Nepal since early times. This is evident in the Nispannayogāvalī, which is a supplement to the Vajrāvalī, where the maṇḍalas are not arranged according to the four divisions. This lack of classification in Abhayākaragupta's enunciation of the maṇḍalas of Vajrāvalī has been discussed by Tibetan authorities. It is not suprising then that Amritananda, the informant of Hodgson, himself overlooked it and the system of Five Buddhas of the Yoga-Tantras cited by him was taken by Hodgson in a generalised manner. The confusion it created has persisted to our day, inspite of spectacular advances in the study of the history of Tantras. The concept of a generalised system of Five [Dhyāni] Buddhas continues to falsify the philosophical contexts and their visual expression. In Hodgson the five seem to have the same status, but it is not so. Among them,

Vairocana occupies the centre, while the other four flank him on the right and left, front and behind. Herein Amitābha is subordinate to Vairocana, while in the Kriyā-Tantras (that is, in the Sukhāvatīvyūha system) he is in the centre as the kuleśa with Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta to his right and left. The changing status of the same divinity was due to the incorporation of earlier traditions into the newly developed Tantras. Thus from his original core role in the Kriyā-Tantras, Amitābha became subsidiary in the Caryā-Tantras (Garbhadhātu maṇḍala) and Yoga-Tantras (Vajradhātu maṇḍala). The same divinity in various contexts represents the evolving stages of Tantras: thus it is essential that over-generalisations be abandoned so that the origination, characterisation, and evolution of the Tantras can be comprehended in right perpectives. Let us first understand the error (from Latin errare 'to wander') and then wander away from it.

THE FALLACY OF THE FIVE /DHYĀNI-/BUDDHAS.

Hodgson (1828: 28) propounded that "The Dhyána of creation is called by one generic name Loka-Sansarjana; and by Five repetitions of this, the five Buddhas were created...Each of them receives, together with his existence, the virtues of that Jnána and Dhyána, to the exertion of which, by Adi Buddha, he owed his existence; and by a similar exertion of both, he again produces a Dhyáni Bodhisatwa. ...The names and lineage of these Dhyáni Bodhisatwas are as follows:-

1. Vairochana	1. Samantabhadra
2. Akshobhya	2. Vajra Páni
3. Ratnasambhava	3. Ratna Páni
4. Amitábha	4. Padma Páni
5. Amoghasiddha	5. Viswa Páni

"The Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas are considered to stand in the relation of fathers and sons to each other; and as there are Dhyáni Bodhisatwas, so are there Mánushi Bodhisatwas, who again bear to their respective Mánushi Buddhas the connexion of pupil to teacher, ..."

Further on p.42 he said: "In the Guna Káranda Vyúha it is written, when nothing else was, Sambhu was; that is the self-existent (Swayambhú) : and as he was before all, he is also called ÁDI-BUDDHA. He wished from one to become many, which desire is denominated Prajna. Buddha and Prajna united became Prajna Upaya, as Siva Sakti, or Brahma Maya. ...In the instant of conceiving this desire, five forms or beings were produced, called the five Buddhas..., whose names are as follows: Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratna-Sambhava, Ámitabha, Amogha-Siddha. Each of these Buddhas, again produced from himself, by means of Dhyána, another being called his Bodhi-Satwa, or son. Vairochana produced Samanta-Bhadra; Akshobhya, Vajra-Pani; Ratna-Sambhava, Ratna-Pani; Amitabha, Padma-Pani; and Amogha-Siddha, Viswa-Pani."

The whole thought system of Dhyāni-Buddhas and Dhyāni-Bodhi-

sattvas, and the : collateral Mānusi-Buddhas and Mānusi-Bodhisattvas was neat, clearcut and logical: logic needed no historic authority. And, no authority was cited for the nomenclature.

The confusion of Hindu and Buddhist ideas brought into being an improper super-imposition of theistic constructs like aiśvarika: "The deduction of the five Dhyani Buddhas, and the five Dhyani Bodhisattvas, from Adi-Buddha, according to the Aiswarika Bauddhas." (p. 54).

The authority of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha cited by Hodgson (1828:42) spoke of the "five Buddhas" without the epithet dhyāni-. The notes supplied by Amritananda (1826:16) to Hodgson do not speak of dhyāna. Hodgson (1828:27) has interpolated dhyāni- out of his preconceived notion that it "is derived from the Sanskrit name for that abstracted musing which has found more or less favour with almost all the Asiatic religionists, but which is peculiarly and pre-eminently characteristic of Buddhism."

Hodgson: (p.42)

"Each of these Buddhas, again, produced from himself, by means of Dhyana, another being called his Bodhi-Satwa, or son. Vairochana produced Samanta-bhadra."

Amritananda: Vairocano mahābuddhaḥ suviśuddha-dharmadhātutaḥ sasarja sarva-bhadrārthm Samantabhadram ātmajam; "Vairocana the great Buddha emanated from Suviśuddha-dharmadhātu his son (= acolyte) Samantabhadra for the well-being (bhadra) of all."

Hodgson's 'by means of dhyāna' is not in Amritananda. His 'bodhisattva' is an insertion which gave rise to the fake term Dhyāni-bodhisattva. Son (ātmaja) means an acolyte, a spiritual son, and not a physical son.

Terminological confusion became worse confounded when Amritananda tried to explain Buddhist systems in Hindu terms: "we have nine Puranas, called the 'Nine Dharmas' " (Hodgson 1828:49). The Nava Dharma are the nine fundamental texts of the Nepalese Buddhists. They have nothing in common with the Hindu Purānas, nor with Buddhist sthala-purānas like the Svayambhū-purāna.

The citations of Hodgson (p.93) are not precise. He quotes from the Dharma-Saṅgraha:

Pancha-Buddhámnáya.

4 Amitábha 2 Akshobhya 1 Vairochana 3 Ratnasambhava 5 Amoghasiddha

Pancha-Prajnámnáyí

4 Pandura 2 Lochana 1 Vajradhatwisvari 3 Mamaki 5 Tara

The original Dharma-saṅgraha (Max Müller 1885:1) has :

Panca Buddhāḥ / tadyathā //

Vairocano 'kṣobhyo Ratnasambhavo 'mitābho 'moghasiddhiś ceti//

Catasro devyaḥ / tadyathā //

Rocanī Māmakī Pāṇḍurā Tārā ceti //

It will be seen that Hodgson disregarded the original terms Pañca-Buddha, and commented instead "These five are the famous Dhyáni Buddhas." Max Müller (1885:36) repeated the addition: 'The five (Dhyani)- Buddhas.' To the four goddesses Hodgson added Vajradhātvīśvari to rationalise the system of five.

What was the source of the interjection of the word dhyānī? It stems from t he collocation and then substitution of jñāna by dhyāna (Hodgson p.27) :

"The names and graduation of these Jnanas, Dhyanas, and Buddhas are thus :-

Jnanas.	Buddhas.
1. Suvisuddha Dharma Dhatu.	1. Vairochana.
2. Adarsana.	2. Akshobhya.
3. Prativekshana.	3. Ratnasambhava.
4. Santa.	4. Amitabha.
5. Krityanushthana.	5. Amoghasiddha."

In Amritananda (1826:15), the Five Tathāgatas are emanations of the five Jñānas: for example, Amitābha emanates from samatā-jñāna (not śānta, as in Hodgson), and he is in dhyāna mudrā.

Kern (1898: 64, 96) speaks of "the five Dhyāni-Buddhas of the Mahayanists." It was never clarified that the Five Buddhas pertain not to Mahāyāna but to the Yoga-Tantras. The term and ideas associated with them continue to persist in Buddhist studies (E.B. Havell 1908:12).

Alice Getty (1928: 28) perpetuates the fallacious term Dhyāni-Buddhas, confounds it with Dharma-kāya, and inadvertently correlates it to Yogācāra:

> "According to the Yoga doctrine, the law preached by the Nirmāṇa-kāya (Mānushi-Buddha) is exoteric. When he preaches the esoteric doctrine he is inspired by the Dharma-kāya--his Dhyāni-Buddha."

> "The Tibetan Mahayanists do not associate Vairocana with the founding of the Yoga system, but the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists of the Yogācarya school claim that he transmitted the doctrine directly to the Hindu sage Vajrasattva, ..." (p.31).

> "In India the Yogācārya school was grafted on to the Mahāyāna in the middle of the fourth century by Asaṅga, ..." (p.31).

Getty has rightly correlated the Five Buddhas to Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism and pointed out that in Japanese Buddhism there is no term like 'dhyāni-':

> "The group of five Dhyani-Buddhas was introduced into China by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in the eighth century". (p.28 n.1)

> "Toward the end of eighth century, the Japanese sage Kukai (Kobo Daishi) went to China to study the doctrine of the Yogācārya school with Hui-kuo (Jap. Kei-kwa), and after being initiated into the most secret mysteries of the system, carried it into Japan and founded the Shingon sect." (p.31)

> "In Japan the Dhyāni-Buddhas are also represented in monastic garments. ...In Japanese Buddhism there is no such term as 'dhyāni' Buddha." (p.29)

The terms 'Yoga Doctrine', 'Yoga System' and 'Yogācārya School'

mean the Yoga-Tantras. In Sino-Japanese the word tantra is translated as 教 chiao 'teaching' (mahā-tantra-raja is 大教王 in Nj.1020 in the title of Tattva-saṅgraha, translated by Amoghavajra). Hence the general translation of chiao by 'doctrine, system' instead of the appropriate word 'tantra'. The transition from Yoga Doctrine to Yogācārya (in the sense of Yogācāra) was a corollary of inadvertence. Her assertion "In India the Yogācārya school was grafted on to the Mahāyāna in the middle of the fourth century by Asaṅga" in the context of Vairocana, means that she implies the identity of Yoga doctrine (Yoga-Tantras) and Yogācāra of Asaṅga: it is misleading. From Getty's statements that the Five Buddhas were carried to China by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and that Kōbō Daishi transmitted the doctrine to Japan, it is clear that she is aware that they pertain to Esoteric Buddhism. She is wrong in saying that the Tibetans do not associate Vairocana with the Yoga system. All these errors stem from the ignorance that the Yoga-tantras in the entire Buddhist world of Nepal, China, Japan, Tibet, and elsewhere are based on the single tradition of the mūla-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha. Getty's statement that Japanese Buddhism has "no such term as 'dhyāni' Buddha" is significant.

Glasenapp (1940: 82) says that the term Dhyānibuddha has not been found in Indian texts so far and is also incorrect. It signifies a "meditating" Buddha and not a Buddha "originating through meditation". Probably the term is an invention of Hodgson's pandit. Though used for a century the term should be replaced by 'Tathāgata'. Glasenapp is right in his assertion. The term arose not with the Pandit, but with Hodgson who misunderstood the essential ideas that underlie the Yoga-tantra system of the correspondence of the Five Buddhas to differant jñāna (Lokesh Chandra 1972: introd.40).

Edgerton says in his Dictionary (1953: 287b, 400b) : "I have failed to note any actual occurrence [of dhyāni-(buddha,-bodhisattva] in my texts. P. Mus calls them 'transcendent' Buddhas in his seaching study, Barabudur, p. 577 ff. (L'origine des Cinq Jina: a full discussion here)".

Kirfel (1959: 45) uses Dhyāni-Buddhas as a firmly entrenched term.

As late as 1976, Liebert (p.79) has entered the term dhyāni-bodhisattva with Hodgson's explanation without any disapproval. Likewise, his treatment of dhyāni-buddha is misleading. "According to GBM dhyānibuddha is an incorrect name, which is not met with in the original Buddhist literature, the correct term being tathāgata; however, the name dhyānibuddha has won a place in scientific literature and is much more commonly used than tathāgata". Promoted by Burnouf and used in academic publications for over a century this wrong vogue should be discarded. The Tantras have been studied in-depth only in recent decades and their findings alone have a right to 'win' a place in scientific literature. Liebert even innovates (!) the term dhyāni-buddha-bimba for the image of a Buddha on the head or crown of his corresponding bodhisattva.

The wrong terminology of Dhyāni-buddha and Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, started by Hodgson in his brilliant misunderstanding of the complex ideas of his Pandit Amritananda was fostered by Burnouf through his

foundational magnum opus Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien. The original sin was committed when the Five Buddhas were taken as a core element of Buddhism in general and weaned away from the Yoga-Tantras to which they belonged. The basic text (mūla-tantra) of the Yoga-Tantras is the Tattva-saṅgraha, represented graphically by the Japanese Vajradhātu maṇḍala. This long-continuing over-generalisation muddled the evaluation of the development and chronology of Buddhist Tantras. Resultant misconceptions fogged the distinctions of the Five Buddhas in different schools with their own contradistinctive theogonies. Variations in the names, distinguishing features and placement of the Five Tathāgatas in the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra, two different series in the 9th and 22nd chapters of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra, *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra, Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of the Caryā-Tantras and Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the Yoga-Tantras, have been detailed by the author elsewhere (Lokesh Chandra 1980: 26-29). The wrong nomenclature and the mistaken philosophic system around them, has been the bane of Buddhist Tantras, delimiting their scope and confusing their evolution. It is time that we abandon the term and conceptualisation of the Dhyāni-buddhas and -bodhisattvas and take a historically correct view of the four divisions of Tantras.

Some other factors that have marred our understanding of the development of Buddhist Tantras may also be indicated.

There is no clear definition of the Tantras.

The Tantras were associated with later periods and with the decline of Buddhism : "The decline of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and sorcery, which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice". (Kern 1898:133). This was inspite of: "Tāranātha 201 informs us that Tantrism existed and was transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti, but that after Dharmakīrti's times the Anuttara-Yoga became more and more general and influential. Substantially his statement is certainly right". (ibid.)

The separation of Mahāyāna and Buddhist Tantras led to chronological questions: "The chronological questions connected with the rise of Mahayanism are too vast to admit of an incidental treatment. Here it will suffice to note that the Mahāyāna Sūtra Sukhāvatī-Vyūha or Amitāyus-Sūtra is stated to have been translated into Chinese for the first time A.D. 148-170". (Kern 1898: 6)

The denomination of vaipulya texts has been an enigma: "All Vaipulya texts we know of are qualified as Mahāyāna Sūtras and constitute the new or Mahayanist canon. Since we learn from Chinese authorities that the Lalita-Vistara, a decided Mahāyāna Sūtra, properly belongs to the Sarvāstivādins, we must infer that the Mahayanists did not scruple to adopt such works of the Hīnayāna sects as fitted in with their system, though we cannot help believing that the text must have undergone modifications". (Kern 1898: 6)

The gradual but continuous evolution of the Tantras has not been comprehended: "To the Mahayanists is ascribed the introduction of

Dhāraṇīs into the sacred texts. How to reconcile this with the statement by Huen Thsang that the Mahāsāṅghikas possessed a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka from the very beginning of their sect? Unless we repudiate the truthfulness of the report altogether, we are driven to the conclusion that the Mahayanists did not invent the Dhāraṇīs, but only appropriated them as an integral part of their system. There are, indeed, several indications of a certain connection between the tendencies of the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Mahayanists". (Kern 1898: 6). According to Hsüan-tsang "the old canon of the Mahāsāṅghikas was fivefold, divided into Sūtra-, Vinaya-, Abhidharma-, Saṁyukta-, and Dhāraṇī- (or Vidyādhara Piṭaka)". (Kern 1898: 4)

Winternitz also does not define the Tantras, though he speaks of their four classes (1927: 389). According to him there is "no rigid boundary-line between the Mahāyāna and the Mantrayāna-Vajrayāna" (1927: 389). The earliest Tantras are difficult to distinguish from Mahāyāna sūtras (1927: 394). The Suvarṇaprabhāsa bears the stamp of a tantra (1927: 339). Winternitz (1927: 396) says: "A work which describes itself as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Mahāyāna-Sūtra and as belonging to the Avataṁsaka, is the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa. Nevertheless, as far as its contents are concerned, the work is entirely in the spirit of the Mantrayāna".

"Thus the Vajrayāna is a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas". (1927: 388). "The only thing which distinguishes the Buddhist Tantras from the Tantras of the Śāktas, in the sparse element of Buddhism which is still to be found in them". (1927: 389).

The European concept of the tantras is summed up by Pott without mincing words: "In my opinion it is these elements--pervasion by the feminine principle, and the demonization of the deities--which define the extent to which one can speak of "Tantrism" in the sense in which this term is generally taken today. ...If we ask ourselves whether there is any question of Tantrik developments in a structure such as Barabudur, then we can confidently assert that here there is still no sign of it; i.e., that there is no trace of the influence of the feminine principle nor of a demonization of particular categories of deities". (Pott 1966: 115)

THE CORE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE TANTRAS IS LIGHT

In Sanskrit we do not have the Buddhist Canon. The Tantras have not been classed as a separate section in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The Tibetan Canon, both the Kanjur and Tanjur, has arranged all the Tantras and classified them into four divisions. There are extensive studies in Tibetan which elaborate the classification of the Tantras. These specialised texts by proficient Tibetan masters survey the whole field both in bibliography and in basic ideas. Without them all our efforts will be misleading and in vain, as heretofore. The fundamentals of the Tantras by Mkhas-grub-rje (A.D. 1385-1438), the chief disciple of Tsonkhapa, has been translated into English (Lessing/Wayman 1968) which

provides new and authentic materials to comprehend the long development of the Tantras in an authoritative way without resorting to speculation. Every one of the four divisions of the Tantras is characterised by its central Tathāgata. Thus the core characteristic of Buddhist Tantras can best be understood by the iconographic representation of the central Tathāgata. The central Tathāgatas are:

Amitābha is the central Tathāgata of the Kriyā Tantras
Vairocana in the mudrā of Amitābha ... Caryā Tantras
Vairocana in the bodhyagrī mudrā ... Yoga Tantras
Heruka ... Anuttara-yoga Tantras

Amitābha is 'Infinite Light', Vairocana is 'Effulgence' (√ruc 'to shine'), and Heruka is 'Oh (he) Light (ruka).

(i) Thus the indigenous tradition makes it clear that all the four divisions represent the symbolism of Light.

(ii) This is the Light of Bodhi, bodhi becomes Abhi-sam-bodhi, just as dharma sublimates into abhi-dharma.

(iii) The origin of the Tantras lies in a region where the religion of Light was predominant.

(iv) The cult of the Sun contributed to this transformation.

(v) The earliest designation of these sūtras was vaitulya (Pali vetulla), whose meaning was not clear at first sight and hence in due course the word changed to vaipulya.

(vi) A multitude of bodhisattvas assembled on the mythic mount Vimalāśva-bhava to the south of Rājagṛha to compile the mahāyāna sūtras. The Council was presided over by Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī repeated the Abhidharma, Maitreya the Vinaya and Vajrapāṇi the sūtras. The apostles of the Buddha have been replaced by divine bodhisattvas.

(vii) The difference from the ancient sūtras was that the Vaipulya generally ended by parīndanā in which the Buddha dedicated to one of the listeners the sūtra so that it may not disappear (yathedaṁ nāntardhīyeta. Lamotte 1954:383 n.26).

CENTRALITY OF LIGHT IN VAIPULYA TEXTS

The Vaipulya texts can be distinguished from the Theravāda tradition on many counts, including the doctrine about the nature of enlightenment. While the Sarvāstivādins of the Theravāda school hold that enlightenment is gradual and requires 34 moments of thought, in contrast Vaipulya texts like the Mahāvastu-avadāna of the Mahāsāṅghika school maintain the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment. This is stated in four places in the Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1.229, 2.133, 285, 416), where both Śākyamuni and Dīpaṅkara are mentioned together in the context of enlightenment (Galloway 1981:205). Dīpaṅkara means the disseminator of the light of the lamp. It refers to the fact that bodhi is a flash of light, an illumination. The co-occurence of Śākyamuni and Dīpaṅkara is a precursor of the replacement of Śākyamuni by Amitābha in the Kriyā-Tantras. The doctine of Sudden Enlightenment closely parallels the conceptualisation of enlightenment as a flash of

illumination, whose apotheoses are Infinite Light (Amit-ābha) of the kriyā-tantras, the Solar Light (Vairocana) of the caryā and yoga tantras, Oh Light (Heruka from the root ruc 'to shine') of the anuttara yoga tantras.

The vow of the bodhisattva in the Akṣayamati-sūtra (as quoted by Śāntideva in his Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. Bendall 278) is eka-kṣaṇa-samāyuktayā prajñayā anuttarā bodhir abhisamboddhavyā. The last word presages the technical term abhisambodhi of the caryā-tantras, whose fundamental tantra is Mahavairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra (T 848). The constant evolution of Buddhism was reflected in its terminology: bodhi~ sambodhi~ abhisambodhi.

In the very first chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Rāvaṇa is suddenly enlightened (Galloway 1981). This sūtra formed the basic scripture of the Ch'an/Zen denomination in East Asia and thus it provides a nexus between the Indian origins of the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment and its fruition in China and Japan.

In the Lalitavistara, which is a vaipulya sūtra, as the Buddha goes into samādhi in the mid-hours of the night, rays emanate from his head which illumine all the heavenly worlds and inspire the denizens of these worlds (p.3). When the night is done, the gods approach the Buddha to proclaim the Lalitavistara which had formerly been revealed by Tathāgatas of past ages:

तेन खलु पुन: समयेन भगवान् रात्र्यां मध्यमे यामे बुद्धा-
लंकारव्यूहं नाम समाधिं समापन्नोऽभूत् । समनन्तरसमापन्नस्य च
भगवत इमं बुद्धालंकारव्यूहं नाम समाधिमथ तत्क्षणमेव भगवत उप-
रिष्टान्मूर्ध्नः संधावुष्णीष विवरान्तरात् पूर्वबुद्धानुस्मृत्यसङ्गज्ञानालो-
कालंकारं नाम रश्मिश्चचार। सा सर्वान् शुद्धावासान् देवभवनान्यवभास्य
महेश्वरदेवपुत्रप्रमुखानप्रमेयान्देवपुत्रान् संचोदयामास । ततश्च तथा-
गतरश्मिजालान् निश्चार्यैता (संचोदना) गाथा निश्चरन्ति स्म ।

ज्ञानप्रभं हततमसं प्रभाकरं शुभप्रभं शुभविमलाग्रतेजसम् ।
प्रशान्तकायं शुभशान्तमानसं मुनिं समाश्लिषत शाक्यसिंहम् ॥

The Vaipulya sūtras laid emphasis on the light of Bodhi/Enlightenment. It was the transcendent element which in its apotheosis substituted the personality of the historic Buddha. This changed accent is reflected in the new terminology of the earliest Vaipulya text Sukhāvatī-vyūha where the Buddha becomes Amitābha:

Pali	Brahmā	Buddha	Indra
Vaipulya	Avalokiteśvara	Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta

The Life of Padmasambhava (Padma bkaḥi-than 1.7) has an eloquent passage in the Revelation of the Western Paradise bearing on Amitābha:

He is enveloped in rays that come from all the heavens, and is
    encircled by the iridescent arch.
To the ten points of space he diffuses a reddish mercy radiance.
Perfect Buddha, he possesses nobility; male, he possesses vigor.
His Accomplishment through body, speech, and mind, one can never
    contemplate sufficiently.
Ocean of Victory, his retinue piles itself aloft like clouds.
Eye unvarying, he is total serenity in the heavens.
To the ten points of space he diffuses rays of compassion and love,
and at the extremity of each ray he causes a Buddha to appear.
He diffuses ineffable rays without number, inconceivable by thought.

The Kāraṇḍavyūha speaks of the rays of illumination: for instance, in 261.22 kuta ime raśmayaḥ samāgacchanti sma?, 265.17 vividha-raśmi-niḥsaraṇam pañcamam prakaraṇam, et passim. It is essential to study at length the role of Light in the Vaipulya sūtras.

The Chinese title of the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is "Pr' sūtra (with the first chapter on) emitting light". Its translation was completed on 23 July A.D. 291 by Mokṣala (Nj.2, K 2). Likewise the Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is entitled 'Sūtra of unlimited great-bright-crossing (or mahā-prajñā-pāramitā)' wherein bright = prajñā. It was translated by Chih Ch'ien between the years A.D. 223-253 (Nj.8, K 9).

In the Ratnakūṭa sūtra Raśmi-samantamukha-nirdeśa, the Chinese title literally signifies "(the sūtra spoken at) an assembly on making the light manifest" (Nj. 23/11, K 22/11). It was translated by Bodhiruci between the years A.D. 706-713 (K 22/1).

The Anakṣara-karaṇḍaka-vairocana-garbha-sūtra (K 213, Nj. 221) was translated by Bodhiruci during A.D. 508-535, by Divākara in A.D. 683 (K 214, Nj.222) and again in A.D. 676-688. It is interesting to note that Vairocana is translated in two different ways by Divākara: p'u-kuang-ming 'samanta-rocana' (Nj.222) and pien-chao-kuang-ming (Nj.223). Nj.221 does not translate the word Vairocana in the title.

Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa is a mahāyāna vaipulya sūtra of the Bodhisattva-piṭaka: bodhisattva-piṭak-āvataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-Mañjuśriya mūla-kalpāc caturtho nimitta-jñāna-mahotpāda-paṭala-parivartaḥ (end of paṭala 20, 1.217). The colophons of all the chapters in correlation to their contexts, are worth a detailed study. Śākyamuni invites Mañjuśrī to proclaim the mantra course of the Bodhisattva-piṭaka (mantra-caryārtha-viniścaya-samādhi-paṭala-visaraṃ bodhisattva-piṭakam, 1.21). Mañjuśrī occupies the centre of the maṇḍala as a child (bāla-dāraka-rūpī, 1.73) with rays emanating from him (samanta-prabhā arciṣo nirgacchamānaḥ, 1.73). The radiance, illumination and luminosity of the rays emanating from samādhi recur constantly in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa: sita-raśmi-avabhāsa (1.2), raśmi-dhātu (1.7), bahubhir Buddhair bhagavadbhis taṃ śuddhāvāsa-bhavanam avabhāsya (1.8). The Vaipulya sūtras were revelations of Light, and as such Light was bound to play an extensive role in the MMK.

The word vidyā as the highest form of esoteric learning was equivalent to Tantra, for example in vidyārājñī or vidyārāja. The word vidyārāja is translated into Sino-Japanese by myō-ō which means 'light-king' (myō 'light, vidyā' + ō 'king'). Thus Tantra = vidyā = light. This indicates the prominence of light in the emergence of Tantras.

Vairocana is the master of the firstseven assemblies in the Avataṁsaka. The central personality in these assemblies "unfolds the brightness of his wisdom through the power of the Buddha" (Beatrice 1934: 281). "Interpenetration is the doctrine taught in the Kegon (Avataṁsaka). When we look at the world in the spiritual light of Vairochana Buddha, we see it full of radiance, indeed a world of pure light". (ibid: 282). "When we do not see this radiant world of the Buddha's enlightenment in which Pure World everything is interpenetrating, the Buddha feels sorrow for beings and puts forth his activity to help all these beings to attain enlightenment.

"...Now let us consider the Gaṇḍavyūha. Once Buddha dwelt at Śrāvastī in the grove of Jetavana in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. In that assembly there were five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī. All the members of the assembly were waiting for the Buddha to preach. Then he entered Samādhi (deep meditation) and as soon as he did so the forests of Jetavana suddenly became so wide that they became filled with an inexpressible number of worlds and many Bodhisattvas from the ten quarters came and worshipped the Buddha, composing verses of praise. Buddha issued a ray of light from between his eyebrows and illumined the Bodhisattvas and all the ten quarters and thereby the Bodhisattvas were filled with compassion to benefit all beings". (ibid: 283-4)

The Vaitulya sūtras were new, without (vi) a comparison (tulya)[1], incomparable. They were also vipula: immense, immeasuable, their first manifestation was infinite Light or Amitābha: "But the sheer volume of words is nowhere near as formidable as the content itself; like most Mahāyāna Buddhist works, everything is done on a gargantuan scale. If one simile is good, ten are always much better". (Cook 1977: 23). The later manifestation of Amitābha, Vairocana shared the same immensity: "The traveler who has seen many of the impressive sights of Japan is nevertheless still very impressed by the overwhelming figure of Vairocana, and rightly so, because the figure was meant to impress. Tōdai-ji is the central temple of the Japanese branch of Hua-yen Buddhism, and Vairocana is the cosmic Buddha, whose body is infinitely large, and whose life is infinitely long. In fact, the Hua-yen universe which has been described in the foregoing pages is said to be

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[1] In the 12th stanza of the Māra-vijaya-stotra we find atula as an epithet of mantra and vipula as an adjective to virtue:

iti toṭaka-mantra-varair atulair
parikīrtya mayā tava varṇa-lavān /
yad upārjitam adya śubham vipulam
śivam astu tato bhuvi deva-nṛṇām //

the very body of this Buddha, and his presence shines sublimely forth from every particle in the universe. Hence his name, Vairocana, the Buddha of Great Illumination, whose light shines into every corner of the universe... Tu-shun, the first patriarch of Chinese Hua-yen says

The past practices of the Buddha Vairocana
Cause oceans of Buddha-lands to be purified.
Immeasurable, incalculable, infinite,
He freely pervades all places.
The Dharma-body of the Tathāgata is inconceivable;
It is formless, markless, and incomparable." (T 1867.513c)
(Cook 1977: 90-91)

SOME VAIPULYA SŪTRAS IN SANSKRIT

Edgerton (1953: 570) says that vaitulya is "doubtless secondarily modified by confusion with Sanskrit vaipulya from vipula". He gives the meaning: "(work of) great extent, or acc. to Burnouf, Introd. 62f., development." It is applied by the sūtras to their own texts; like the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra
1.3 vaipulya-sūtra-rājam...saddharma-puṇḍarīkaṁ
19.12 sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyam (v.l. mahā left out)
21.6, 22.15, 65.1, 181.6 Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṁ...sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ

46.6 vaipulyasūtrāṇi vadāmi
98.11 vaipulyasūtrāna, 98.11 vaipulyasūtrāni ca dhārayeta.

In the sundry fragments of manuscripts from Kashgar collected by N.F. Petrovsky the title is constantly sūtram mahāvaitulyam bodhisattvotpādam in place of sutrāntam mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam (SP. 65.1 n.1). In the Central Asian ms of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra we find sarva-mahāyāna-sūtra-vaitulya-param-āmṛta (Thomas ap. Hoernle MR. 95.8).

Winternitz (1927: 249): "While he sits absorbed in deep meditation in the middle watch of the night, a ray of light bursts forth from the parting of his hair, penetrates into the worlds of heaven and plunges all the gods into excitement. The gods immediately begin a song in praise of the exalted Buddha, and soon Īśvara and other gods appear before the Lord, throw themselves at his feet and implore him, for the salvation and blessing of the world, to reveal the excellent Vaipulya-Sūtra, called Lalita-Vistara.

The Lalitavistara characterises itself as: 4.17 Lalitavistaro nāma dharma-paryāyaḥ sutrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo
7.9 idaṁ...vaipulya-sūtraṁ hi mahā-nidānaṁ/
438.20 Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikrīḍitaḥ.

The insertion of the Trapuṣa-Bhallika chapter in the Vaipulya sūtra Lalitavistara is an indication that Vaipulya traditions had their origins in the Udīcya regions, whose epicentre was Balkh. . The Buddhist monks of Balkh with the convergence of Iranian, Hellenic and Buddhist

traditions in their language, ideas, sense of history and world-view, could not but enshrine them in the texts they authored, amplified, read or adored. It is but natural that odd metaphors in the texts are palimpsets hiding such a Weltanschauung of bhikṣus of the Iranian-speaking world. In their etymological association we can discern the origins of the tantras with their emphasis on the Light of the bodhi or enlightenment of Lord Buddha, which became abhi-sambodhi or Super-Enlightenment of Vairocana. The bodhi or sambodhi of Theravāda evolved and transcended into the abhi-sambodhi in Vaipulya/Vajrayāna. In certain contexts bodhi-maṇḍa is replaced by vajra-maṇḍa (Nj. 372,373). It shows that the more developed conceptualisation was vajra.

Kern (1898:5): "The Tripiṭaka properly so called, has for a large part yielded the material for the Vaipulya-Sūtras, which if not all of them were composed by the Mahayanists have at least been adopted by them and incorporated in their new canon. Outwardly the Vaipulya-Sūtras are distinguished from the older Sūtras by a different manner of composition and by the change of idiom. We regularly find in them sections in a redaction in prose, followed by one in verse, the latter being in substance only a repetition of the former or, may be, in some cases the source of the narrative in prose. The idiom of the prosaical part is a kind of Sanskrit; that of the verses, Gāthās, is a veiled Prakrit somewhat clumsily sanskritised as much as the exigencies of the metre permitted". The summing up the substance of prose into a gāthā may reflect the fact that the earliest vaitulya sūtras originated in the NW. The Gāthā represented the most sacred part in the Zoroastrian tradition of the Northwest.

The Candrapradīpa-sūtra is cited in the Śikṣā-samuccaya (354.6): nāhaṁ vaitulya-śikṣitaḥ. This passage is from the Samādhirāja, ch. 24 (fol. 109b of the Hodgson ms. at the Royal Asiatic Society).

Lamotte 1976 interprets the word vaipulya as follows:

xxv : "The Vimalakīrtinirdeśa 'Teaching of the [Bodhisattva named] Unstained Glory' is ranked as one of the developed Sūtras (vaipulya-sūtra) of the Great Vehicle in Buddhism".

lxii : "The theories expounded in the Vaipulyasūtras were systematized, probably in the third century, by Nāgārjuna, author of the famous Madhyamakakārikā".

lxxxvii : "the Vkn is closely linked to the earliest known recensions of the Prajñāpāramitās, the Ratnakūṭa, the Avataṁsaka and the Mahāsaṁnipāta, and belongs to the same philosophico-mystical movement. We know how this developed later and culminated in the vast collections known by the generic name of Vaipulyasūtras".

lxxxviii : "A few years later, in the course of a second, even third turning of the Wheel of the Law, Śākyamuni gathered, in Śrāvastī or Vaiśālī, chosen assemblies of Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, taught them the Mahāyāna and expounded to them the voluminous Vaipulyasūtras. In general, the Śrāvakas, who would have been incapable of understanding it, got no wind of this teaching, but it was noted by the gods".

"Five hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, when the Good Law was gradually declining and the Buddha's work threatened, the Mahāyāna-sūtras began to spread in the world . The Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna

discovered, in the Nāgas' palace, seven precious coffers filled with Mahāyānasūtras".

"Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa describes itself as a mahāvaipulya-mahāyāna-sūtra and as belonging to the Avataṁsaka; but the contents are in the spirit of the Mantrayāna" (Nakamura 1980: 319).

"The Prajñāpāramitā thought came to be combined with Vajrayāna ideas. This fact is best exemplified in the case of Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcāśatikā, Rishukyō, the most widely accepted scripture in Japanese Vajrayāna". (Nakamura 1980: 320)

The Buddhist Prajñāpāramitā-naya-sūtra has a parallel in the naya-sūtra which formed one of the four or five sections of the Niḥśvāsa-tattva-saṁhitā referred to in the Sdok-kak Thom inscription from Cambodia. This inscription refers to the introduction of Tantric texts and the Devaraja cult into the country during the reign of Jayavarman II in the beginning of the ninth century (BEFEO 15:70-71, Bhattacharyya 1982: 54).

"The nine main Buddhist texts in Nepal are known as the basic Vaipulya-sūtras: "This has been very well manifested in the Vaipulya Sūtra or Nava Vyākaraṇa or Nine Dharmas which contain nine prominent Buddhist works--(1) Lalitavistara, (2) Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, (3) Gaṇḍa-vyūha, (4) Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, (5) Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, (6) Daśabhūmika, (7) Samādhirāja, (8) Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, and (9) Tathāgata-guhyaka. They are also known as Nava Khaṇḍa. These texts are held in high esteem and though these volumes deal with different aspects of Buddhist philosophy the Buddha is elevated to His divine posture rather than that of a human being as pictured in the Pali canon". (Sakya 1981: 46)

The Tantras have been explained tanoti vipulān arthān tattva-mantra-samanvitān (Woodroffe 1975: 34). The use of the word vipula can be significant: does it point to their earlier appellation vaipulya.

VAIPULYA SŪTRAS IN THE CHINESE TRIPITAKA

The Chinese Tripiṭaka has preserved the most extensive record of the Vaipulya sūtras. In 1654 Chi-hsü 智旭 completed his 'Guide for the Examination of the Tripiṭaka' in 48 fasciculi (Nj.x, xxvi, xxxii) after twenty years of hard toil (T 100.74). He has specified several "Mahāyāna sūtras of the Vaipulya class". Nanjio has reproduced these indications of the Vaipulya sūtras in his catalogue.

The Chinese word for mahāvaipulya is ta-fang-kuang or tang 大方廣 or 大方等. Some sūtras of the Mahāsannipāta class (Nj. 61ff.) are mahāvaipulya sūtras (Nj.61, 63, 66, 72, 75). The first sūtra of the Avataṁsaka class bears the title Ta-fang kuang fo-hua-yen ching "Mahā-

閱藏知津

vaipulya-buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra" (Nj.87, K 79).* It means that this collection of sūtras was the efflorescense (avataṁsaka) of the mahā-vaipulya sūtras. Avataṁsaka means 'a garland, ring-shaped ornament, ear-ornament, ear-ring, crest' (MW). The Chinese translation of avataṁsaka is hua-yen: hua 'flower, blossoms' yen 'ornament': "Hua-yen is regarded as the highest form of Buddhism by most modern Japanese and Chinese scholars. ...Hua-yen, Flower Ornament..." (Cook 1977 blurb). The Tibetan translation of avataṁsaka is phal-po-che or phal-chen which means Mahāsāṅghika (S.C. Das), Phal-chen-sde-pa means Mahāsāṅghikāḥ (Blue Annals 1.243). Phal-cher is 'manifold, universally, general' (Jäschke 342 a). The Tibetan term for mahāvaipulya is śin-tu-rgyas-pa-chen-po (Toh.44). The Avataṁsaka was rendered into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde and revised by Vairocana in the 8th century.

The Chinese vaipulya in Nj 252 corresponds to vaidalya in Tib. (Toh. 227), so also in Nj 253 = Toh.227. Vaidalya is thus equivalent to vaipulya.

The fundamental Tantra of the Caryā division is a Vaipulya text. Its Sanskrit title is given in the Tibetan Kanjur as: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh.494). The Chinese title (Nj 530, T 848, K 427) is shorter: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-sūtra.**

The fundamental Tantra of the Yoga division, Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (Nj 1355, T 874) is also a Vaipulya sūtra according to Chi-tsing. Texts with the words vajraśekhara-yoga, vajraśekhara or yoga in their titles pertain to the Sarva-Tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, which is known as Vajraśekhara-tantra. A number of them are classified as Vaipulya sūtras.

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*Buddhāvataṁsaka occurs in the Divyāvadāna 162.26: "Bhagavatā tathādhiṣṭhitaṁ yathā sarva-loko 'nāvṛtam adrākṣīd Buddhāvataṁsakaṁ yāvad Akaniṣṭha-bhavanam..., 401.16: Bhagavatā Śrāvastyāṁ tīrthyān vijayārthaṁ mahāprātihāryaṁ kṛtam Buddhāvataṁsakaṁ yāvad Akanishtha-bhavanaṁ nirmitam mahat tatkālam tatraivāham āsan mayā tad Buddha-vikrīḍitaṁ dṛṣṭam iti. Avadāna-śataka 1.87.9: mahāprātihāryaṁ vidarśitam Buddhāvataṁsaka-vikrīḍitaṁ yad-darśanād rājā ...suprasannaḥ ... Edg. translates avataṁsaka as 'a large number, collection', which does not seem to be correct. Avataṁsaka means 'flower ornament'. Buddhā-vataṁsaka is literally the flower of the Buddha, the flowering Buddha-land, on the analogy of Udyāna, the flowering oasis of North-Western India and of the modern town Chaman 'garden' with its honeyed grapes.

The Divyāvadāna speaks of the Buddhāvataṁsaka and Akaniṣṭha-bhavana in an ascending order: from the Bu' to the Ak'. Akaniṣṭha-bhavana is the paradise of Sarvavid Vairocana of the Yoga-Tantras (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 215). Likewise Buddhāvataṁsaka should also be a paradise, the heaven of the Vairocana of Avataṁsaka sūtras. For the title Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra we have the anology of Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Sukhāvatī being the Paradise of Amitābha.

** See next page.

The Tantra Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (Nj 1056, T 1191, K 1138) is a mahāvaipulya sūtra. The Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (Nj 1370, Toh. 360) is a Vaipulya sūtra. It begins the Tantras in the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 360, Wayman 1973: 234).

A survey of the Chinese Vaipulya sūtras leads us to the following conclusions:

1. Vaipulya and vaidalya are identical terms.
2. The Tantras are Vaipulya texts. The mūla Tantras of two of the four divisions, namely the Caryā and Yoga Tantras, are Vaipulya sūtras. In the titles they are not termed Tantras. Vaipulya is an earlier appellation of the traditions that comprised/included the Tantras.
3. The Vaipulya sūtras accepted the variegated continuity of development. All the manifestations of Buddhism were owned and the interdependence of all these traditions flowed into a main stream. We know from the Chinese Tripiṭaka that Vaipulya sūtras comprised of:
   (i) Early Vaipulya sūtras
   (ii) Sūtras of the Ratnakūṭa class, like the Sukhāvatī-vyūha [Nj 23(5)]
   (iii) Sūtras of the Mahāsannipāta class, e.g. *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra (Nj. 61)
   (iv) Sūtras of the Avataṃsaka, e.g. *Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra (Nj. 87)
   The central deity of the Avataṃsaka-sūtras was Vairocana, who later on developed into the Vairocana of the Caryā and Yoga Tantras.
4. The Tantras were not reckoned as a separate class in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, as in the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur.
5. The Chinese Tripiṭaka has preserved in the Chinese titles themselves the categorisation of the (mahā)vaipulya texts.

Introducing the phal-chen section (f.119r) of the catalogue of the Derge Kanjur, Situ paṇ-chen writes that Vaipulya contains the Avataṃsaka (phal-chen) and Ratnakūṭa (dkon-brtsegs) texts:

gsum pa 'khor lo tha ma'i mdo bzhugs tshogs che ba'i skor la /phal chen dang dkon brtsegs gnyis las/

dang po shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo sde sangs rgyas phal po che ni/ brda rnying du sangs rgyas rma ga chad du grags shing/ yang snyan gyi gong rgyan du'ang bsgyur ba yod de/ de lta bu'i mtshan de'ang bye brag gi ming spyi la btags par gsal te/mdo 'di'i le'u nyi shu rtsa

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**Nj. translates as: 'Sūtra on Mahāvairocana's becoming Buddha and the supernatural formula called Yugandhara (? lit. adding-holding)'. It has to be corrected. The corrections are: 'becoming Buddha' = abhisambodhi, 'supernatural formula' = vikurvita, yugandhara (? lit. adding-holding)= adhiṣṭhāna.

dgu'i bar du phal po che zhes dkar chag ldan dkar ma sogs su bshad pa gang zhig/ des lhag ma rnams la'ang mtshan de ltar grags pa'i phyir ro// des na mtshan de lta bu dang ldan pa'i mdo sde 'di la/ spyir shlo ka 'bum dang/ le'u brgya yod pa las/ sngon (f.119v) na landa bi ha ra la me'i dgra byung ba'i rkyen gyis/ ma tshang ba'i 'phro ji tsam bzhugs pa bsgyur ba la/ ...

In the eighth-century wonder Borobudur, which is a maṇḍala of Vajradhātu Vairocana, the reliefs of Karmavibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, jātakas and avadānas, the Avataṁsaka text of Gaṇḍavyūha culminate in the Yoga Tantra (Lokesh Chandra 1980: 31f.).

In his Ten Stages of spiritual development Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 774-835) owns Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, the way of the śrāvakas (Theravāda) and of the pratyekabuddhas, Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Avataṁsaka, with their finality in Vajrayāna (Lokesh Chandra 1980: 33).

The Tabo Monastery, attributed to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, bears the murals of the life of Śākyamuni (Lalitavistara), the journey of Sudhana (Avataṁsaka-sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha) and the central hall is dedicated to the maṇḍala of Vajradhātu Vairocana (Lokesh Chandra 1980: 32): the various stages in the development of the Vaipulya sūtras are thus harmonised.

The tradition of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras starting with the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition. The transmission of the cycle of Tantras commences with Hīnayāna sūtras in the Tibetan exegesis of Mkhas-grub-rje:

A (1) the biography of Śākyamuni
 (2) compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition
 (3) compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
 (1) Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (bkah) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh.1-7).
 (2) The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. śūnyatā) (Toh.8-30).
 (3) The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh.44 Avataṁsaka and 45-93 Ratnakūṭa).
 (4) The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh.94-359).

C Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:
 (1) Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh.360-478)
 (2) Yoga-tantra (Toh.479-493)
 (3) Caryā-tantra (Toh.494-501)
 (4) Kriyā-tantra (Toh.502-827)

Now we shall take up Vaipulya sūtras in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Either their Chinese title bears the indication that it is a Vaipulya sūtra or it is specified in Chi-tsing. The Chinese texts have been arranged according to the dates of their translations.

Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220)

佛說大乘方等要慧經
Nj 54, T 348, K 50
Sūtra of the Mahāyāna-vaipulya spoken by Buddha on the important understanding
Maitreya-paripṛcchā-dharm-āṣṭaka (Toh.85)
Tr. An Shih-kao (w.148-170), Ch'en 43-44
Later transl. by Bodhiruci (Nj.23/41).

六菩薩名亦當誦持經
Nj 1337, T 491, K 1030
Sūtra on six Bodhisattvas' names also to be recited and kept in mind.
Tr. name lost.
Chi-tsing 5.27b: it is a vaipulya sūtra

Western Chin Dynasty (A.D. 265-316)

佛說方等般泥洹經
Nj 116, T 378, K 108
*Vaipulya-parinirvāṇa-sūtra spoken by Buddha
Catur-dāraka-samādhi-sūtra (Toh.136)
Tr. Dharmarakṣa/Chu Fa-hu of Tun-huang in A.D. 269.

正法華經
Nj 138, T 263, K 117
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Tr. Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu) in A.D. 286
Hakeda 1972: 206 it is a vaipulya sūtra

薩曇芬陀利經
Nj 136, T 265, K 115
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Tr. name lost
Hakeda 1972: 206 it is a vaipulya sūtra

大方等頂王經
Nj 145, T 477, K 122
*Mahāvaipulya-mūrdharāja-sūtra
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa
Tr. Dharmarakṣa, A.D. 308
Later transl. is Nj 144.

佛說濟諸方等學經
Nj 252, T 274, K 147
*Buddha-bhāṣita-sarva-vaipulya-vidyā-siddha-sūtra
Sarva-vaidalya-saṅgraha (Toh.227)
Tr. Dharmarakṣa, A.D. 265-313

Eastern Chin Dynasty (A.D. 317-420)

佛說方等泥洹經
Nj 119, T 6, K 654
*Vaipulya-nirvāṇa-sūtra spoken by Buddha
Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
Tr. name lost

大方等如來藏經
Nj 384, T 666, K 360
*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Tr. Buddhabhadra in A.D. 420.
Later transl. (T 667, K 1359) by Amoghavajra (w.720-774)

大方廣佛華嚴經
Nj 87, T 278, K 79
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra (Toh. 278)
Tr. Buddhabhadra and others in A.D. 422
Later transl. by Śikṣānanda (Nj 88, K 80)

Three Chin Dynasties (A.D. 350-431)

大方廣如來秘密藏經
Nj 443, T 821, K 413
*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Tr. name lost

Later Ch'in Dynasty (A.D. 384-417)

十住經
Nj 105, T 286, K 98
Daśabhūmika-sūtra
Tr. Kumārajīva, in A.D. 402-409.
Later transl. by Buddhabhadra (Nj 87/22, K 79) done in A.D. 422
by Śikṣānanda (Nj 82/26, K 80) in A.D. 699.

妙法蓮華經

Nj 134, T 262, K 116
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Tr. Kumārajīva, in A.D.406 or 405
Hakeda 1972: 206 it is a vaipulya text

莊嚴菩提心經

Nj 99, T 307, K 95
*Bodhi-citta-vyūha-sūtra
Tr. Kumārajīva, in A.D.402-409
In its earlier transl. Nj 103 it is termed a mahāvaipulya sūtra

Northern Wei Dynasty (A.D.386-534)

大方廣菩薩十地經

Nj 103, T 308, K 96
*Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-daśabhūmi-sūtra
Tr. Kekaya and T'an-yao in A.D.472

大方等修多羅王經

Nj 285, T 575, K 264
*Mahāvaipulya-sūtrarāja-sūtra
Bhava-saṅkrānti-sūtra
Tr. Bodhiruci, in A.D.508-535

Northern Liang Dynasty (A.D.397-439)

大方等陀羅尼經

Nj 421, T 1339, K 397
*Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhā-āvasthita-samādhi-sūtra
Tr. Fa-chung, during A.D.402-413 (K)

大方廣三戒經

Nj 24, T 311, K 23
*Mahāvaipulya-sūtra on the three moral precepts
Tri-saṁvara-nirdeśa-parivarta
Tr. Dharmakṣema, between A.D.414-426
Earlier transl. of Nj 23(1)

大方等大集經

Nj 61, T 397, K 56
Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra
Tr. Dharmakṣema, Chih-yen, Pao-yün and Narendrayaśas, between A.D. 414-426

大方等大雲經

Nj 244, T 387, K 164
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāmegha-sūtra
Mahāmegha-sūtra
Tr. Dharmakṣema, between A.D. 414-421 (K)

佛說大方廣十輪經

Nj 65, T 410, K 58
*Mahāvaipulya-sūtra spoken by Buddha on Daśacakra
Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha
Tr. name lost
Later transl. by Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 652 (Nj 64, K 57)

<u>Earlier Sung Dynasty (A.D. 420-479)</u>

大方廣佛華嚴經

Nj 87, T 278, K 79
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
(Buddh) āvataṃsaka-sūtra
Tr. Buddhabhadra, between A.D. 418-422

勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經

Nj 59, T 353, K 54
*Vaipulya-sūtra on the great good means, being the Śrīmālā-(devī)-siṃhanāda-sūtra
Tr. Guṇabhadra, in A.D. 436 (K)
Later transl. is Nj 23(48).

大方廣寶篋經

Nj 169, T 462, K 150
*Mahāvaipulya-ratna-karaṇḍa-sūtra
Ratna-karaṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra
Tr. Guṇabhadra, between A.D. 435-443

佛說菩薩念佛三昧經
Nj 71, T 414, K 60
Sutra spoken by Buddha on the samādhi called Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti.
Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti-samādhi-sūtra
Tr. Guṇaśāla, in A.D. 462(K)
Nj 72 terms it a mahāvaipulya sūtra

Sui Dynasty (A.D. 589-618)

大乘大方等日藏經
Nj 62, T x, K 56 part 14
*Mahāyāna-mahāvaipulya-sūryagarbha-sūtra
Sūryagarbha-sūtra
Tr. Narendrayaśas (w.557-585, Hōbōgirin)

大方等大集月藏經
Nj 63, T x, K x
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-candragarbha-sūtra
Candragarbha-vaipulya
Tr. Narendrayaśas (w.557-585, Hōbōgirin)

大乘方廣總持經
Nj 253, T 275, K 148
*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Sarva-vaidalya-saṅgraha-sūtra(K)
Tr. Vinītaruci, in A.D. 582

佛說大方等大集菩薩念佛三昧經
Nj 72, T 415, K 65
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra spoken by Buddha on the samadhi called Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti.
Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti-samādhi(K)
Tr. Dharmagupta, between A.D. 607-614(K)

大方等大集賢護經
Nj 75, T 416, K 66
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-bhadrapāla -sūtra
Bhadrapāla-sūtra
Tr. Jñānagupta, in A.D. 594-595(K)

佛說大方等大雲請雨經
Nj 186, T 992, K 167
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-sūtra on asking rain of the great cloud
Mahāmegha-sūtra
Tr. Jñānayaśas, in A.D. 570 (K)

佛華嚴入如來德智不思議境界經

Nj 91, T 303, K 82
*Buddhāvataṁsaka-tathāgata... avatāra-sūtra
Tathāgata-guṇa-jñāna-acintya-viṣay-āvatāra-nirdeśa
Tr. Jñānagupta, between A.D. 585-601 (K)
Nj 93 terms it a mahāvaipulya sūtra

添品妙法蓮華經

Nj 139, T 264, K 118
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Tr. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, in A.D. 601-602 (K)
Hakeda 1972: 206 terms it a Vaipulya sūtra

<u>T'ang Dynasty A.D. 618-907)</u>

大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌

Nj --, T 1732, K 1506
Ta fang kuang fo hua yen ching sou hsüan fen ch'i t'ung chih fang kei
Written by Chih-yen, between A.D. 602-668

大乘大集地藏十輪經

Nj 64, T 411, K 57
*Mahāyāna-mahāsannipāta-daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtsa
Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra (Toh. 239)
Tr. Hsüan-tsang, in A.D. 651-52
Nj 65 terms it a Vaipulya sūtra

顯無邊佛土功德經

Nj 95, T 289, K 101
*Ananta-buddhakṣetra-guṇa-nirdeśa
Tathāgatānām Buddhakṣetra-guṇ-okta-dharma-paryāya (Toh. 104)
Tr. Hsüan-tsang, in A.D. 654
Similar to Nj 87(26) and 88(31) which are mahāvaipulya-sūtras

佛說大方廣師子吼經

Nj 263, T 836, K 243
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-siṁhanāda-sūtra
Siṁhanādika-sūtra (Toh. 209)
Tr. Divākara, in A.D. 680

方廣大莊嚴經
Nj 159, T 187, K 111
*Vaipulya-mahāvyūha-sūtra (mahā = vistara, vyūha = lalita)
Lalitavistara (Toh.95)
Tr. Divākara, in A.D. 683 or 685 (K)

大方廣佛華嚴經續入法界品
Nj 101, T 295, K 104
A continuation of the chapter on entering the dharmadhātu, in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra
Tr. Divākara, in A.D. 685

大乘廣五蘊論
Nj 1175, T 1613, K 618
*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-pañca-skandha-sūtra
Pañca-skandha-prakaraṇa-vaibhāṣya (Toh.4066)
Tr. Divākara, in A.D. 685

大方廣佛華嚴經不思議境界分
Nj 96, T 300, K 88
Part on the acintya-viṣaya, in the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Tr. Devaprajña, in A.D. 689-691

大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分
Nj 94, T 306, K 84
Part on the practice of compassion, in the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Tr. Devaprajña, in A.D. 689-691

大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經
Nj 427, T 842, K 400
*Mahāvaipulya-pūrṇabuddha-sūtra-prasannārtha-sūtra
Tr. Buddhatrāta, in A.D. 693

大方廣佛華嚴經
Nj 88, T 279, K 80
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra (Toh.44,104...)
Tr. Śikṣānanda, between A.D. 695-699

大方廣入如來智德不思議經

Nj 93, T 304, K 86
*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-guṇa-jñān-ācintya-(viṣaya)-avatāra-sūtra
Tathāgata-guṇa-jñān-ācintya-viṣay-āvatāra-nirdeśa (Toh.185)
Tr. Śikṣānanda, in A.D.700
Earlier translations are Nj 85, Nj 91 Jñānagupta

大方廣如來不思議境界經

Nj 97, T 301, K 87
*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgat-ācintya-viṣaya-sūtra
Tr. Śikṣānanda, in A.D.700
Earlier translation is Nj 96

大方廣普賢所說經

Nj 98, T 298, K 91
Mahāvaipulya-sūtra spoken by Samantabhadra
Tr. Śikṣānanda, between A.D.700-704

大方廣菩薩藏經中文殊師利根本一字陀羅尼法

Nj 333, T 1181, K 299
Mañjuśrīmūla-ikākṣara-dhāraṇī-dharma, in the Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra
Tr. Ratnacinta, in A.D.702

三律儀會

Nj 23(1), K 22(1)
Tri-saṁvara-nirdeśa (Toh.45)
Tr. Bodhiruci, between A.D.706-713
Amoghavajra translated the following Vaipulya sūtras, between 746-771 (Nj), 746-774(K)

佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經

Nj 960, T 1135, K 1292
*Buddha-bhāṣita-sarva-tathāgata-vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-sūtra

佛說大方廣曼殊室利經觀自在多羅菩薩儀軌經

Nj 1060, T 1101, K 1276
Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-mañjuśrī-sūtra-avalokiteśvara-tārā-bodhisattva-kalpa-sūtra

瑜伽翳迦訖沙囉烏瑟尼沙斫訖囉眞言安怛陀那儀則一字頂輪王瑜伽經

Nj 1331, T 955, K 1320
*Yog-aikākṣar-oṣṇīṣa-cakra-mantrānta-dāna-kalp-aikākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakra-varti-yoga-sūtra

Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakra-varti-yoga-kalpa (K)
Chi-tsing 15.4a: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經
Nj 1355, T 874, K -
*Vajraśekhara-sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-mahāyāna-pratyutpann-abhisambuddha-mahātantrarāja-sūtra
Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (Toh.479)
Later transl. by Dānapāla (Nj 1017, K 1466), between A.D.1012-1015
Chi-tsing 15.1a: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法
Nj 1391, T 1133, K 1319
*Vajr-āyur-dhāraṇī-adhyāya-kalpa
Tr. Amoghavajra (T,K)

大乘方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教讃閻曼德迦忿怒王眞言大威德儀軌品
Nj 1423, T 1215, K -
*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-mañjuśrī-bodhisattv-āvataṁsaka-mūlatantra-Yamāntaka-krodharāja-mantra-mahābala-guṇa-kalpa-varga

大方廣曼殊室利童眞菩薩華嚴本教讃閻曼德迦忿怒王眞言阿毗遮嚕迦儀軌品
Nj 1424, T 1216, K -
*Mahāvaipulya-mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta-bodhisattv-āvataṁsaka-mūlatantra-Yamāntaka-krodharāja-praśaṁsā-mantra-avikalaka(?)-kalpa-varga

普賢金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀
Nj 1442, T 1124, K 1317
*Samantabhadra-vajrasattva-yogādhyāya-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌
Nj 1443, T 908, K 1335
*Vajraśekhara-yoga-homa-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛頂超勝三界經說文殊五字眞言勝相
Nj 1446, T 1172, K 1350
An excellent mark of Mañjuśrī's Mantra of five letters, spoken (by Buddha) in the Vajraśekhara-Trailokyavijaya-sūtra
Trailokyavijaya-mahākalparāja (Toh.482)
Chi-tsing 14,15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品

Nj 1447, T 1171, K 1280
*Vajraśekhara-sūtra-yoga-mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-dharmaikavarga
Trailokyavijaya-mahākalparāja (Toh.482)
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

金剛頂瑜伽經十八會指歸

Nj 1448, T 869, K 1289
An outline of eighteen assemblies in the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

訶利帝母眞言法

Nj 1449, T 1261, K 1306
*Hārīti-mātṛ-mantra-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品四十二字觀

Nj 1450, T 1019, K 1329
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sutre dharmadhātv-avatār-ādhyāya-
dvācatvāriṁśadakṣara-dhyāna
Chi-tsing 34: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1451)

般若波羅蜜多理趣經大安樂不空三昧眞實金剛菩薩等一十七聖大曼荼羅義述

Nj 1451, T 1004, K 1334
Explanation of the 17 deities of the mandala of Bhagavad-Mahāsukhāmoghatattvavajra according to the Prajñāpāramitā-naya-sūtra
Chi-tsing 34: Mahāyana sūtra of the Vaipulya class

陀羅尼門諸部要目

Nj 1452, T 903, K -
Important names or articles of many classes of the Dhāraṇī-dvāra
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1454)

金剛頂瑜伽三十七尊禮

Nj 1453, T 878, K 1332
*Vajraśekhara-yoga-saptatriṁśadārya-pūjā
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1454)

受菩提心戒儀

Nj 1454, T 915, K 1331
*Bodhicitta-śīlādāna(?)-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

瑜伽集要焰口施食儀
Nj 1467, T 1319, 1320, K -
Jvālāmukhī-pretī-bali-vidhi, from the Yoga-saṅgraha (= Tattva-saṅgraha, the fundamental yoga tantra)
Chi-tsing 15.17a: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class
The translation of Amoghavajra end here

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大方廣佛華嚴經疏
Nj 1589, T 1735, KS 1
A commentary on the Buddhāvataṁsaka (Nj 88), compiled by the fourth patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school Ch'eng-kuan, between A.D.784-787 (KS 1)

大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔
Nj 1590, T 1736, KS 2
A commentary on Nj 1589, written by Ch'eng-kuan, in A.D.737-8

大方廣佛華嚴經普賢菩薩行願品
Nj 89, T 293, K 1262
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra
Gaṇḍavyūha (T, K)
Tr. Prājña, in A.D.798

Northern Sung Dynasty (A.D.960-1127)

佛說如意輪蓮華心如來修行觀門儀
Nj 1437, T 1090, K -
*Buddha-bhāṣita-cintācakra (or-maṇi)-puṇḍarīka-hṛdaya-tathāgata-caryā-dhyānadvāra-kalpa
Tr. Ts'eu-hien (Hōbōgirin)
Chi-tsing 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1438)

妙吉祥平等瑜伽秘密觀身成佛儀軌
Nj 1438, T 1193, K -
*Mañjuśrī-samantayoga-guhya-dhyānakāyābhisambuddha-kalpa
Tr. Ts'eu-hien (Hōbōgirin)
Chi-tsing 15: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

大方廣總持寶光明經
Nj 785, T 299, K 1095
Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-ratnolkā-sūtra
Ratnolkā-dhāraṇī (T, K)
Tr. Fa-t'ien, in A.D. 983 (K)
Earlier transl. is Nj 88(16)

無能勝大明陀羅尼經
Nj 1377, T 1234, K 1136
Aparājita-mahāvidyā-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Tr. Fa-t'ien, in A.D. 973 or 988 (K)
Chi-tsing 15.12 b: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

無能勝大明心陀羅尼經
Nj 1378, T 1235, K 1130
*Aparājita-mahāvidyā-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Tr. Fa-t'ien, in A.D. 973 or 988 (K)
Chi-tsing 15.12b: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1377)

大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經
Nj 1056, T 1191, K 1138
*Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-piṭaka-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa-sūtra
Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (Toh. 543)
Tr. T'ien Hsi-tsai, in A.D. 983 (T, K 1088)

佛說帝釋巖秘密成就儀軌
Nj 1393, T 940, K 1416
*Buddhabhāṣita-indraśakra-śilā-guhya-siddhi-kalpa
Tr. Dānapāla, in A.D. 1001 (K 1407)

佛說大方廣未曾有經善巧方便品
Nj 992, T 844, K 1421
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipuly-adbhuta-sūtra-upāya-kauśaly-ādhyāya
Tr. Dānapāla, in A.D. 1002 (K 1417)

佛說大方廣善巧方便經
Nj 926, T 346, K 1424
*Jñānottara-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā
(Upāya-kauśalya-) Jñānottara-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā (K, Toh 82, 261)
Tr. Dānapāla, in A.D. 1005
Earlier transl. is Nj 23(38), 52

廣釋菩提心論
Nj 1301, T 1664, K 1449
*Bodhicitta-vaipulya-prakaraṇa-śāstra
Bhavanākrama (K) by Kamalaśīla
Tr. Dānapāla, in A.D. 1009

一切秘密最上名義大教王儀軌
Nj 1385, T 888, K 1452
*Sarva-rahasy-ānuttaranāmārtha-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa
Sarva-rahasya-tantrarāja (Toh.481)
Tr. Dānapāla, in A.D.1009 (K 1448)

曼殊室利菩薩吉祥伽陀
Nj 1387, T 1196, K 1225b (Hōbōgirin)
*Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-śrīgāthā
Transliterated by Fa-hsien, between A.D.995-997 (K 1225)

佛說大乘大方廣佛冠經
Nj 968, T 438, K 1479
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāyāna-mahāvaipulya-buddha-mukuṭa-sūtra
Buddha-makuṭa-sūtra (Toh.274)
Tr. Dharmarakṣa, between 1018-1058 (K 1475)

文殊所說最勝名義經
Nj 1370, T 1188, K -
Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti
Tr. Chin-tsun-chi, around A.D.1113
Chi-tsing 15.14a: Mahāyāna sūtra of the Vaipulya class

VETULLAVĀDA IN SRILANKA

The word occurs in four forms in Pali texts: Vetulla/Vetulya, Vedalla/Vedalha. The term vetulyavāda is found in Mahāvaṁsa 36.41 (Stede cites it from Dīpavaṁsa 22.45), and Vetulyavādino in Mahāvaṁsa 36.111. Stede says: "The Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term". Vi-tula and vi-tulya mean 'incomparable, excellent', and therefrom is derived vetulya > vetulla. Its meaning was not understood and it changed to vaipulya (Pali vepulla) the ever-expanding, developing form of Buddhism in contradistinction to the comparatively conservative form of Theravāda.

The Kathāvatthu Commentary 17.6 (text 167, transl. 318) speaks of the Vetulya[ka]s: "This view is now held by those of the Vetulyakas, who are known as the Mahāsuññatāvādins". In the prefatory notes C.A.F. Rhys Davids (xliv) asks: "And who shall reveal which divergent group

or groups were covered by the intrusive name Uttarāpathakas:--'Northern-districters?' Equally mysterious are the intrusive Vetulyakas belonging to a group called the Great-Voiders--Mahā-suññavādins". In 18.1 (text 171, transl. 323), 23.1 (text 197, transl.365) the commentary cites the opinions of the Vetulyakas or Vetulyas. They are referred to with disdain as "those who hold the view just discussed" (17.7), "adherents as above" (17.8, 9), "from the same sources" (17.10), and "foregoing heresy"(18.2).

The Kathāvatthu 17.10 (transl. 321) controverts the view of the Vetulyakas:

"Controverted Point.--That it should not be said that 'Anything given to the Buddha brings great reward'."

"From the Commentary.--From the same source comes the theory that because the Exalted Buddha did not really enjoy anything, but only seemed to be doing so out of conformity to life here below, nothing given him was really helpful to him."

Kathāvatthu 18.1 (transl. 323) has the following passage whence we can deduce that the Buddha was in essence transcendental (lokottara):

"Controverted Point.--That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha lived in the world of mankind'.

"From the Commentary--Some, like the Vetulyakas, carelessly interpreting the Sutta, 'born in the world, grew up in the world, dwelt, having overcome the world, undefiled by the world,' hold that the Exalted One, when born in the heaven of Delight (Tusita-bhavana), dwelt there while visiting this world only in a shape specially created. Their citation of the Sutta proves nothing, since the Master was undefiled, not by being out of the world, but by the corruptions of heart with respect to the things in the world".

Kathāvatthu 18.2 (transl.324):

"Controverted Point.--That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha himself taught the Norm".

"From the Commentary.--This is another point in the foregoing heresy. The created shape taught the Norm on earth to the Venerable Ānanda, while the Exalted One lived in the city of Delight and sent forth that shape".

Kathāvatthu 23.1 (transl. 365):

"Controverted Point.--That sexual relations may be entered upon with a united resolve.

"From the Commentary.-Such a vow may be undertaken, some think--for instance, the Andhakas and the Vetulyakas--by a human pair who feel mutual sympathy or compassion/not passion merely/, and who are worshipping, it may be, at some Buddha-shrine, and aspire to be united throughout their future lives".

The Vetulla-piṭaka is referred to by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries:
(i) Sāratthappakāsinī commentary on the Saṃyutta-nikāya 2.202 (with the variant Vedalla-piṭaka in the printed Sinhalese edition C).
(ii) Manoratha-pūraṇī commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya 3.160: Guḷhavessantara-guḷhaummagga-guḷhavinaya-vedallapiṭakānam (no v.l.).
(iii) Vedallapiṭaka in Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya 566.
(iv) Samanta-pāsādikā commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka 4.742: guḷhumagga guḷhavessantara guḷhavinaya vedaḷhapiṭakādīni pana abuddhavacanāni.

The term vedaḷha is Pali ve = Skt vai < the prefix vi- + daḷha = Skt dṛḍha. Daḷha in Pali means firm, strong, steady, proficient. The Vetulyakas must have prided in being firm in spite of opposition from all around and also strong in their beliefs arising out of doctrinal proficiency. Buddhaghosa says that they do not represent the words of the Buddha.

The Dīpavaṁsa 22.43, 45 speaks of vitaṇḍa-vāda. Mahāvaṁsa 36.41 refers t o the suppression of the Vetulya doctrine (vetulyavāda), 36.111 that followers of Vetulya doctrine (vetulyavādino bhikkhū) were like a thorn in the doctrine of Buddha. Cūlavaṁsa 42.35 refers to the defeat of Vetullavādino in a controversy at the hands of Jotipāla.

The aforesaid Pali texts refer to the doctrine as Vetulyavāda, their adherents as Vetulyavādino, Vetulya, Vetulyaka, and their Canon as Vetulla-piṭaka, Vedalla-piṭaka, Vedaḷha-piṭaka.

The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya or Śāsanāvatāra-caritaya written by Devarakṣita alias Dharmakīrti of Gaḍalādeṇiya around A.D. 1400, gives the following account of the heterodox sects. It is first given in romanisation by Prof. Heinz Bechert:

Ekal'hi śāsanayen paha karana lada tīrthikayō śāsanapratiṣṭhā no ladin nikmuṇāhu krodhayen dilihī Rajagahā nuvara samīpayehi vū Nālandā. vehi räs va "J anayan śāsanasaṅgraha no karana paridden Śākya bhikṣūngē dharmmavinaya deka binda vuva mänava, eda vanāhi ovungē samaya bhēda no däna no piḷivana. Ebävin kisiyam upāyakin yaḷidu mahaṇa vuva mänavā" yi ovun ovun hā mantraṇaya koṭa peraḷā avut Theriyanikāyavāsīn karā vädda no hī eyin haḷa Mahāsaṅghikādi vū sataḷos nikāyavāsīn karā eḷamba taman tīrthikabava no haṅgavā mahaṇa va tamū da piṭakatraya asā pirivahā vipariyāsa koṭa peraḷāgena, ikbiti Kosambā nuvaraṭa gos dharmma-vinaya bindinākrama bäṇa gena budun pirinivī detis santis avuruddak giya kala sarāsak va bedī sateṇeka vesemin Hemavataya Rājagiriya Siddhārthakaya Pūrvaśailīya Aparaśailīya Vājiriya Vaitulyaya Andhakaya Anyamahāsāṅghikaya yi nava nikāyek vūha. eyin Hemavatayō budun vadāḷatāk men saddharmma pratirūpa koṭa Varṇapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Rājagirihu Aṅgulimālapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Siddhārtthakayō gūḍhavessantaraya kaḷaha. Pūrvaśailīhu Raṭṭhapālagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Apara śailīhu Ālavakagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Vajra parvvatavāsīhu Gūḍhavinaya kaḷaha. tava da ohu ma Māyājālatantraya Samājatantraya Mahāsamayatattvaya Tattvasaṅgrahaya Bhūtacāmaraya Vajrāmṛtaya Cakrasaṁvaraya Dvādaśa.

Its translation by C.M. Fernando (1908:9-10) follows:

"Then the Tīrthakas, who had been expelled from the religion receiving no help from it, departed, and burning with rage they assembled at Nālandā near Rājagaha. There they took counsel together, saying: "We should make a breach between the doctrine and the discipline of Śākya monks, so as to make it difficult for the people to comprehend the religion. But without knowing the niceties of the religion it is not possible to do so. Therefore by some means we must again become monks". They then returned, and not being able to secure admission to the Theriya Nikāya, went to the members of the seventeen fraternities, the Mahāsaṅghika, &c., which had been rejected by it, and entering the priesthood without letting it be discovered that they were Tīrthakas, and hearing and reading the Three Piṭakas, they reversed and subverted the same. Afterwards they went to the city of Kosam be, and concerted ways and means for keeping doctrine and discipline apart. And after two hundred and thirty-five years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha they separate

into six divisions, and residing in six places formed themselves into the nine fraternities Hemawata, Rājagiri, Siddhārtha, Pūrwaśaili, Wājiri, Vaitulya, Andhaka, and Anya-mahāsaṅghika. Of these fraternities, the Hemawata heretics fabricated the "Warṇa-piṭaka," giving it a semblance of true doctrine and making it appear as if preached by the Buddha. The Rājagiri heretics composed the "Aṅgulimāla Piṭaka;" the Siddhārthaka heretics the "Gūḍha Vessantara;" the Pūrvaśaili heretics the "Ratthapālagarjita;" the Aparaśaili heretics the "Ālavakagarjita;" and the Wajraparvata heretics the "Gūḍha Vinaya." These last also composed the Tantras Māyājālatantra, Samājatantra, Mahāsamayatattva, Tattvasaṅgraha, Bhūtacāmara, Vajrā-mṛita, Cakrasamvara, Dvādaśacakra, Bherukādbuda, Mahāmāyā, Padaniḥkshepa, Catushpīshṭa, Parāmarda, Maricudbhava, Sarvabuddha, Sarvaguhya, Samuccaya, &c., and the Kalpa-shastras Māyāmarīcikalpa, Herambakalpa, Trisamayakalpa, Rājakalpa, Wajragandhārakalpa, Marīciguhyakalpa, Suddhasamuccayakalpa, & c.

The Vaitulya heretics composed the "Vaitulya Piṭaka;" the Andhaka heretics the "Ratnakūṭa" and other scientific works; the Anya-mahāsaṅghika heretics the "Aksharasāri" and other sūtras. The different methods adopted in these several works are too many to permit of recital here. Although many schisms were caused in this manner yet the religion of Buddha existed in purity for two hundred and nineteen years from the third convocation.

"Out of the works thus composed at this time by the Tīrthakas in the guise of monks and made to appear like the true doctrine, the "Warṇapiṭaka" and other imitations of the dharma remained in Jambudvīpa alone; the Vaitulyavāda, the Vājiriyavāda, and the scientific treatises named Ratnakūṭa, &c., reached also the shores of this beauteous Island of Lankā."

The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭakas" (Beal 1884: 2.247), which shows their ecumenical approach. The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.20) records that in the reign of Sena I (846-866) vājiriya-vāda was introduced to the Vīrāṅkura monastery by a monk of the Vajraparvata-nikāya of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967: 8). Earlier the Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.9-10, Mudiyanse 1967: 17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras:

(1) Varṇa-piṭaka of the Hemavatas
(2) Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka of the Rājagirikas
(3) Gūḍha-Vessantara of the Siddhārthakas
(4) Rāṣṭrapāla-garjjita of the Pūrvaśailīyas
(5) Āḷavaka-garjjita of the Aparaśailīyas

<u>Works by Vajraparvatavāsins</u> (6-31)

(6) Gūḍha-Vinaya
(7) Māyājāla-tantra
(8) Samāja-tantra
(9) Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra
(10) Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra
(11) Bhūtaḍāmara-tantra
(12) Vajrāmṛta-tantra

(13) Cakra-saṁvara-tantra
(14) Dvādaśacakra-tantra
(15) Herukādbhuta-tantra
(16) Mahāmāya-tantra
(17) Padanikṣepa-tantra
(18) Catuṣpiṣṭa-tantra
(19) Paramardda-tantra
(20) Mārīcyudbhava-tantra
(21) Sarvabuddha-tantra
(22) Sarvaguhya-tantra
(23) Samuccaya-tantra
(24) Rāja-kalpa
(25) Herambha-kalpa
(26) Trisamaya-kalpa
(27) Rāja-kalpa
(28) Vajra-gandhāra-kalpa
(29) Mārīcī-guhya-kalpa
(30) Śuddha-samuccaya-kalpa
(31) Māyā-Mārīcī-kalpa
(32) Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins
(33) Ratnakūṭa sūtras of the Āndhrakas
(34) Akṣarasāriya-sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas

The aforesaid texts can be arranged into the following groups according to the Vajrayāna system of classification (Wayman 1973: 233-239):

Ratnakūṭa genre of texts (Toh.45-93, Ns.34)

Sūtras

Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (Toh.62, Ns.4)
Aṅgulimālīya (Toh.213, Ns.2)

Anuttara-yoga-tantras

Herukābhyudaya (Toh.374, Ns.15 Herukādbhuta-tantra. Tantras pertaining to the Heruka group are Toh.368-427).
Cakrasaṁvara-tantra (Toh.385, Ns.13)
Mahāsamaya-tantra-rāja (Toh.390, Ns.9 Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra)
Mahāmāya-tantra-rāja (Toh.425, Ns.16 omits -rāja)
Catuṣpīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja (Toh.430, Ns.18 Catuṣpīṭha-tantra)
Vajrāmṛta-tantra (Toh.435, Ns.12)
Guhyasamāja-tantra (Toh.449, Ns.8 Samāja-tantra). The Guhyasamāja section extends from Toh.442 to Toh.453. (both inclusive, Wayman 1973: 235).
Māyājāla-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.466, Ns.7 Māyājāla-tantra)

Yoga-tantras

Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh.479, Ns.10 adds °tantra)
Paramādya nāma mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh.487, Ns.19 Paramarda-tantra)

Caryā-tantra

Padanikṣepa-tantra (Ns.17). Padanikṣepa is one of the Eight *Mahāvidyārāja* in Shingon or Japanese mantrayāna (Taishō Zuzō 164 no.1, 165 no.1 Hachi-dai-myōō-zuzō 'figures of aṣṭa-mahāvidyārāja', two scrolls kept at the Daigōji monastery).

Kriyā-tantras

Māyā-Mārīci-jāta-tantrād uddhṛtam kalpa-rāja (Toh.565, Ns. Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa)

Mārīcy-udbhava-tantra (Ns.20), Mārīci-kalpa (Ns.24), Mārīci-guhya-kalpa (Ns.29) can be compared to Toh.566.

Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.747, Ns.11 B.-tantra)

General

Kriyā-samuccaya (Toh.3305, Ns.23 Samuccaya-tantra)

Trisamayarāja-sādhana (Toh.3144, 3401), Trisamaya-samaya-sādhana (Toh. 3147) can be compared to Trisamaya-kalpa (Ns.26) and Rāja-kalpa (Ns.27)

Vajragandhāra-kalpa (Ns.28) can be compared to Vajragāndhārī-sādhana (Toh.3260,3385,3594,3595).

The Nikāya-saṅgraha makes it explicit beyond doubt that the Ratnakūṭa and all the four divisions of Tantras were prevalent in Srilanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-Tantric and Tantric heritage. The mention of Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra (Ns.10), the basic text (mūla-tantra) of the Yoga-Tantras is of special importance.

Conclusions:

(i) Vetulla/Vetulya mean that the doctrine was unique, without (vi) a comparison (tulya).

(ii) Vehement opposition of the prevailing sects strengthened the resolve of the Vetulyakas, who became known for being unyielding and firm (vi 'specially' daḷha 'strong').

(iii) The Vetulyakas propounded mahāsūnyatā, even anything given to the saṅgha, to the Buddha was really of no avail.

(iv) They had their own Canon or piṭaka.

(v) Their Word did not stem from the Buddha. Their views about the Buddha and saṅgha are controverted by the Kathāvatthu.

(vi) The Buddha is transcendental and lives in Tuṣita. The Buddha did not come to this world (Kvu 18.1). He did not preach the dharma (Kvu.18.2). It is a purely lokottaravādin thesis. From his abode in Tuṣitapura, the Buddha sent his abhinimitta to proclaim the dharma. Ānanda exposed the dharma after rceiving it from the intermediary apparition (Bareau 1955: 254-256).

(vii) They considered the actions of Buddha transcendental and "he only seemed to be enjoying out of confirmity to life here below" (lokānuvattana)". It was his līlā or lalita (in Lalita-vistara lalita has the same meaning).

(viii) The Vetulyakas think that sexual relations may be undertaken. The Tantric character had become marked already in the Kathāvatthu commentary which is dated by Rahul Sankrityayana (1958: 106) to the first century A.D.

(ix) Uttarāpathaka refers to sects that arose in N.W. India. They were associated with the Vetulyakas.

(x) Vetulyaka and other allied sects were transmitted to Srilanka from Andhra. The centre of Vetulyavāda was Dhānyakaṭaka near Śrīparvata in Andhra.

(xi) The Tantras were composed by the Vajraparvata heretics, that is, the more developed Tantras were written down in the South.

(xii) The Ratnakūṭa was a composition of the Andhakas. Ratnakūṭa became a part of Mahāyāna, when it comprehended in its wide sweep all the dissident doctrines and became all-inclusive.

(xiii) Texts of Srilanka, like the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa chronicles and the Nikāyasaṅgraha with its detailed list of Tantras, are valuable sources for the history of Tantras in that they provide dates of Vetullavāda, which is an earlier designation of the Tant tradition.

The main centre of Vetullavāda in Srilanka was Abhayagiri. The history of this monastery is important for chronological landmarks in the development of Vetullavāda. Let by their teacher Dhammaruci, Vajjiputta monks from Pallārāma in India arrived in Srilanka during the reign of Vohārika Tissa (A.D. 209-301). "The adoption by Abhayagiri of Vetulya-vāda under the name of Dhammarucika, and the increase of their influence were the causes of an order for expulsion of sixty monks by king Goṭhābhaya, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya (early 4th century). The monks were not only expelled from the Saṅgha, but also banished from the country". (Mahāvaṁsa 36.112, EBu.1.25). The expelle monks enlisted the support of Saṅghamitta who was a master of exorcism. Saṅghamitta came to Srilanka and became tutor to the younger prince. When he became king as Mahāsena, Saṅghamitta had royal support withdraw from Mahāvihāra. The materials of its 364 colleges and temples were removed to enrich Abhayagiri.

In the reign of Silākāla (A.D. 518-531) Abhayagiri accepted a new Vaipulya sūtra Dhammadhātu which had been brought by merchant Pūrṇa from Kāśī.

A monk of the Vajraparvata sect came from India to reside and prea at Abhayagiri in the 9th century. Granite tablets with dhāraṇīs have been found to the south-east of the north stūpa (ASCAR.1940-45:41). They are written in Nāgarī of the 9th century. "The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strengt ...They were liberal in their views, and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravāda and Mahāyāna and 'widely diffused the Tripiṭakas'. The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the Vetulya-piṭaka". (EBu.1.27

"And hence the Vetulyas (Vetullakas) may not have constituted a separate sect or school, especially as they are not named among the eighteen schools; and the designation then merely stands as a kind of nickname for "those of the developed doctrine", or Mahāyāna in general in a way similar to the sobriquet "Hīnayāna", the Small Vehicle, derisively given to the Theravāda". (EBu.1.27)

Other Vaitulya sites also exist in Srilanka. Avukana is a site of an ancient Buddhist monastery of about the second century A.D. (Senarat Paranavitana, EWA 3.327 s.v. Ceylon). Perera (1980:179,180) says: "When the Mahāsaya or the great pyramidal stūpa at Anuradhapura in ancient SriLanka was completed by the monarch Duṭṭhagāmiṇī (circa 161-137 B.C.) it was recorded in the ancient chronicle Mahāvaṁsa that among the many distinguished Buddhist monks who arrived at the final crowning ceremony of the stūpa, to grace the occasion were the dignitaries of the monastic establishment of Gandhāra. It was the religio-cultural contacts that prevailed between the two regions, namely SriLanka and Gandhāra which may have led to the borrowing of the ideas pertaining to colossal statues of the Buddha".

"The first attempt in portraying the Great Sage Śākyamuni Gautama in stupendous form in SriLanka was the statue that is known as the Avukana Buddha. Recent researches by archaeologists and art-historians in SriLanka have enabled them to distinguish a close similarity between the very name Avukana and the Bamiyan region which was referred to in ancient times variously as Vokkana, Avakana, or Vakana and in early Chinese literature as O-po-ki-ni. It has been surmised that the above toponyms, which were used in early Buddhist Prakrit and Chinese literature with reference to this particular region now known as Afghanistan (wherein Bamiyan is situated), bear a close similarity between the word Avukana, hence could have been responsible in deriving the name used in reference to the particular colossus in SriLanka which very much resembles the Bamiyan colossi".

A place named Nalanda "in the Matale District; possesses the only example in Ceylon of a stone-built shrine in the Pallava style of architecture. Sculptured stones are to be seen in the debris formed by the collapse of portions of the shrine, which is of Mahayana type". (EWA. 3.329)

Amoghavajra made "a long journey to India and Ceylon, as the late Master [Vajrabodhi] ordered him to do". (Chou 1945: 288). In the winter of A.D.741 he left on board a ship to Malay Peninsula (ibid: 290). "When he arrived in Ceylon, the king sent a deputy to welcome him. The guardsmen on foot and on horse were stationed in ranks along the street when he entered the city. The king, having made obeisance at his feet, invited him to stay in the palace to be entertained for seven days. The king himself bathed Amoghavajra daily, using a golden barrel full of fragrant waters. The crown prince, the queens, [712b29] and the ministers acted similarly.

"When Amoghavajra first met the ācārya Samantabhadra, he presented gold, jewelry, brocade, and embroideries and requested the Master to expound for him the doctrine of Yoga in the Chin-kang-ting ching of eighteen chapters and the method of erecting an altar in accordance with the Mahākaruṇāgarbhadhātumaṇḍala in the Vairocanasūtra. ...

"Amoghavajra, after that, had no regular teacher for his studies. He sought everywhere for the scriptures of the Esoteric Sect and [obtained] more than five hundred sūtras and commentaries". (Chou 1945: 290-291).

In A.D.746 he returned to the Chinese capital and presented a letter from King Śīlamegha (reigned A.D.727-766) of Srilanka to the Emperor. The Emperor granted him permission to translate all the Sanskrit sūtras. Amoghavajra had brought back Tantric texts, studied the Tattva-saṅgraha and Vairocana-sūtra the fundamental Tantras of the Yoga and Caryā divisions in Srilanka. It shows that Srilanka was famous as a seat of Tantric Buddhism as far as China.

Padmasambhava is supposed to have made a trip to Srilanka to obtain certain teachings and some ritual objects.

The legend of Barlaam and Joasaphat, which probably goes back to a Pahlavi (in use c. 300B.C.-A.D.800) version, refers to Srilanka and is influenced by Vetulla elements. The hermit Barlaam (Bhagavān) comes all the way from Sarandip, which is now Srilanka (Schulz 1981: 132). Schulz thinks that "the frequent occurrence, in the Christianized story, of parables, example, and dialogues found also in the Lalitavistara,

makes it probable that this Sanskrit biography was used". (ibid:136). The Lalitavistara is a Vaipulya text. The legend of the four caskets (ibid:139) may be a relic of the Tripiṭaka and dhāraṇī-piṭaka. The Georgian version Balavariani says that the king "caught sight of two men clad in tattered garments made up from rags salvaged from rubbish heaps; and their sallow complexions testified to their poverty and need". This is a clear reference to the rag-robed fraternity of the Pāṁsukūlikas who were constituents of Abhayagiri (EBu.1.22). Pāṁsukūla are refuse rags from a dust heap used for garments by monks (Edgerton 1953:338 quotes the word pāṁsukūla from Vaipulya and allied works: Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka).

NORTHWEST INDIA: THE TANGLED REGION OF IRANIAN AND HELLENIC IDEAS

The northwestern frontiers of India, the Uttarāpatha of Buddhist literature, the udīcya region of śilpa texts, was steeped in Iranian connections from very ancient times. There areas, esp. Bactria, formed spheres of influence as well as ruled territories of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Indo-Parthians and Sassanians. The Parthian period deserves special notice when the liberal hold of Zoroastrianism led to the efflorescence of Buddhism among the East Iranians on the peripheries of India.

The Parthian Arsacid era commences in 247 B.C. The Parthian empire began its expansion around 176-171 B.C. under Phraates I. His brother Mithradates I (c.171-c.138 B.C.) wrested districts from Eucratides of Bactria. The eastern provinces comprised Drangiana, Sakastan and Arachosia, the latter comprising the modern province of Kandahar. These provinces were subject to the central government of the Parthian king only for limited periods. In Kandahar and Punjab, an independent Indo-Parthian dynasty arose in the first century A.D. with its centre at Taxila. The kings had Iranian and peculiarly Parthian names. The Indo-Parthian empire came to an end with the Kushan invasion in A.D.78. After an existence of 400 years in Iran, the Parthian empire was overthrown by the Sassanians. The Sassanian dynasty was "founded by Ardashir I in A.D.226 and destroyed by the Arabs in 637. The dynasty is named after Sāsān, an ancestor of Ardashir I" (EB 1.1965:20.4). Ardashir subdued Seistan (Sakastan), Balkh (Bactria), Khwarizm (Chorasmia), etc. Since these territories pertained to the Kushan empire, the implication is that he overcame the Kushans (EB.1965: 17.569). Al-Tabari confirms that the kings of the Kushans, of Turan (Quzdar, south of Quetta), and of Makran submitted to victorious Ardashir. Among the 27 provinces of the Sassanian empire enumerated in the inscription of the Kaʿaba-e-Zardusht under Shapur I (A.D.241-272) figure: (21) Seistan, (22) Turan, (23) Makran, (25) India (extent undefined), (26) Kushanshahr, extending from Peshawar to Tashkent, Sogdiana and the borders of Kashgaria (EB.1965:17.570).

The Parthians themselves were the earliest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The very first translator was the Parthian prince An Shih-kao. Shih-kao means 'lokottara' which is of significance in its emphasis on the expanding school of the Lokottara-vādins who were to become the foundation for later-day Esoteric Buddhism.

Parthia was known in Chinese as An-si 'Arsak, the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia'. An was prefixed to the names of translators from this country. An Shih-kao was a royal prince who ceded the kingdom to his uncle and became a monk. He came to China in A.D.148 and worked there till A.D.170 (Nj.ii.4). "The arrival in 148 A.D. of a Parthian missionary, An Shih-kao at Loyang marked the beginning of a period of intense activity"....He is "the first undoubtedly historical personality in Chinese Buddhism. It was probably he who initiated the systematical translation of Buddhist texts and who organized the first translation team. In this respect his importance is indeed very great". (Zürcher 1972: 30, 32).

In A.D.181 An Hsüan 'Upāsaka of An-si' arrived at Loyang, joined his countryman An Shih-kao and translated two Buddhist works (Nj.ii.6). An Hsüan had come to Loyang as a merchant, and obtained the Chinese military title of cavalry commander for specified 'meritorious work'. Both worked with a Chinese named Yen Fo-t'iao the first known Chinese monk. An Hsüan translated together with Yen Fo-t'iao the Ugradatta-paripṛcchā (T 322). This sūtra is a summary account of the career of a Bodhisattva, and wholly belongs to Mahāyāna (Zürcher 1972: 34).

An Fa-hsien 'Parthian Dharmabhadra' translated two sūtras, including the Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra, which were already lost in A.D.730 (Nj.ii.17). "The Kao-sêng c'huan and later catalogues speak of the two Parthians T'an (-wu)-ti (? Dharmasatya) and An Fa-hsien (? Dharmabhadra). They all arrived in or shortly after 250 A.D. at Loyang, which at that time still must have been the stronghold of Buddhism in the North". (Zürcher 1972: 55).

The Parthian śramana An Fa-ch'in translated five works at Loyang during A.D. 281-306 of which one is the sūtra on unlimited changes of the supernatural footsteps (Nj 148, ii.25), and the legend of Aśoka (T 2042), which was destined to play a role in early Chinese Buddhism (Zürcher 1972: 70).

Besides the Parthians, other Iranian-speaking peoples too were active in the transmission of Buddhism to China, like the Yüeh-chih (Chih), the Khotanese (Yü), and the Sogdians (K'ang). The overwhelming Chinese evidence is an indication of the devotion of the Eastern Iranians to Buddhism and their dedicated missionary activites in China. The following Yüeh-chih were active in translating Buddhist sūtras into Chinese:

A.D.		Nj.
147	Chih Lokakṣema	ii.3
185	Chih Yao	ii.7
190	Chih Liang, disciple of Lokakṣema	Zürcher 1972: 36
223-253	Chih Ch'ien	ii.18
155-256	Chih Chiang-liang-chieh	ii.22
301	Chih Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa)	ii.33
373	Chih Shih-lun	ii.35
c.390	Chih T'an-yüeh	Zürcher 1972: 144

Chih 支 is the ethnikon for Yüeh-chih monks. Dharmarakṣa (active c. 266-308) is the greatest Buddhist translator before Kumārajīva (Zürcher 1972: 65-70). He made Ch'ang-an the major Buddhist centre in Northern China. He was "the itinerant preacher, organizer and supervisor" of

the Buddhist Order. "Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra completed the series of the five Mahāyāna scriptures which more than any other texts were destined to exert a profound influence upon the development of early Chinese Buddhist thought: Prajñāpāramitā, Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and Sukhāvatī-vyūha" (Zürcher 1972:70). Around 400 lived the last Yüeh-chih monk Chih T'an-yüeh, who was teacher to Emperor Hsiao-wu (reigned 373-397). He introduced a new way of chanting Buddhist verse which became very popular (Zürcher 1972:144, also 23, 24, 32, 36, 47-51, 54, 55, 61).

The nexus of the Iranian Welt-anschauung and Buddhism gave rise to the Sumeru, the maṇḍala corresponding to the cosmocratic cities of the Pre-Achaemenian Ecbatana and the Parthian Ctesiphon, etc., the centrality of fire cult of the Zoroastrians helped the emergence of homa in vajrayāna, the sun-God Mithra was Vairocana the Great Sun (Dai-nichi in Japanese). Lamotte (1954:392) goes to the length of saying that Khotan was, if not the cradle, at any rate the stronghold of the mahayanist movement (this statement begins the introduction to <u>The Khotanese Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra</u>, by R.E. Emmerick, London 1970, xiii).

In Shingon or the Japanese tradition of Vajrayāna, there are thirty Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who are sacred to thirty days of the month. One deity is sacred to one day of the month. They are known as Sanjūnichi-butsu "Buddhas (<u>butsu</u>) sacred (<u>hi</u>) to thirty (<u>sanjū</u>) days (<u>nichi</u>)". They are illustrated in a fascicule preserved at the Kanchi-in Hall of the Tōji monastery at Kyoto. They are reproduced in the Taishō Zuzō (=TZ) that is the section of illustrations of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (TZ.104: 5.745) under the title of Sanjū-nichi-hi-butsu-zu "illustrations of Buddhas sacred to thirty days". The names of the Thirty Buddhas are given below, alongwith their symbolic syllables (bīja) and Chinese names. It may be noted that the names begin with the Buddha symbolising the 'Light of Dhyāna', followed by Dīpajyoti Buddha or 'Buddha of the Light of the Lamp'. The sixth Buddha symbolises the 'Light of Two Myriad (=20,000) Lamps'. No sequence can be discerned in the names. The letter A is the symbolic syllable of four Buddhas of the 1,3,10,27 days. Another scroll entitled Mandara-shu (shuji) 'collection of bīja-maṇḍalas' at the Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto gives the thirty bījas of the same Thirty Buddhas of the month (TZ.103.48).

Day	Deity	Bīja
1	Light of Dhyāna Buddha	Ā
2	Dīpa-jyoti Buddha	HŪM
3	Prabhūtaratna Buddha	Ā
4	Akṣobhya Buddha	HŪM
5	Maitreya Buddha	YA
6	Buddha of the light of Two Myriad Lamps	...
7	Dīpaṅkara Buddha	AṀ
8	Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha	BHAI
9	Daitsu (big communication) Buddha	AḤ
10	Sūrya-candra-dīpa Buddha	Ā
11	Nandi Buddha	HŪM
12	Durjaya Buddha	HŪ
13	Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva	TRĀḤ
14	Samantabhadra Bodhisattva	AṀ
15	Amitābha	HRĪḤ
16	Dhāraṇī Bodhisattva	DHA
17	Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva	NA
18	Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva	SA
19	Sūryaprabha Bodhisattva	KA
20	Candraprabha Bodhisattva	CA
21	Akṣayamati Bodhisattva	SA
22	Abhayaṁdada Bodhisattva	RA
23	Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva	SAṀ
24	Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva	HA
25	Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva	MA
26	Bhaiṣajyottara Bodhisattva	AṀ
27	Vairocana	Ā
28	MahāVairocana	AḤ
29	Bhaiṣajyarāja	HŪM
30	Śākyamuni	BHAḤ (for Bhagavān)

三十日秘佛圖

一 定光佛（一日）……
二 燈明佛（二日）……
三 多寶佛（三日）……
四 阿閦佛（四日）……
五 彌勒佛（五日）……
六 二萬燈明佛（六日）……
七 燃燈佛（七日）……
八 藥師佛（八日）……
九 大通佛（九日）……
一〇 日月燈明佛（十日）……
一一 觀喜佛（十一日）……
一二 難小佛（十二日）……
一三 虛空藏菩薩（十三日）……
一四 普賢菩薩（十四日）……
一五 阿彌陀（十五日）……
一六 陀羅尼菩薩（十六日）……
一七 龍樹菩薩（十七日）……
一八 觀音菩薩（十八日）……
一九 日光菩薩（十九日）……
二〇 月光菩薩（二十日）……
二一 無盡意菩薩（二十一日）……
二二 施無畏（二十二日）……
二三 得大勢至菩薩（二十三日）……
二四 地藏菩薩（二十四日）……
二五 文殊菩薩（二十五日）……
二六 藥上菩薩（二十六日）……
二七 毗盧遮那（二十七日）……
二八 大日・（二十八日）……
二九 藥王（二十九日）……
三〇 釋迦（三十日）……

The adoration of the Thirty Buddhas is supposed to be a Japanese custom (Hōbōgirin 197). So far no parallel to them could be adduced. They are a part of the traditions of North-West India that had been transmitted via Serindia to China and thence to Korea and Japan. The heritage of Gandhāra still survives in the living memories of East Asian monks. During a visit to Korea in 1981, my companion monk told me that their robes of daily wear are of Gandhāra origin. The trousers worn by the monk strongly recalled Kuṣāṇa trousers and the modern salwar worn in Afghanistan. Though vajrayāna disappeared entirely from China, it was preserved in its minutest details in Japan. The worship of the Thirty Buddhas of the month must have reached from North-West India to East Asia where it has survived to this day in Japan.

It was natural for the Buddhist monks of North-West India and Eastern Iran to adjust to the prevailing customs to make Buddhism a religion of the people. In this way a number of popular practises were adopted in a changed form into Buddhism by giving them a Buddhist garb beyond recognition.

The custom of invoking each day of the month too derives from the Zoroastrian practises prevalent in the Udīcya region. In the minor texts of Avesta there are "two Sīrōzahs, the greater and the lesser, which in their 30 paragraphs invoke in turn the divinities of each day of the month, and which are recited especially on the thirtieth day after the death of a Zoroastrian" (ERE. 2.269). They are termed sīrōza yašt (sīh 'thirty', rōz 'day', Avesta sīh rōčak). The yašt (Av. yešti 'worship by praise') praise and glorify the divinities "in the sequence in which they are used to name the days of the month" (ERE. 2.268b).

The thirty days are named below in Avesta (after Wolff), and Pahlavi, with their meanings according to MacKenzie.

	Avesta	Pahlavi	Meaning
1	Ahura Mazdāh	Ohrmazd	Jupiter
2	Vohu Manah	Wahman	Good Mind, guardian of cattle
3	Aša Vahišta	Ardwahišt	Right, guardian of fire
4	Xšaθra Vairya	Šahrewar	Best Rule, guardian of metals
5	Ārmatay	Spand-armad	Holy Thought, Earth Goddess
6	Haurvatāt	Hordād	Perfection, guardian of water
7	Amərətatāt	Amurdād	Immortality, guardian of plants and food
8	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Ādur	Day = Creator
9	Ātar	Ādur	'Fire' God
10	Apām	Ābān	Water
11	Xvarə	Xwar	Sun
12	Māŋha	Māh	Moon
13	Tištrya	Tīr	Mercury
14	Gəuš	Gōš	—
15	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Mihr	Day = Creator
16	Miθra	Mihr	Mithra
17	Sraoša	Srōš	God 'Obedience'
18	Rašnav	Rašn	God of Justice
19	Fravašay	Frawardīn	—
20	Vərəθrayna	Wahrām	God of War and Victory, Mars

21	Rāman	Rām	Peace
22	Vāta	Wād	Wind, Breath, Spirit
23	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Dēn	Day = Creator
24	Daēnā	Dēn	Religion (Skt. dhyāna)
25	Ašay	Ard (Ahrišwang)	a goddess
26	Arštāt	Aštād	Goddess 'Rectitude'
27	Ašno	Asmān	Sky
28	Zemo	Zāmyād	Earth
29	Manθra	Māra-spand	Mantra
30	Anaγranām Raočaŋhām	Anagrān	Infinite Light

Though no precise equations of the Avestan and Buddhist lists can be worked out, the general idea of worshipping the divinities of the thirty days of the month is of Iranian origin. The name of the Buddha of the first day 'Light of Dhyāna' recalls Daēnā (Pahlavi dēn) < Skt. dhyāna, the 24th day of the Avestan month. The Avestan Anaγranām Raočaŋhām 'Infinite Light' reminds us of Amitābha (15th day), but more of the sixth day with its "Buddha of the Lights of Twenty Thousand Lamps". The Abhayaṁdada of the 22nd day echoes Avestan Rāman 'Peace' (21st day). A detailed comparison of the Japanese and Avestan rituals may elucidate further.

Ancient Indian "geographers place the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus". (Sircar 1973:1)

The role of the Udīcya regions came to the fore during the lifetime of Lord Buddha himself. The first lay devotees Trapuṣa-Bhallika hailed from Bactria (Lokesh Chandra 1979:1-10).

In his Indian campaign "Alexander captured the towns of Ora (or, Nora) and Bazira (the people of which repaired to the impregnable hill-fort of Aornos on the Indus) and finally Aornos (modern Una)-all in the territory of the Assacenoi in the present Swat and Buner", (Sircar 1973:21). Is Bazira cognate to vajra? The term Vajrayāna is recorded rather late in the Sādhanamālā 225.10 by Edgerton. The word vajra in

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*Text in Avesta: The Sacred Scripture of the Parsees, ed. by E.M.F. Kanga and N.S. Sontakke, Poona 1962 (Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala), Part 2 pp. 707 ff. Translation in Fritz Wolff, Avesta: die Heiligen Bücher der Parsen, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924 (Walter de Gruyter & Co), pp. 299 ff.

Vajrayāna may embody the Iranian connotation of buzurg, vuzurg 'elders, ancestors' referring to the reinstatement of ancient pre-Buddhist ideas, though in a changed garb, within the syndrome of Buddhist development, thus constituting a unique (vi-tula) step. This principle was an essential element in the evolution of the Tantras. Hindu deities were introduced in the Tantras. For instance, the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas have Hindu deities in their exterior enceintes. In the Shingon denomination or Japanese Vajrayāna, Shintō deities were incorporated into the Vajrayāna pantheon as emanations of Buddhist deities. The assimilation of native deities into Buddhism in referred to as the honji-suijaku theory, in which the indigenous Japanese deities are the manifestations (suijaku) of the true nature (honji) of the various Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Mrs. Alicia Matsunaga (1969) has traced the rise and development of the theory of assimilation from Early Buddhism onwards in her fascinating work The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation.

Accretion was a constant process in ever-developing Vajrayāna. The Vaipulya texts, with their emphasis on Light, became mantrayāna with the addition of dhāraṇīs and mantras. They gained a philosophic base by correlation to the four siddhāntas: Vaibhāṣika: kriyā tantra, Sautrāntika: caryā tantra, Yogācāra: Yoga tantra, Mādhyamika: anuttara-yoga tantra (Lessing/Wayman 1978: introd.2). This integration and enrichment was so overwhelming in its verbiage so as to overshadow the original basic features.

The Governor of Aśoka in Surāṣṭra was an Iranian: Tuṣāspa (Sircar 1973: 50). "The prestige of the Udīcya-Brāhmaṇas, i.e. the Brāhmaṇas of Uttarāpatha, is generally recognised in the early works of Pali literature and that there is reference to the great social prestige of the Udīcya-Brāhmaṇas settled in Kāśī and Magadha". (Sircar 1973: 56). Sircar goes to the extreme length of saying that the era of 58 B.C. commemorates the founding of an independent Parthian kingdom in East Iran by Vonones after the decline of the Imperial Parthian hold on the outlying eastern provinces. The era travelled from Panjab to the Mālavas in Rajasthan and was later termed the Vikrama Saṁvat (Sircar 1973: 58).

Weiner (1976: 353) points out the possibility of the introduction of the pralambapāda Buddha around the fifth century at Ajanta from the NW. The pralambapāda āsana came into use for cult images in Gandhāra from the 3rd to 4th centuries. The colossal image in cave XVI at Ajanta sits on a lion throne, unlike the shrine images in caves I and II seated on a throne adorned with cakra and deer. He is the Śākyasiṁha:

"Buddhist scriptures describe the king or emperor as a lion; at his accession, he roars like a lion; he sits on a lion throne, and dies on a lion couch. The Buddha inherits all royal attitudes, and is hailed as the Śākyan lion. (Mahāvaṁsa VI)".

"The lion throne has historically and traditionally throughout the Near East been associated with royalty and divine power. Its antecedents in India go back to the portrait of Vima Kadphises. There is little doubt that in time the attributes of the king were transferred to the Buddha and that the symbols of royalty associated with divine and cosmological authority were adapted to the representation of the Buddha image".

"Undoubtedly, the utilization of the lion throne without the deer and cakra, coinciding as it does with the royal posture of the Buddha, as opposed to that of the ascetic, represents a new or at least different conception of the Buddha from that represented in the shrines of caves I, II and others". (Weiner 1976: 354).

The bhadrāsana is typical of Maitreya. He is the Buddha of the Future who will come down to the earth from his Tuṣita heaven to establish the dharma. Asaṅga is supposed to have been initiated into the Tantras by Maitreya. He may be on a throne supported by lions. He sits with legs pendent in European fashion. His sitting posture derived from Iranian and Hellenic royalty, points to his NW origins. The word Maitreya itself can be a metamorphosis of Mitra, Iranian Mithra 'Sun'. Bhadrāsana can refer to the mode of sitting prevalent in Bhadra or Bactria. Bhadra can be a Sanskritisation of Bhallaka < Bāhlīka. Bhallaka, lit. from the Bhalla people, is a kind of copper, enumerated under the eight piśāca-lohāni or metals from the Piśāca country, in the Vibhaṅga Commentary 63: Puṣkalāvatī and adjacent regions were known for the quality of their steel. Modern Hindi bhālā 'lance, spear' is derived from bhallaka. The paradise of Maitreya Tuṣita can be an intentional camouflage of Tuṣāra. "The city of Balkh in Tukhāra was built by an ancient king of Persia called Gushtasp" (Tuan Ch'êng-shih, c. A.D. 800-863, translated by Waley 1952: 171). Tusita-kāyiko devaputro in Mahāvastu 3.345.16, and in Lalitavistara 124.12, 183.17, 363.21 associate Tuṣita with kings (devaputra). When the Zoroastrian heritage was destroyed by Alexander in 330B.C., the cultural gap in Iran found its replenishment in the light of Śākyamuni's dharma. The time-honoured traditions and thoughts of Iran shimmered at different levels of existence and consciousnes in the new incarnation of Buddhism.

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa, compiled as early as the sixth century A.D., describes the garments of Dhanada Kubera as that of a northerner (udīcya-veṣa).

"Indeed that Gandhara provided the prototype for both sculptures becomes evident if we compare them with typical Gandharan representations of so-called Pañchika ...Frequently, in such reliefs, the male is dressed in the Scythian attire, complete with boots or sandals, and holds in his hands both the spear and a bag". (Pal 1977: 15)

"Sometime during the Kushana period, there appeared in northwest India the Persian god of wealth and fortune, Pharro. On being adopted into the Indian pantheon, he was perhaps, given the name Vaiśravaṇa, but a number of his foreign traits were retained, especially in the Buddhist pantheon".

"Such synthesis or amalgamation is a characteristic feature of the iconography of the Kushana period, especially in northwest India. Several initially different deities, embodying conceptually related ideas--both foreign and indigenous--became synthesized into many of the major divinities of the purāṇic pantheon".

"Finally, it is obvious that the compiler of the Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, at least of the third Khaṇḍa, was more than familiar with the image type of Dhanada-Kubera prevalent in northwest India. Both R.C. Hazra and P. Shah have suggested that the text may have been redacted somewhere in that region. ...if the text was not redacted in the north-

west, certainly one of the compilers must have belonged to that region". (Pal 1977:26)

A Gandhāra fragment of a frieze with five laymen, dating probably to the third quarter of the first century A.D., is one of the earliest reliefs particularly reminiscent of Roman reliefs from the early Imperial times. It comes closest in style to the representation of the apotheosis of Augustus in Ravenna. It shows that Gandhāra artists must have been acquainted with the art of Rome (Ackermann 1975.9, 50-51).

Soper in his paper on 'Aspects of light symbolism in Gandharan sculpture' points out parallels to the "Visit" stelae of Gandhāra and Kucha style caves with the cult monuments of Mithra in the late Roman empire (1949:260). He sees striking similarities in composition and style between Gandharan and forms spread by Roman legions of Tauroctony by which Mithra was worshipped in his secret sanctuaries. He cites S. Lévi about the plausibility of Maitreya Ajita having an Iranian origin in Mithra Invictus.

"Specific evidence shows, however, that no matter how widely and from whatever sources sun and fire symbolism was infused into Buddhist iconography, its most consistent and strongest manifestations occurred in the Northwest, in the region that was also penetrated by Iranian influence. It is on a coin of Kaniṣka that the standing Buddha was first presented with an aureole of light about his whole body, like the sun-god". (Soper 1950:72).

"The process of suffusing the Buddha idea with light symbolism reaches its climax in the "Sūtra of the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy". which I have ascribed to the Hadda region. There almost every other value, ethical or metaphyysical, has been drowned out in a blaze of light; and the Tathāgata is imagined as something like an enormous electrical display, acting only by the emission of rays that cross the universe". (Soper 1950:73).

"The Mātaṅgī-sūtra, also, is important as a predecessor of Vajrayāna magical formulas. This sūtra, translated into Chinese in the third century, was most likely compiled in Samarkand, judging from its astronomical informations". (Nakamura 1980:318). The Mātaṅgī-sūtra was translated by the Parthian An Shih-kao during A.D.148-170 (K 759, Nj 643, T 551). It was translated thrice over again in A.D.230 by Chu Lü-yen and Chih-ch'ien (K766, Nj 645, T 1300), in A.D. 307-313 by Dharmarakṣa (K 765, Nj 646, T 1301), and in A.D.317-420 by an unknown translator (K 762, Nj 644, T 552). This sūtra has been translated by Beal, _Buddhist Literature in China_, pp.166-170.

As late as the eleventh century, Ḥbrom-ston (A.D.1005-1064) the chief disciple of Atiśa, speaks of a Kuṣāṇa princess in a far-off Demon-land (Schwieger 1978:16), as an incarnation of Tārā, in a work on rebirth in Sukhāvatī the western paradise of Amitābha. Bhallaka was one of the piśāca metals: Bactria was thus a piśāca-or demon-land (see above p.47).

In the tangled region of NW India cultural elements from various lands fused into Buddhism. These syncretised trends travelled to Central Asia. A double-headed Buddha was found from the Temple of the Helmeted, Kizil. It has been dated to the 7th century A.D. (Bhattacharya 1977: 50 pl.12). It bears five lines in Tocharian on the reverse. Tocharian is akin to Latin, Greek, Germanic: for example the word for new is _nu_

or okso means an ox (Waley 1952:19n. 1). The European context of Tocharian indicates that double-faced image of the Buddha may be associated with (pre-)Roman models. Madame Dr. Magdalina Stancheva, has excavated a double-headed portrait-statue from a Roman villa in Sofia which she dates to about the 3rd/4th century A.D.

The role of NW regions in the foundation of Mahāyāna has been discussed at length by Lamotte (1954:389-396). The Mahāyāna sūtras were hidden for centuries. They were discovered in Kuṣāṇa times.

Sadāprarudita found the Prajñā in Gandhāra in the city of Gandhavatī, written on gold leaves with melted beryl, sealed with seven seals, and locked up in a precions casket. This statement has a parallel in the Iranian tradition that Zoroastrian scriptunes were preserved with loving care under the Achaemenians. King Vishtaspa had the original copy of the Avesta written in letters of gold and deposited in the 'Stronghold of Records' at Persepolis (Ṭabarī). The Dīnkarṭ 3.3, 7.7.3 says that a sumptuous copy was conserved in the Treasury of Shapīgān at Persepolis. Another copy inscribed on golden tablets was preserved in the treasury of the fire-temple at Samarkand. Both these archetype copies were destroyed in the invasion of Alexander in 330 B.C. when he put to fire the Palace at Persepolis and when he razed Samarkand to the ground (ERE.2.267).

THE DEIFICATION OF KINGS AS A SUBSTRATUM FOR AMITĀBHA AND VAIROCANA

The deification of kings was a solemn act of legislation in Greece even before Alexander crossed over into Asia: "the deification of rulers was a peculiar manifestation of this theopoetic faculty in this (if in nothing else), that it was not a sculptor's or a painter's fancy but a solemn act of legislation, and that rulers specifically were its objects.

"When a foreign ruler appeared, vested with the authority due theoretically to the man of super-eminent ability, a place was ready made for him, and it was a place in the ranks of the gods. Here, then, in the sphere of politics a special reason existed for the indulgence of what we have called the theopoetic faculty of the Greeks, a reason, moreover, that was operative in epochs of political speculation and advanced constitutionalism like those in which deification of rulers was first established in Greece and first transplanted to Rome". (CAH. 7.13-14)

"In the regions of Asia where a theory of the state had been evolved, Alexander, like the Persian kings whom he had succeeded, was not a god but the chosen of the gods. He was for the Persians a being endowed by the supreme Light-God, Ahuramazda, with his spirit; hence with a peculiar glory (hvareno), an indwelling light from which issued a radiance so brilliant as to dazzle ordinary men. But he was not the object of an official cult. In Asia deities either were, or were tending to become, cosmic forces, while their worshippers, unlike the Greeks, remained devoutly religious". (CAH. 7.14-15).

"What lay behind these repeated acts of deification was doubtless the same motive which led the Samians and Alexander to the idea in the first instance--political convenience and political thought. The same political problem presented itself again and again: the need of finding a legal basis in a constitutional state for an extra-constitutional authority. As kings, Antigonus and his rivals had no right to interfere with a free city; as gods, they had the right to make known their wishes and their worshippers the duty to regard them. On purely scientific grounds states experienced no difficulty in the discovery of new gods

or in the recognition of old gods under new names; nor was there anyone to dispute the right of the organized community to adopt new gods once it had discovered them". (CAH. 7.15)

"Ptolemy II (285-246 B.C.) and Arsinoe, his sister-wife and consort, already lifted above ordinary mortals through being the children of the 'Saviour Gods', shared a temple with Alexander as the 'Brother-Sister Gods', in the cult established by Ptolemy I. Thus by his own fiat a living ruler raised himself to a place by the side of the archegetes of empire as the divine object of the homage of his subjects, as the extra-constitutional authority whose will was everywhere law--a symbol of the common fealty to one head of diverse elements in the population of the kingdom". (CAH. 7.17)

"Pharaoh was not Law incarnate (nómos émpsuchos), like the Hellenistic god-king; he was rather the apotheosis of Life--the Osiris of the living". (CAH. 7.19). Compare Amitāyus 'Infinite Life' in Buddhism.

"In 290 B.C. the Athenians hailed Demetrius as 'a true god, not one of wood or stone'...King-worship altered its forms with alterations in the organization of states, its nature with alterations in the conception of God". (CAH. 7.22)

"Though the status of the provinces varied they were effectively attached to Rome by the veneration which they felt for the person of the Emperor, whom they were prepared to treat as a god. It has been shown elsewhere that the practice of offering divine honours to Augustus began in the East soon after Actium and in the course of his reign penetrated to all parts of the Empire". (CAH. 10.209-210)

I would like to refer my readers to L.R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Middletown, Conn. 1931, Amer. Philol. Association) and to K. Scott, The significance of statues in precious metals in Emperor-worship (Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 62/1931.101f).

The continued political presence of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, and Kuṣāṇas had a far-reaching impact on the cultural hegemony of Northwest India. It saw the osmosis of Iranian/Hellenistic ideas into Buddhism. As we have shown above the Greeks followed the Iranians in king-cults or emperor-worship. When they embraced Buddhism, their kings were apotheosised as the Buddha. The distinctive portrait-like personalised features in Gandhāra statues are an evidence that actual personages were immortalised as divine statues. In this connection we may note the observations of Kiyota:

"Alexander's expedition to northwest India (327-325 B.C.) left a great impact upon the development of Indian Buddhist thought. A Greek colony referred to as Yavana was established in Bactria in the late third century B.C. It contributed to the development of Greco-Gandharan art at about the beginning of the Christian century. This art depicted the Buddha anthropomorphically and gave rise to the cult of deification, and subsequently to the concept of the enlightened body as eternal, transcending the historical Buddha. This is not saying that the cult of deification was completely absent in the preceding period. ... Nevertheless the depiction of the Buddha anthropomorphically represents the concretization of the Buddha as an eternal enlightened body, transcending the historical Śākyamuni". (Kiyota 1978:10-11)

In the syndrome of apotheosis, the descendant kings must have been shocked to see their mighty royal predecessors, founders of

kingdoms, as Śākyamuni Buddha robed in the attire of mendicant monks with shaven heads, and bereft of imposing moustaches. It is interesting that moustaches are found in Central Asian statues of the Buddha whence they were transmitted to China. This imperative must have become a royal contribution to monastic Buddhism, wherein Śākyamuni 'the Sage of the Śākyas' emerged as Śākyasiṁha 'the Lion of the Śākyas', from a human monk to a divinised being in all divine (lokottara) glory (farnah). In fact, in Thailand we find images of the bejewelled and crowned Buddha, as a king in his royal costume, the Buddha paré. "The practice was reinforced by the concept of the Buddha as universal emperor (cakravartin), and the Mahāyāna theory of transcendental Buddha. ...The Khmer crowned Buddha image made its first appearance at the beginning of the 12th century A.D. at Phimai, the sanctuary dedicated to Tantric Buddhism" (Krairiksh 1979:132). "From the time of this example onward, crowned Buddha images were created not to represent the Mahāyāna transcendental Buddha, but Śākyamuni dressed as rājādhirāja, King of Kings. According to the legend of Jambupati, a certain king of that name had such high esteem of himself that he would not listen to the teaching of the Master. So the Buddha manifested himself as rājādhirāja and summoned Jambupati to visit him. The latter, awestruck by the splendour of the scene before him, was not slow to pay obeisance to the Buddha especially when he saw a chasm open before him issuing fire. He was converted to Buddhism and became a disciple. The existence of a Lân Nā-style bronze figurine from the 16th century A.D. inscribed with the name of King Mahā Jambu attests to the popularity of the Jambupati legend during this period (see Griswold 1961:295-296)" (ibid:154).

The role of kings in the new development in Buddhism can be seen in the origin of Amitābha. In the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha the Buddha relates that Lokeśvararāja was 81st in a line of Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpaṅkara. Monk Dharmākara resolved in the presence of Lokeśvararāja to become a Buddha. Dharmākara spent five kalpas in meditation. Finally he reigns in Sukhāvatī as Amitābha (EB. 1.434). It seems to idealise a real historic fact of a powerful king (Lokeśvara-rāja), who because of his having followed a religion of Light (Dīpaṅkara), requested the monk Dharmākara to formulate and systematise a new cult of Infinite Light (Amitābha). It was a sublimation of the cult of royalty as well. The king symbolised the world of light as represented by the Sun, and he resided in a royal citadel with 5-7 ramparts: both elements become the dominant focus in the emergence of Amitābha and later on of Vairocana. These phenomenal developments have been dealt with in subsequent discussions. The emphasis on the religion of Light so clear in Zoroastrianism and its earthly expression in the farnah of the king--brought into being a new tradition in NW Indian Buddhism which was un-paralleled (vi-tula) in the Indian heartland itself. This was propounded in Vaitulya texts, later designated Tantras. The word vi-tula was uncommon, if not unknown, in Indic Sanskrit. The more prevalent form was a-tula. Hence it was soon mistaken for vipula 'extensive' and it original significance was forgotten, even in Pali where vetulla continued in use. The negative prefix vi reflected its popularity in the Iranian languages, where to this day it is a living prefix: bi-dīn 'one who lacks religion'. Its use was natural to the NW region. Thus arose Tantric Buddhism in

NW India in a grand effort of legitimation of kingship through Buddhism

We have historic evidence of the eighth century that Vairocana did symbolise empirium. In Japan, emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A.D.743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (daibutsu) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Tōdaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an 'apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state' (Kobayashi 1975: 22), as 'an especially valuable political and religious symbol' (Kobayashi 1975: 25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a 'Grand National Temple'. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyō (modern Kyoto) in A.D.794, the Tōji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state'; which popularly came to be known as the Tōji (tō=east, ji=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate.

The Buddhist sūtras were the sanctifying power of the State, revitalising sovereignty, stabilising the state and ensuring the well-being of the Ruler. In Japan the ceremony chingo-kokka was to protect the country by the power of Buddhism. These were chingo-kokka-no sambu or three sūtras for the protection of the state, namely:
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (Jap. Hokekyō, Chin. Fa-hua-ching)
Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra (Jap. Ninnō-gyō, Chin. Jên-wang-ching)
Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra (Jap. Konkōmyō-kyō, Chin. Chin-kuang-ming-ching)

The Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra was translated as early as A.D.402-409 by Kumārajīva (K 19). It is a prajñāpāramitā-sūtra on a benevolent king who protects his country (Nj 17). It was re-translated by Amoghavajra in A.D.765 (K 1340, Nj 965), who further wrote a commentary (Nj 1406) as well as its ritual (Nj 1419, 1435). Visser (1935) has detailed the state ceremonies of this sūtra that were performed by Japanese Emperors over the centuries.

Hsüan-tsang said in A.D. 657 to the Chinese Emperor that all the six hundred scrolls he had translated were "regarded in their land of origin as contributing to 'national defence'." (Waley 1952:121,124).

In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala there is a special form of Saṁkusumitarāja used in the January rite for the protection of the Emperor (Esot. 12).

Prājña and Muniśrī translated the Shou hu kuo chieh chu t'o-lo-ni ching 守護國界主陀羅尼經 in A.D.790 (K 1384, Nj 978, T. 997). It is expressly with the idea of protecting the state. It extolls dhāraṇīs for protecting kings and was esteemed in Japan (Nakamura 1980: 326-7 and references therein to the idea of the "Protection of the State"). My paper "The role of Tantras in the defence strategy of T'ang China" details the interdependence of the state and the sūtras in East Asia.

Vairocana as the Universal Monarch or Ekākṣara Cakravartin. Vairocana represents the state, empirium or universal dominion. In this

form he is known as Ekākṣara Cakravartin (Jap. Ichiji Kinrin). Ichiji Kinrin is rendered into Sanskrit also as Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣacakra. His supreme mantra or ekākṣara is BHRŪṀ. He is the sovereign of sovereigns, the supreme (uṣṇīṣa) cakra(vartin). He has two forms: Śākya Cakravartin (Shaka-kinrin) and Vairocana Cakravartin (Dainichi-kinrin). As Śākya-Cakravartin he holds the cakra (wheel in the bowl-bearing mudrā (Huntington 1975:150). In Tibetan he is the Śākyasiṁha, the Sarvavid Vairocana. In ordinary rites, Vairocana Cakravartin is worshipped in the jñāna-muṣṭi. His samaya symbol is the eight-spoked wheel (for details see Mochizuki 1.140-141).

Ekākṣara Cakravartin is illustrated in several Japanese pantheons, with the seven jewels (sapta-ratna) of a universal monarch: wheel (cakra), wish-granting jewel (cintāmaṇi), horse, elephant, queen, general, and minister, for instance, in the Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (A.D. 1117-1180, TZ. 88.7), in the Collection of Kakuzen drawn by him between A.D. 1183-1213 (TZ. 102. 62, 64), in the Mandara-shu 'collection of maṇḍalas' compiled by Konen and copied in A.D. 1187 (TZ. 98 fig. 7, 8), in Asabashō compiled by Shōchō (A.D. 1205-1282), and in several other pantheons of Shingon. This confirms the integral association of Vairocana and the State. Vairocana Cakravartin is illustrated below:

Till modern times, the role of astrology in politics cannot be underestimated. Col. Meadows Taylor has assigned the foremost place to the astrological forecast in the Rising of 1857 to overthrow the British power in India. The interpretive essay of Bardwell L. Smith on "Kingship, the Sangha and the process of legitimation in Anuradhapura Ceylon" (in Bechert 1978:100-126) affirms the historical and cosmic dimensions of legitimation in a system of values transcending authority.

Buddha the Cosmocrator, attired in princely jewellery, with a crown on his head, has been studied by Paul Mus, Le Buddha paré. Son origine indienne. Çākyamuni dans le mahayanisme moyen (BEFEO 28/1928: 153-278), and by Y. Krishan, The origin of the crowned Buddha image, East and West 21(1971): 91-96. The colossal images of the Buddha at Bamiyan were adorned with jewellery and ornamental chains (Beal 1884: 114).

AMITĀBHA

The nomenclature and legends of Amitābha are of seminal relevance for understanding the origin and development of a powerful tradition which was to be christened later on as the Tantras. This evolution is enshrined in the fourfold division of the Tantras themselves into Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Anuttara-yoga Tantras. Each division had its central Tathāgata. Amitābha is the central Tathāgata of the first division of Kriyā Tantras. It means that he represents the first step in the emergence of the Tantras. He is the earliest crystallisation of the Vaipulya denomination.

The cult of Amitābha represents transcendental tendencies in Buddhism. Śākyamuni the Man was replaced by Amitābha. His historic Enlightenment was transcended into Supreme Enlightenment whose illumination became the new dynamised centre reflected in the new Tathāgata Amitābha. The distant corridors of etymology provide treasured links that are missing in explicit statements. "There's many a story in the miniature of a single word !" (Bachelard 1969:179). Śākyamuni was flanked by Brahmā and Śakra. But when Śākyamuni became Amitābha, the attendant acolytes changed names: Brahmā became Avalokiteśvara and Śakra became Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Brahma is the mantra-drastā 'Seer of Mantras' who in the new terminology was Avalokita 'seer of'+svara 'Word, Logos'. The form Avalokitasvara is actually found in Central Asian manuscripts. The Sino-Japanese Kwannon is kwan 'see'+on 'sound', a translation of Avalokita-svara. Śakra means 'The Powerful One' ($\sqrt{}$śak 'to be powerful'), and so also mahā 'great' +sthāma 'power, stamina'+prāpta 'attained'. The metamorphoses of Brahma and Śakra will be elaborated in a separate article by the author. Thus we see a deliberate effort to change the external morphology of an emerging form of Buddhism, and to emphasize its unceasing development within a specific circle of time and space, in a Weltanschauung where Euridika or Light as well as Mithra or Sun were centuries-old symbols. Thus the new Buddha was the Buddha of Infinite Light.

Amitābha is the light that outshines other Buddhas. Many of his epithets concern light. Wu-liang-shou-ching=Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha translated by Saṅghavarman into Chinese in the middle of the third century A.D. gives his twelve attributes:

1. The Buddha of Infinite Light (Ch. Wu-liang-kuang fu)
2. The Buddha of Boundless Light (Ch. Wu-pien-kuang fu)
3. The Buddha of All-pervasive Light (Ch. Wu-ai-kuang fu)
4. The Buddha of Incomparable Light (Ch. Wu-tui-kuang fu)
5. The Buddha of the Light of the Flame's King (Ch. Yen-wang-kuang fu)
6. The Buddha of Pure Light (Ch. Ch'ing-ching-kuang fu)
7. The Buddha of Joyful Light (Ch. Huan-hsi-kuang fu)
8. The Buddha of Wisdom's Light (Ch. Chih-hui-kuang fu)
9. The Buddha of Unceasing Light (Ch. Pu-Tuan-kuang fu)
10. The Buddha of Unthinkable Light (Ch. Nan-ssŭ-kuang fu)
11. The Buddha of Inexpressible Light (Ch. Wu-ch'eng-kuang fu)
12. The Buddha of the Light that outshines the Sun and Moon (Ch. Ch'ao-jih-yüeh kuang fu)

Because the Buddha in thus associated with light in twelve ways he is called 'The Buddha of the Twelve Lights'. Compare the Twelve Jyotir-liṅgas of Śaivism. The twelve lights represent the twelve months. The T'ang translation by Bodhiruci in A.D.713 (Wu-liang-shou-ju-lai-hui) has the twelve epithets, sometimes in different Chinese renderings (EBu. 1.441, 450).

Vasubandhu, in his Amitāyus-sūtra-upadeśa, calls Amitābha 'Tathāgata of the Light unhindered in the Ten Directions'. T'an-luan (A.D. 476-542) calls him 'Inconceivable Light' (EBu.1.442) in his Hymn of Praise.

Kōbō Daishi (A.D.774-835) says in his work Hizōki: Amṛta-Tejorāja Tathāgata is the Buddha of Infinite Life in the western quarter (EBu.1.442). The first element amṛta is from the Shih kan-lu chou 'Ten amṛta dhāraṇī' of Amitābha which was translated into Chinese for the first time by Guṇabhadra in A.D.468. It has ten epithets for Amitābha beginning with amṛta or immortality. It was to give the new deity Amitābha the reality of a-mṛta or eternity. Besides, the word amṛta refers to the sun. In the two Nepalese Mudrā Manuscripts 1.10, 251, 4.207 the mudrā of Amṛtaprabha precedes that of Candraprabha in all the three occurrences. Here Amṛtaprabha stands for Sūryaprabha. The word amṛta connotes 'a ray of light' in Raghuvaṁśa 10.59 (MW.). Thus Amṛta means the Sun. The influence of the worship of the Sun or Mithra can thus be discerned in the evolution of Amitābha. Tejorāja is the central deity of the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-Tejorājasya...kalpaḥ (Toh.483,485), one of the most important of the Yoga Tantras. It shows the continuity of the development from Amitābha to Tejorāja to Vairocana.

Amitābha strongly reminds us of the prominence of light in Iranian cosmology. "It was Ahura Mazda who in the beginning filled the blessed realms (xvāθra) with light (Yasna 31.7), and in the realms of light (raocēbīš) beatitude will be beheld by him whose thought is right (Yasna 30.1), while the light of the sun is one of the things that glorify Ahura Mazda (Yasna 1.11). Apart from the passage already

noted, darkness (temah) is mentioned only once in the Gāthās, in Yasna 31.20, where it refers to the blackness of hell.

"In the Younger Avesta the dualism between light and darkness appears in full vigour, so that Spiegel is amply justified (2.20ff.) in dividing his discussion of the Iranian theology and demonology into 'the light side' and 'the dark side' respectively. A phrase which constantly recurs in beginning the laudation of all good deities is 'for his magnificence and his glory'... Light was created by Ahura Mazda (Yasna 5.1, 37.1), and is one of his prerogatives (Yasna 12.1); hence prayer is made to behold 'the creative light of the creative Creator' (Yasna 58.6), and the light of the sun praises him (Yasna64.6). Together with Asha, Ahura Mazda created 'the shining light and sunny abodes' (Yt. 3.1 f.), so that the abodes of Asha are light (Yasna 16.7). ...Indeed, 'light' (raocāo) is a synonym for 'heaven' (Yasna 19.6), another synonym being 'the shining house of praise' (raoxšna garō-nmāna, Yt.10.124, 19.44) to which worship is paid (Sīh rōcak 2.30).

"Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that 'the region of light is the place of Aūharmazd, which they call "endless light"' (Bundahisn 1.2), and that the place of the Amesha Spentas is 'in that best existence of light' (Dātistān-ī-Dīnīk 74.2)." (Louis H. Gray, ERE. 8.61).

The Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha is set forth by Śākyamuni to a question by Ānanda. The Buddha relates that there was a line of 81 Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja. In the period of Lokeśvararāja, Dharmākara a king turned monk resolves to become a Buddha. Dharmākara meditates and reappears before Lokeśvararāja. He describes at length the land of bliss or Sukhāvatī in his 48 vows. All the details are related by Śākyamuni to Ānanda who thereupon asks the present whereabouts of Dharmākara. Śākyamuni replies that he is reigning in Sukhāvatī as Buddha Amitābha. "The Śākyamuni then proceeds to describe Sukhāvatī, as a place of unparalleled magnificence and splendour, in every way what Dharmākara had resolved it should be. Ānanda expresses a desire to see Amitābha, whereupon that Buddha sends a ray of light from the palm of his hand, so that not only Ānanda but every living being could see Amitābha and his retinue of bodhisattvas in Sukhāvatī." (EBu. 1.434-5)

The following conclusions emanate from the above:

1. There was a long tradition wherein Light rather than Enlightenment was important. The first of the 81 Tathāgatas is Dīpaṅkara (dīpa 'lamp' + kara 'maker'). A ray of light from the palm of the Buddha reveals the resplendence of Sukhāvatī.
2. The Japanese Prof. Akashi seeks the origin of Amitābha directly in the enlightenment of Śākyamuni..."After the Buddha's passing away, his enlightenment, consummated through wisdom and mercy, was expressed by and embodied in Amita" (EBu. 1.446). It is a perspicacious observation.
3. Dharmākara may be an actual monk of this tradition who systematised and wrote down the cult and doctrine of Amitābha.
4. Sukhāvatī is in the West. It magnificence recalls the Northwestern kingdoms of Bactria and neighbouring regions where the cults of Mithra, Euridika, Zoroastrianism mingled with Śaiva and Buddhist traditions.

The Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha is addressed by Śākyamuni to Śāriputra at Jetavana in Śravastī. It is a description of Sukhāvatī, the Buddha-kṣetra of Amitābha. G.P. Malalasekera (EBu. 1.435) says that the description of Sukhāvatī is reminiscent of the Mahāsudassana-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. This sutta describes the metropolis of a universal monarch as surrounded by seven enclosures made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral and one of all jewels. It recalls Ecbatana with its seven ramparts of diverse colours: gold, silver, orange, blue, purple, black and white (Herodotus 1.98, Przyluski 1935: 25-). The universal monarch was like the sovereign of the gods. The celestial city of Amitābha was patterned after the ideal metropolis known to the East Iranian monks of Uttarāpatha.

Dīpaṅkara the first in the line of Amitābha, symbolised lamp-light as well as belonged to northwestern India. Nagarahāra (old capital of the Jalalabad district) is called the city of Dīpaṅkara by Hui-li (Beal 1884: 1.91 n. 36). A stūpa was built by king Aśoka at the spot in Nagarahāra where Śākya had met Dīpaṅkara (Beal 1884: 1.92, 93). This is proved by the popularity of Dīpaṅkara at Shotorak and its transmission to China from N W India.

Amitābha's Pure Land is designated as Hsü-mo-t'i, Hsü-ho-mo-t'i in Chinese transcriptions corresponding to Sanskrit Sukhāvatī/Sukhāmatī or Suhāmatī/Sudhāmatī. It is translated into Chinese as An-lo and Chi-lo. It is interesting to note that the character An 安 in An-lo 安樂 is also used to designate Parthia. It was the Parthian prince An Shih-kao who translated the larger Sukhāvatīvyūha during A.D.148-170 from Sanskrit into Chinese, and introduced the Amitābha cult into China. This translation is lost (Nj.23/5 n. 1/II). The Amitābha cult must have been dominant in NW India and Eastern Iran (Parthia) at that time. Sukhavati is described as a vast land, the soil being composed of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls and agate. There are audience halls, residential palaces, mansions and towers also decorated with seven kinds of gems (EBu. 1.451). These seven gems remind of the seven colours of the metropolis' in Iranian history.

The udīcya or north-western regions of India, the Uttarāpatha of the texts, had been saturated with Greek ideas and monks of East Iranian extraction whose Weltanschauung was formed by the glories of Ecbatana with its ramparts of seven colours, by reminiscences of the fabulous palaces of the Achaemenians, and by Mithra the Sun -- all these were reflected in Amitābha. At the same time it was a rejection of the ascetic simplicity of Śākyamuni's monks by Dharmākara who had given up his kingdom to bring into existence Amitābha in his paradise of Sukhāvatī resplendent with all its ponds, trees, palaces, music, sensual and sensitive pleasures. We can discern these historic elements in the legendary exuberance of the major Amitābha texts of the Larger and Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra.

Vasubandhu wrote his Sukhāvatī-vyūhopadeśa (T 1524) on the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha. Vasubandhu hailed from Puruṣapura (Peshawar) and it was but natural for him to comment on the most prevalent text in his home region.

Amitābha is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. It seems that the development of triads (Japanese sanzon) was influenced by the traditions of Mithra who was flanked by his companions Rašnu (the god of Justice) and Sraoša (the god Obedience).

The cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru is another point of Buddhist contact with the Iranian *bozak. Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of Healing. He cures physical illness and dispels spiritual darkness. His sūtra was translated into Chinese five times. The earliest translation by Śrīmitra dates to A.D.317-322. In his paradise dwell innumerable bodhisattvas chief among whom are Sūrya-vairocana and Candra-vairocana. They are also known as Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha. Bhaiṣajyaguru has Twelve Great Yakṣa Generals (dvādaśa mahāyakṣa-senāpatayah). Bhaiṣajyaguru developed in an age when an Iranian term like bēsaz 'healing' was correctly understood as bhaiṣajya 'medicine, healing'. The two bodhisattvas Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha are the counterparts of the Iranian Rašnu and Sraoša, companions of Mithra.

European scholars assert that Amitābha originated in an Iranian area, or under the influence of the solar myth of the Persians (L.A. Waddell), or Mithra (S.Beal), and its possible reference to the Avesta is upheld by P. Pelliot and Sylvain Lévi (EBu. 1.443). Bunzaburō Matsumoto cannects Amitābha with King Mahāsudarśana or the Sun. Unrai Ogiwara considers Viṣṇu, another name for the Sun, as the origin of Amitābha.

As early as 1877 T.W. Rhys Davids had called attention to "the name 'Immeasurable light' given to Amitābha--from whom Gautama is said to have emanated: it points distinctly to contact with the old Persian light worship... We have thus Iranian influence distinctly before us, which accords with the local surroundings of the Gandhara school." (Grünwedel 1901:195, 1900:114).

Waddell (1894:127) reiterated the Iranian characteristics: "One of the earliest of these celestial Buddhas was given the title of 'The Infinite Light' (Amitābha), and his personality soon crystallized into a concrete theistic Buddha of that name, residing in a glorious paradise (Sukhāvatī) in the West, where the daily suns hasten and disappear in all their glory, and hence supposed by some to include a sun myth or to be related to sun-worship, probably due to Persian influence; for the chief patrons of the early Mahāyāna, about the time of the invention of this myth, were Indo-Scyths, a race of sun-worshippers."

The Iranian elements have been highlighted by Eliot (1921:3.220): The essential features of Amidist doctrine are that there is a paradise of light belonging to a benevolent deity and that the good who invoke his name will be led thither. Both features are found in Zoroastrian writings. The highest heaven (following after the paradises of good thoughts, good words and good deeds) is called Boundless Light or Endless Light. Both this region and its master, Ahuramazda, are habitually spoken of in terms implying radiance and glory. Also it is a land of song, just as Amitābha's paradise re-echoes with music and pleasant sounds. ...

"Thus all the chief features of Amitābha's paradise are Persian: only his method of instituting it by making a vow is Buddhist. It is true that Indian imagination had conceived numerous paradises, and that the early Buddhist legend tells of the Tushita heaven. But Sukhāvatī is not like these abodes of bliss. It appears suddenly in the history of Buddhism as something exotic, grafted adroitly on the parent trunk but sometimes overgrowing it". [note: "Is it possible that there is any connection between Sukhāvatī and the land of Saukavastan, governed by an immortal ruler and located by the Bundehish

between Turkistan and Chinistan? I imagine there is no etymological relationship, but if Saukavastan was well known as a land of the blessed it may have influenced the choice of a significant Sanskrit word with a similar sound".]

"Paul Pelliot admits that early Buddhism in India was subjected to Iranian influences. Sir Charles Eliot calls our attention to the fact that in the Avesta, where four paradises are described, the highest is called the 'Land of Endless Light', and that all the chief features of the Western Paradise of Amitābha of Infinite Light are to be found in Zoroastrian writings". (Getty 1928: 38).

VAIROCANA

In the emergence of Vairocana, the family descent of the Buddha also seems to have played a significant role. The Buddha was a scion of Ikṣvāku lineage which was the Solar Dynasty par excellence. He was the Son of the Sun family. Thus the transition from Śākyamuni to Vairocana was inherent in the lineage of the Enlightened One. Virocana means the 'sun'. The Sino-Japanese translation of Vairocana is Dai-nichi 'Great Sun'. Vairocana is also Cakravartin, the universal monarch. As such he is Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣa- Cakravartin. He has two forms in the Japanese tradition: Shaka-Kinrin (Shaka=Śākyamuni, kinrin=cakravartin) and Dainichi-Kinrin (Huntington 1975: 150).

The sun symbolises light. In the Upaniṣads themselves, light was knowledge: tamaso mā jyotir gamaya. The very word deva, Latin divus, English divine, are cognate to the root div 'to shine...'. In the Śaiva tradition, the Śiva-liṅgas are Jyotir-liṅgas. The Enlightenment of the Buddha or the Enlightened Buddha was apotheosised as Dīpaṅkara, then as Amitābha, later on as Vairocana of the Avataṁsaka and of the Garbhadhātu, culminating in Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. Amitābha and Vairocana of the Avataṁsaka and Garbhadhātu all have the same dhyāna-mudrā of meditation which marks them out as apotheoses of dhyāna or Enlightenment. The sūtras pertaining to Amitābha and the three manifestations of Vairocana belong to the same line of development of the Vaipulya tradition as shown already.

The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma represents the most popular Indian text of the genre of sahasra-nāma texts of a thousand epithets of a divinity. The Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (included in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala) also pertain to this category of literature. Among the thousand names several pertain to illumination, the luminosity of Enlightenment, to Buddha as the Light of the World or Jagad-virocana in the words of the Avataṁsaka sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha. Instances are: 3 Kāśyapa (from the √kāś 'to shine'), 7 Pradyota, 18 Mahāprabha, 19 Arciṣkandha, 20 Vairocana, 22 Candra, 23 Arciṣmant, 24 Suprabha, 27 Pradyota, et passim (Weller 1928).

The Lalitavistara (Lefmann 383 lines 9,11) refers to Vairocana as the spokesman of the nīlakāyika devaputras. Edgerton 310 b interprets Nīlakāyika as the name of a class of gods noted only in this passage: Further on he explains the term: "Tibetan renders sṅon-po (blue) ris (form, figure, also party, like BHS kāya. This suggests that Tib. understood 'belonging to the group of Nīla (blue) one's, rather than blue-bodied. In LV they, and their spokesman

Vairocana, seem to be superior to the four mahārāja gods". The nīlakāyika devaputras gave four stone vessels (śailapātra, L V 383.9) to the four Mahārājas of the four directions who offered them to Lord Buddha. This context occurs in the Trapuṣa-Bhallika chapter. Trapuṣa-Bhallika belonged to the North-Western region of Bhallika/Bāhlīka/Balkh (Lokesh Chandra 1979). So Vairocana the Nīlakāyika king (Vairocano nāma Nīlakāyiko devaputraḥ, L V. 383.11) should also belong to this region. Devaputra can signify a king. In fact, Vairocana is the name of a cakravartin, a former incarnation of Maitreya, in the Mahāvastu 1.59.2, 13. Further, vairocana (virocana) is a jewel in the Mahāvastu 2.317.13, Gaṇḍavyūha 101.12, 159.1 (Edgerton 1953: 512a). In this sense the word vairocana reminds us of the Iranian term for turquoise: pērōz*. The word turquoise itself is the French feminine of turquois 'Turkish' pointing to its import from West Asia. The turquoise is an opaque sky-blue precious stone. Nīlakāya can refer to an area abounding in blue (nīla) stones like turquoise. Kāyeśa is a synonym for Vairocana, whom he replaces in the enumeration of the Five Buddhas in Sādhanamālā 164.9. The expression Nīlakāyika devaputra is paralleled by tuṣitakāyiko devaputro (Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara), tuṣitabhavanakāyiko devaputro in Mahāvastu 1.174.1.

-kāya in Nīlakāyika can represent the Iranian kai (Avesta kavi) which was the title of local kinglets (Olmstead 1943:46). Then it would mean 'the kings (kāya) of the region of turquoise (nīla)'. "A later dynasty, that of the Kayanians--perhaps a Bactrian dynasty--derived their name and descent from Kai Kobādh (Av. Kavi Kavāta), followed by Kai Kāūs (Av. Kavi Usa), Siyāvash (Av. Syāvarshan), Kai Khosru (Av. Husrava), Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvat-aspa), and finally, Ghushtāsp (Av. Vishtāspa)" (Casartelli 1914:7.722a). Vishtāspa's first son was born in 550 B.C. To glorify the religion, the son was named Darayavohu-manah "The Upholder of a Good Mind" (Dhāraya-vasu-manah in Sanskrit), Darayavaush in Western Persian and Darius to the Greeks.

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*Prof. R.E. Emmerick of the Hamburg University has kindly sent me the following note: "fīrōz is an arabicised form of pērōz. It is difficult to say exactly when the spelling with f is first attested as it is often found as a variant in some MSS when others have p. The earliest occurrence of the word is Ammianus Marcellinus XIX.2.11 (4th century AD) but it is attested as a personal name already in the Great Inscription of Šabuhr I (third century AD). P.Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie, p.78 derived pērōz from 'aw. *paiti.raočah-', which if correct would mean it is related to Sanskrit virocana, but already H.Hübschmann, Persische Studien, Strassburg 1895, p.45 pointed out that this etymology is excluded by the Pahlavi spelling. The correct etymology of pērōz was first given by W.B. Henning in Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, 1933, p.228. According to him it goes back to an Old Iranian form *pari-aujah- and is thus related to Sanskrit ojas- 'power'. As far as I know this etymology has not been questioned by any serious scholar. Any etymology has to account for both Middle Persian pyrwz (pērōz) and Middle Parthian prywj (paryōž). The arabicised spellings with f date of course only from the period after the introduction of the Arabic script."

Iranian royalty was endowed with khvarenō, an effulgence or bright glory that attached to kings. "Under the Old Persian form farnah the word occurs in several well-known proper names, and even in Media, more than a century before Cyrus. The prophet Zarathustra was also endowed with this quasi-divine splendour" (ibid: 722a). The kings of the Kayanian dynasty * are frequently referred to in the Yasht and Kai Khusro is hailed as a great hero (Yasht 5.49, 9.21, 15.32, 17.41, 19.74). The likely Bactrian origin of the Kayanian dynasty accords with the Bactrian (Bhallika) association of the Nīlakāyika devaputra Vairocana. The khvareno ~ farnah or the spiritual substance of the kingship of Iran was retained by the most renowned royalty of Iran, the Kavis, during several generations (ERE.1.206a). It was thus deeply rooted in the minds of Bactrian bhikṣus and through them it was reflected as the effulgence (rocana) of Vairocana. The consort of Vairocana is in fact Rocanā (wrongly Locanā).

"The provenance of serviceable stones (i.e. turquoise) is limited to a few places whose history may be traced back for thousands of years.... It can hardly be doubted that the turquoise was obtained in the Sasanid period and even earlier in the mines around Nīshāpūr... General Sir A. Houtum-Schindler ... has given a detailed account of the Persian turquoise mines at Mash-had in Khurasān. (J. Ruska - [M. Plessner], article on fīrūzadj, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, Leiden 1965, 2.927-8). "Material of excellent colour later was mined in Persia and brought into Europe through Turkey; this probably accounts for the mineral name. ... Iran has yielded material of finest quality, principally from the Ali-Mirsai-Kuh mountains near Nīshāpūr, in the province of Khurasan". (EB.1965: 22.629).

Turquoise was in demand all over the ancient world from the Iranian areas. The king whose dominions were enriched by turquoise mining and export must have outshone his neighbours in opulence. His kingdom would have been a centre of prodigious wealth and international significance, whose prosperity and splendour must have kept pace. These rulers of turquoise, these nīlakāyikas, became embodiments of shine and shimmer, radiance and brilliance, the virtual sons of luminescence (virocana), aptly named Vairocana. Moreover, this was in consonance with the most ancient traditions of Iran about royalty. From the times of Zoroaster, yasht 19 sings the praises of kingly glory, kavaya hvarenah, a sort of halo or radiance said to have been possessed by kings and heroes of Iran in olden times (ERE.2.267).

Firuz, the Sasanian king of Iran from A.D. 457 or 459 to 484 was confronted in Bactria by the Hephthalites. He charged his cavalry into a hidden ditch and perished with all his troops (about 1 Jan 484).

* A. Christensen, Les Kayanides, 1931

Casartelli 1914

L.C. Casartelli, King (Iranian), in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1914

Olmstead 1943

A.T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, Chicago (The University of Chicago Press).

(EB.1965: 9.316). It shows that Firuz, the word for turquoise, was the name of kings as late as the fifth century and that Bactria was within the orbit of Iranian history. No wonder that that Vairocana refers inter alia to turquoise, and enshrines the epic glories of Iranian kings through Buddhist monks of Iranian origin.

The configuration of the Vairocana maṇḍala of Vajradhātu is described by the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī 1949: 44 as follows: Vajradhātu-maṇḍale vajra-pañjar-odare dvīp-opadvīpa-sapta-samudrādi-parikalita-sumer-ūpari kūṭāgāram/tasya madhye siṁhopari ... bhagavān Vairocano.... It means that in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala Lord Vairocana is seated on a lion which is in the middle of a pavilion atop the Sumeru sorrounded by the seven seas, continents and sub-continents in vajra-precincts. The architectonic complex of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala has a sanctified area set off by vajras. Amidst the seven seas and continents arises mount Sumeru over which is the pavilion with the image of Vairocana mounted on a lion.

The full details of the construction of the maṇḍala are provided by Mkhas-grub-rje (A.D.1385-1438) in the generation of the Residence (*ādhār-otpatti). It is quoted below in extenso from Lessing/Wayman (1968:175): "he must imagine an earth surface (*bhūmitala) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, Oṁ cala.

"Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (padma) and the blue lotus (utpala), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula, Oṁ vimala daha hūṁ.

"In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (indranīla), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (kalpa-vṛkṣa) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the center of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver.

"Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (vitāna) [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (kūṭāgāra) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'." Thereafter the gods are invited to be residents (ādheya) and seats are offered to them in the kūṭāgāra. Prof. Wayman (1973: 104, pl. 9, 102-109) has illustrated the Sumeru from a Tibetan painted scroll.

The three-storied pavilion which rests on the cloud atop Sumeru is Indra's palace called Sudarśana (Lessing 1942:104). "The tiny structure on the top of the palace roof ... may very well be a stylised part of a stūpa. It will be recalled that Mkhas grub rje mentions two kinds of stūpas that can be generated in the palace. Like the standard stūpa, this structure-- as the photograph is seen with a microscope-- also has on its very top the crescent moon surmounted by the sun, in turn surmounted by a hook-like curve that should represent fire". (Wayman 1973:109). Prof. Wayman's crescent moon

should be corrected to candra, the sun is the bindu and "the hook-like curve that should represent fire" is the nāda. These three are the candra, bindu and nāda of praṇava (i.e. OṂ).

The basic structure of the Borobudur is identical with the maṇḍala:

Borobudur		maṇḍala
5 terraces	=	five storeys of the Sumeru
3 circular platforms	=	base of kūṭāgāra
1 large central finial	=	stūpa

The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden kūṭāgāra (see details in Lokesh Chandra 1980: 22).

The kūṭāgāra atop Sumeru represents Sudarśana the palace of Indra the king of gods and the colours of the rows of stairs are gold, silver, sapphire and amber.

As already pointed out another name of Vairocana is Ekākṣara Cakravartin. As a cakravartin, a universal monarch, his residence is equated with Sudarśana, the palace of Indra. The city of a cakravartin has enclosures of gold, silver and other jewels. In the Dīghanikāya 2.170 the city of Kuśāvatī was surrounded by seven enclosures made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral and one of all jewels. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Kuśāvatī has seven enclosures, but made of four precious stones only: gold, silver, beryl and crystal. Dīpavatī, the capital of the Cakravartin Arciṣmat, has seven vedikājālas of seven colours of gold, silver, mother-of-pearl, beryl, crystal, coral and ruby (Mahāvastu 1.194.3, 19). Likewise the Sumeru of Vairocana has terraces of various jewels.

The city of a cakravartin recalls the royal city of the Medes Ecbatana (ancient Hagamatana, modern Hamadan) whose seven enclosures were of gold, silver, orange, blue, purple, black and white (Herodotus, 5th century B.C., 1.98): "Witness the city of Ecbatana with its seven surrounding walls of different colors, probably meant to correspond to the seven planetary spheres; their diminishing height from the center to the periphery presents an obvious parallel to the great towers of Babylonia and Assyria. Apparently within the innermost circle, which was of gold and corresponded to that of the sun, was the dwelling of the king, who, seated at the center of his cosmos, identified himself in that manner with the divinity. The Parthian Darabgerd and the Sassanian fortress of Firuzabad are examples of cities with circular plans that were probably inspired by analogous symbolisms". (R. Gnoli, EWA. 3.839).

"The seven walls rising up one within another--recalling the seven tiers of the cosmic temple towers of Babylonia and Assyria--obviously are an image of the seven cosmic spheres, in the middle of which the Sun-King is seated; the golden wall around the royal palace reflects the brilliance of the sun, the silver wall next to it apparently that of the moon. The cosmic significance of this kingly city is clear ...

"The residence of the Indian Cakravartin like that of the Babylonian monarch, is made after the model of the terraced towers surmounted by a temple. The universal monarch resides there because being like the sovereign of the gods, he must live like him at the summit of the cosmic mountain. Sumeru and the Zikkurat, the imperial city and the celestial temple, might be juxtaposed as equivalent symbols in the political and the religious order." (Przyluski 1935: 26). This is reflected in that Vairocana the cakravartin resides on the Sumeru in an eaved palace which is topped by a stūpa.

According to Herodotus (1.96 ff.) the Medes were united into a strong and independent confederation by Deioces at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. Deioces, the village judge, was chosen king by the Medes after they won their independence from Assyria. Deioces built Ecbatana as the capital and ruled for 53 long years (about 727-675 B.C., EB.1965:7.181). As the first historic capital of Iran, it became a national symbol as well as the glory of the Iranian people which touched their ethos to its very depths. It resounded into the farthermost eastern confines of the Iranian world, as far as Bactria and adjacent lands of Gandhara. When the people of these areas became ardent Buddhist devotees they expressed their new piety in terms of their deepmost symbols, one of which was the cosmocratic configuration of Ecbatana, which later became the inspiration and design of the maṇḍala.

"...In the Parthian Darabjird the wall and fosse form an exact circle with an inner wall marking a concentric circle; the whole area was divided into 8 equal sectors by radial axis streets ending in wall gates, 4 of which were situated at the 4 main points of the compass. Firuzabad in the very heart of Persis, originally the fortified residence of the new Sassanian dynasty, before its transference to Ctesiphon, is of the same circular type. In the 12th century Ibn al Balkhi says of it: "The city is like a circle traced with a compass". There was a gate at each of the main points of the compass and, undoubtedly, an axial street-cross connecting them. Istakhri writes of it in the 10th century: "It has four gates: in the east Bab Mihr, in the west Bab Bahram, in the north Bab Hormizd, and in the south Bab Ardeshir". Residential cities such as Darabjird and Firuzabad must have been the prototype of the most famous of all the cosmic "round cities" of the East: Baghdad, "al-Madina al Mudauwara" "The Round City" of Mansur founded 762, at a moment chosen by Naubakht, the official astrologer of the caliph". (L'Orange 1953:10).

"Vairocana, dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, does not proceed elsewhere because he is the Sambhoga-kāya possessing the five certainties. But with the magical apparition (nirmita) of a Vairocana Nirmāṇa-kāya having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the eaved palace (kūṭāgāra) of precious thunderbolts. There he took his place on a lion's throne (siṁhāsana) formed of the Bodhisattvas in their last life who had been transformed into the appearance of lions". (Lessing/Wayman 1968:215).

Sumeru the abode of gods was a reflection of the apperception that the palatiue of a great king should be an image of the universe. In this connection the remarks of L'Orange are relevant:

"A certain ambiguity in our literary tradition at times placing Khusrau's heavens in the throne room, at another time in a fire temple, must be due to affinities existing between the sanctuary of the god of heaven and that of his representation and reflection on earth. As proved by archaeological evidence, a dominating type of fire temples and throne-rooms was a square domed building; and the dome must have had the same heavenly function in temple and palace." (L'Orange 1953:23).

"This is expressed by the Persian prince Tiridates to Nero when the latter crowns him King of Armenia (in Rome in the year 66 A.D.):

the conception of the Oriental King is transferred to the Roman emperor. On doing obeisance to Nero, Tiridates greets him as Mithra, the royal god of the Iranians, declaring: "I shall be whetever you spin for me, for you are both my Moira and my Tyche".

"It is therefore natural that the throne-room of the Great King should be an image of the universe and of the universal dominion of the stars. This is effected by introducing the cosmic movements, whether of the hall or of the throne, into the royal ritual". (L'Orange 1953: 23)

"Hellenism had developed the astrology of the East into a scientific, religious-philosophic system which in Roman times had conquered the classical world. Even the empire was permeated with these Eastern ideas. The royal cosmocrator makes his entry into the Palatine. As a striking expression of this theology the revolving rotunda now invades the imperial palace. Suetonius describes a similar rotunda in the Domus Aurea built by Nero in the last years of his reign (started in the year 64 A.D.) hardly a generation before Suetonius' account". (L'Orange 1953: 28)

The king is the Sun-Cosmocrator, spinning the fate of mortals. Vairocana means 'the sun', and he is the Cakravartin = Cosmocrator. The second element vartin in cakravartin reflect the cosmic movement. Let us go back to Iran and Iranian concepts in Rome:

"At the same time at which this cosmic hall was built, Nero in a number of official images is represented as Apollo-Helios, or he acts in persona, in the theatre and circus, as this god. In the astrological conception this Nero-Helios is cosmocrator like the kings of the East. Thus, as we have just seen, the Persian prince Tiridates did obeisance to him as the royal God of Fate (66 A.D.). In the very guise of Sun-Cosmocrator Nero appears to us in the huge statue in the vestibule of the Golden House. And here the image of Nero is especially expressive: for this Nero-Cosmocrator is in itself the moving principle in the revolving rotunda of the palace. He is, as Cicero says of the Sun, "Leader, prince and controller of the heavenly lights, the soul of the world and its directive force" (dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio). From his more elevated sphere the Emperor God sets the lower spheres in motion, and directs the whole of the sub-lunary world, thus affecting, according to the astrological doctrine, the life of man and spinning like the Great King of the East at the New Year's festival, the fate of mortals. The emperor is the cosmic God of Fate: Moira, Tyche, as Tiridates names Nero, fatorum arbiter, as an emperor is called in an inscription. (L'Orange 1953: 29-30)

"We witness a solemn act by which the Great King adjusts himself to the movements of the heavens, thus manifesting his own astral power. Just as Sun, Moon and planets in completing their orbits determine the fate of the universe, so the movements of the royal throne reveal the fatal power of the Great King; he is analogous to the heavenly bodies, the Cosmocrator. ... Let us remember once more the functions of the king at the New Year festival (Naurōz = New Day), when he allots state offices just as the Sun God distributes the various spheres of influence for the coming cosmic year. He is part of the all moving orbit of the stars, "Companion of the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon", and already from ancient times wears Sun and Moon in his tiara".

"A cosmic throne-movement of this kind belongs in fact to the festival ritual of the Persian Naurōz celebrations. Palace reliefs in Persepolis, for instance in the "Hall of the Hundred Columns" and in the "Central Building", illustrate this ceremony with the bringing of tribute from all parts of the kingdom". (L'Orange 1953:85)

Vairocana in his Sarvavid form and as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin holds a wheel like Mithra who seizes the zodiacal wheel: "Let us look a little more closely at this idea of the emperor as cosmic God of fate. The God ... the volvens sidera Mithra ... seizes the zodiacal wheel and hurls it into revolving motion, thus setting the whole system of the spheres in motion. To the Roman world Mithra in his cave has the same significance: the cave is the world bounded by the firmament of fixed stars. The god fills this world cavity just as the emperor his cosmic hall. Like Mithra also the Roman emperor takes the zodiac in his hand" (L'Orange 1953:33). The wheel had a cosmocratic significance: "The Ancient World conceived the àspís, the clipeus — that is the circular shield with a border around the middle disk — as an image of the revolving All, the cosmos. From Aischylos (Sept. 498) and down to late literature this shield is compared with the rotating wheel, the ever apt symbol of the Universe". (L'Orange 1953:90)

"...the Persian-Arabian tradition has preserved the memory of such revolving motions in the palace of the Great King. Tabari tells of an architect in the Sassanian service who said himself able to build palaces revolving with the Sun. "Had I known for sure that you would give me my full wages and treat me as I deserved", he says to Yazdegerd (reigned 399-420, EB. 1965:17.574), "I would have constructed a building revolving exactly with the Sun." (L'Orange 1953:21)

The throne of Vairocana is held aloft on four bodhisattvas transformed into four lions. This has a parallel in the Iranian world: "In the Sassanian legends about the Naurōz feast, reported by Albiruni, the bearing of the enthroned king plays a role strikingly confirming our cosmic interpretation of the Achaemenian throne picture. The king is lifted on the necks of his supporters and becomes a new Sun. The mythic Persian king, Jamshid, we learn, sat on a golden throne and was thus carried away by the men on their necks. When then the rays of the sun fell on him and people saw him, they did homage to him and were full of joy and made that day a feast day" (the Naurōz). "He rose on that day like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun. Now people were astonished at the rising of two suns". (L'Orange 1953:87)

"A fundamental feature of the Ancient Eastern throne, as repeatedly stressed, is its being carried by zōa. Even in the Sumerian kingdom the royal throne stood on a platform supported by animals, and ... the succeeding centuries yield an infinity of examples of this practice. We only recall Jahve's Cherub- and the Sassanian horse-, griffin-, eagle- and lion-throne. The Achaemenian gāthu had four corner supports in the form of hybrid zōa. The form crystallizes into a stereotype still existing in the East. As an example may be mentioned the Takht i marmar in the throne room in Teheran: the stand is supported by lions and demonic creatures. In the more remote East, too, such throne-stands supported by attendant

beings belong to kings and gods." (L'Orange 1953:124)

The Sun and Moon in Tantric art, e.g. Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha flanking Bhaiṣajyaguru, besides Amitaprabha (amita = sun) and Candraprabha in the samaya-maṇḍala of Vairocana (Esot. 517, 520) remind us of the Sun and Moon symbolism of the Achaemenian royalty. "The symbolism is the same when... just as Septimius Severus was shown between the planetary deities— the emperors of late antiquity are represented between the Sun and the Moon, as is the case, for instance, on the Roman arch of Constantine. These sun-moon symbols, originally distinguishing the Eastern king, make the emperor appear a _particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae_, as the Sassanian kings officially called themselves. Already in Achaemenian times the Persian king was represented symbolically related to Sun and Moon. On seals and coins his bust is placed between Sun and Moon or constellations of these heavenly bodies, which also occur in his tiara in the head ornament of the royal horse.

"From the Roman emperor the sun-moon symbol was inherited by the medieval rulers of the West. Frederick II has a star and Moon in his seal, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the Sun and Moon, the coronation mantle is frequently decorated with the Sun, Moon and stars, etc." (L'Orange 1953:36)

"As a hieroglyphical expression of this _Logos cosmocrator_, the authoritatively speaking hand--the hand of the dogma, of the _verbum suum_, of the Logos--is represented between Sun and Moon, the traditional symbols of the world dominion" (L'Orange 1953:197).

Thus we find that the glories of Iranian Geist and Raum find a deep expression in the Vairocana cult: the word Vairocana mirrors _pirūz_ 'turquoise' (virocana is a kind of stone), maṇḍala is the cosmic round city, the seven ramparts of Iranian capitals with their colours have parallels in the terraces of the Sumeru ornamented with various jewels, Vairocana as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin has a precedent in the Cosmocrator and his cults in Īran, the wheel in the hand of Sarvavid Vairocana has a parallel in Mithra who hurls the zodiacal wheel into motion, the four lions of the throne of Vairocana repeat the zōa of Iranian thrones, while Sun and Moon as symbols of world dominion are common to Vairocana and Achaemenian kings. The bodhi of Gautama the Buddha was transmuted into the abhisambodhi of the Vairocana Tathāgata.

HERUKA

Heruka, also known as Cakra-saṁvara, is the central deity of the anuttara-yoga Tantras and sits on a solar seat. It means 'Oh (_He_) Light (_ruka_)', as the highest epiphany in the Tantric systems. It can be compared to the word _gartāruk_ in the Dawn Hymn of the Ṛgveda 1.124.7. It is one of the four similes that in their gradation illustrate the increasing beauty of Uṣas. Patil (1980:22), following Geldner, derives the word from _garta_ +√_ruc_, and the compound means 'that shines or looks splendid on the stage, i.e. a dancing girl'. Compare _ruk-ma_ 'that is bright or radiant', and its derivative _rukmiṇī_ 'the glowing beauty'.

An image of Heruka has been found in Indonesia from Bahal II, Padang Lawas 'Great Plain' in Central Sumatra (Kempers 1959:77, pl.228). The Sumatran king Ādityavarman was ordained as a manifestation of Bhairava. His enormous portrait-statue as Bhairava can be seen in the Jakarta Museum (Kempers 1959:87, pl.259). The portrait-statues of kings identifid with their highest deity were common in Indonesia. The statue of Śiva at Lara-Jonggrang is a portrait-statue of its founder king. The Indonesian name Erucakra/Herucakra has not been explained in a satisfactory manner so far (for its different explanations see Santoso 1976:82). The term is attributed to King Jayabhaya of Kĕḍiri (East Java) who ruled around the 11th century. Till recently the leaders of political movements, were called Herucakra. One of the titles of the Sultan of Yogyakarta is Herucakra. Mr. Angkasaputra of Bali, who worked with me on the poem Bhāratayuddha, explained the term Herucakra as 'Divine Light, he who is the Light of the Land, that is: a king who rules all countries". This explanation was given to Mr. Angkasaputra by his teacher. Herucakra is a syncopation of Heruka Cakrasaṁvara. The tendency of dissyllabism is so strong in Indonesian languages that Saṁs-kṛta became Kṛta (bhāṣā). This proclivity led to the shortening of Heruka to Heru and of Cakrasaṁvara to cakra. It shows that Heruka was associated with Light in Indonesia, as well as with the charisma of political power.

Theravāda	Brahmā	Śākyamuni	Indra
	Padmapāṇi	"	Vajrapāṇi
Amitābha-sūtra	Avalokiteśvara	Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta
Bhadracarī of the Avataṁsaka	Samantabhadra	"	Mañjuśrī
	Avalokiteśvara	Mañjuśrī	Vajrapāṇi

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191. Devatā ([illegible])

192 Devatā ([illegible])

THE 108-ARMED VAJRADHARA

Reduced from the Original Size 60 × 52 cm.

THE JAKA DOLOG INSCRIPTION OF KṚTANAGARA

LOKESH CHANDRA

General Observations.

The Sanskrit inscription on the base of the Jaka Dolog statue at Simpang (Surabaya) has been discussed for nine decades since it was noticed by Verbeck in 1881. Eminent historians of Indonesia, like Brandes (1898), Kern (1910), Krom (1913, 1919), Bosch (1920), Poerbatjaraka (1922), Moens (1924), Berg (1959), have treated it at length. In a recent discussion, Nihom has tried to specify the type of Tantric Buddhism followed by King Kṛtanagara who is supposed to be an adherent of a 'Hevajra' cult, and to locate the original site of the Jaka Dolog statue at Candi Jawi. Nihom is right that there is "no evidence" for a Kālacakra cult in Indonesia.

Nomenclature of Tantras : Choice of nomenclature is crucial to an appropriate understanding of the tantra followed by Kṛtanagara. In this connection, it is to be noted that Tantric Buddhism had several distinct manifestations. These bore specific characteristics and they were classified in India itself. Based on an Indian classification, the Tibetan tradition divides the Tantras into four divisions : kriyā, caryā, yoga and anuttara-yoga. Each division has a main deity :

kriyā-tantras	Amitābha
caryā-tantras	Vairocana
yoga-tantras	Mahāvairocana
anuttara-yoga tantras	

(i) yogi-tantras (mahāyoga-tantras in Atiśa) Guhyasamāja, Vajrapāṇi, etc.

(ii) yoginī-tantras (anuttara-yoga-tantras in Atiśa) divided into seven groupings, of which the second group pertains to Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya) :

(a) Saṁvara (Toh. 368-415)
(b) Hevajra (Toh. 417-432)
(c) Buddhakapāla (Toh. 424)
(d) Mahāmāya (Toh. 425)
(e) Ārali (Toh. 426-427)

(iii) Neither yogi nor yoginī-tantras
Nāma-saṅgiti
Kālacakra

Two parallel lines of development emerge out of the above. The evolution of deities (a) based on Light, the rays radiating from the samādhi of Śākyamuni, and (b) the predominance of arcane elements, the esoteric (guhya of Guhya-samāja), the yogi and yoginī groupings, culminating in a transcendence into Kālacakra and the non-aligned Nāma-saṅgiti which cannot be assigned to any deity from the text itself and was hence associated with several deities. The evolution of Light was from Amitābha ("Infinite Light"), to Rocana in the Avatamśakasutras, to Vairocana in the caryā-tantras, to Ekākṣara Cakravartin in the ritual texts, and to Mahāvairocana in the yoga-tantras. Amitābha sits on a peacock and developed in the North-West of India, and hence the Peacock Throne in Iran till recent times. Rocana is the Daibutsu at Nara as a political symbol. Vairocana pertains to amala-vijñāna and Mahāvairocana to śāśvata-jñāna. They form *the* pair of Maṇḍalas, the Twin Maṇḍala of Japanese Mantrayana (Shingon), and they are non-dual (advaya). The second part of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan (SHK) refers to the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, beginning with Mahāvairocana. In fact the second part is Advaya-sādhanā (colophon of ms. B on p. 70), pointing to the non-duality of the two Vairocanas.

The arcane tradition essentially centred around the Akṣobhya of Guhya-samāja of the mahāyoga-tantras. In the anuttara-tantras, Saṁvara/Cakrasaṁvara and Hevajra/Heruka were the main deities. Hevajra and Heruka have been used synonymously in the Niṣpanna-yogāvali (text p. 14 : Hevajra in lines 3, 20 but Heruka in lines 13, 17, Heruka-catuṣṭaya on page 20 line 2 but Hevajra-catuṣṭaya on p. 21 line 16). This was the most esoteric system. It was anuttara and niruttara, unsurpassable. A precise nomenclature of tantra constellations helps to specify Nihom's (485) assumption that two tantric constellations of Akṣobhya and Vairocana were practised by King Kṛtangara. The King did not follow the cycles of Saṁvara and Hevajra.

Jaka Dolog : name and function. The name Jaka Dolog has been translated as Doddy Fatty (Hall 1968 : 73). Jaka in Javanese means 'hoofdperson : principal or central figure', and dolog means 'plump'. I am inclined to see in Jaka, the Sanskrit *yakṣa*, Pali *yakkha*, Prakrit *jakkha*. The yakṣas were nagara-devatās, city-deities and were represented as fatty statues. Jaka Dolog could have been the Deity of Unified Java, yakṣa of the Four Dvīpas (Compare *caturdvīp-eśvaro* in verse 10 of the inscription). Kern (1910 : 187) has interpreted it as an image of Mahākṣobhya and Poerbatjaraka (1922 : 426) follows him. The inscription says that it was consecrated a second time by the King at Wurara cemetry, according to

Mahākṣobhya (*mahākṣobhy-ānurūpatah*) rise, at an auspicious moment, for the well-being of the people, of his family, because the country was united (*kṣity-ekībhāva-kāraṇāt*). The second consecration was a thanks-giving that the country had remained united, a political feat achieved by the father of the King. It points to a fair likelihood that the image was conceived of as a nagara-devatā, a symbol of national unity, and jaka carries these reminiscences. What is the meaning of *Mahākṣobhy-ānurūpataḥ* ? The word Mahākṣobhya is not attested anywhere in the Sanskrit, Tibetan or Japanese traditions. There are several forms of Akṣobhya : as the simplest form he is one of the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu : two-armed and touches the earth (bhūmisparśa mudrā). In fact the Five Buddhas represent the five stages of Enlightenment :

Akṣobhya	a firm unshakable resolve to achieve enlightenment
Ratnasambhava	the emergence (sambhava) of mind for potential light/illumination symbolised by a jewel (ratna).
Amitābha	the infinite light is attained through samādhi, and hence in samādhi-mudrā
Amoghasiddhi	siddhi accomplished as the summum of tantras.
Mahāvairocana	the perfect (agrī) Enlightenment (bodhi) represented by the bodhyagrī mudrā.

Akṣobhya is imperturbable, unshakable, the abiding and lasting, the unfailing and unalterable, the enduring forever, the prime permanence. All this was related to the land, the Earth, in the earth-touching (bhūmi-sparśa) mudrā. It well correlates to the abiding unity of the land (bhūmi), the nation. The Earth-Goddess emerges at the feet of Harihara who blesses the king and queen for the continuing stability of their dominions (Pal 1975 : 66 pl. 9). It seems that the Jaka Dolog is an image of Akṣobhya, conceived of as the permanent unity of the country, and Mahākṣobhya represents the esoteric system of the Guhyasamāja, which is a mahāyoga-tantra. The word mahā was prefixed to more evolved forms of deities in the continuing processes of Buddhist theogony : e.g. Pratisarā became Mahāpratisarā. The first verse of the inscription reads *Tathāgataṁ. . .sarva-skandh-ātiguhya-stham*. The adjective *atiguhya* stands for Guhya-samāja, also termed Tathāgata-guhyaka. As an epithet of Tathāgata it defines the system. The earlier image of Akṣobhya was re-consecrated according to the esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya (*Mahākṣobhy-ānurūpataḥ*), as Akṣobhya was a favourite deity of Kṛtanagara.

Several instances of statues dedicated to the stability of the state can be cited. In the classical Hindi-Buddhist world, an integral interdependence bound a sovereign state and sanctifying scriptures. The state found revitalising syntheses in spiritual manifestations. Buddhist rites stabilised emperium in China and Japan.

As early as A.D. 402-409, Kumārajīva translated the Kārumikarāja-sūtra, a sūtra for the protection of the country by benevolent kings. Ceremonies of this sūtra were national events in Japan from the seventh century onwards (Visser 1935 : 13). In A.D. 746 Emperor Shomu ordered it "to be expounded for the strength and maintenance of the dynasty, the rest of the State, and the welfare of the people" (Visser 1935:117). During the T'ang dyansty Buddhist sūtras were used for "the benefit and advantage of the state" (Ch'en 1964:218). The Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa (T 1247) by Amoghavajra, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdom', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country.

In A. D. 587 Prince Shotoku built the Shitennōji Temple at Osaka in honour of the Four Lokapālas to overcome the rival Mononobe and Nakatome clans (Matsunaga 1969 : 40 n. 102). In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin or Ekākṣara Cakravartī is a form of Vairocana who is identical with the Vairocana described in the Kawi text Sang Hyang Nāgabāyusūtra (Bosch 1929 : 131). The Japanese emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A. D. 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*daibutsu*) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an "apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state" (Kobayashi 1975 : 22), as "an especially valuable political and religious symbol" (Kobayashi 1975 : 25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness : it was a 'Grand National Temple'. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Kyoto in A. D. 794, the Toji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972 : 130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kobo daishi himself, the great master who introduced Mantiayana Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyo-o-gokoku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state', which popularly came to be known as the Toji (To = east, ji = temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate.

Observations on the Inscription

In the second verse, the reading is *anvatas sarvasiddhiṁ vā vande 'ham.* The first word *anvataḥ* can be *antataḥ* in apodosis to *ādav* in verse I. Firstly I pay homage to the Tathāgata who is an embodiment of jñāna and finally (*antataḥ*). I salute Sarvasiddhi, that is Amoghasiddhi. Amoghasiddhi is the final of the Five Buddhas in the 22nd chapter of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra as well as in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Tattva-saṅgraha. The final part of the Tattva-saṅgraha is devoted to all kinds of transcendent and worldly siddhis.

The name Jāṅgala in verse 6 reminds of Kuru-jāṅgala, north-west of Hastināpura. It was included in Kurukṣetra. Pañjalu brings to mind Pāñcāla, originally north and west of Delhi. South Pāñcāla was the kingdom of King Drupada whose daughter Draupadī was married to the Pāṇḍavas. Verse 7 begins *dina-yasmāt* (Kern, but Krom reads *kintu yasmāt*). If Kern's reading *dina yasmāt* is accepted it would mean "from the day (*dināt*) "Viṣṇuvardhana ruled the land, the country was united, and now his son could devote his energies to the promotion of dharma and for stabilising the gains of his father (verse 9), and whereas (*yathaiva*) he was engaged in the restoration of religious foundations, he reconsecrated the image at Wurara cemetry. It was not a transfer but a simple re-dedication according to more powerful esoteric rites.

Nihom (488) translates *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅga* (verse 8) as "he who has a body diminished since birth", and continues to add : "This is certainly not the easiest reading". He arrives at this meaning on the basis of MW. who translates *pariśuddha* "cleaned, purified, pure, cleared of, paid; acquitted, discharged, MBh.; Kav.; Pur.; (ifc) diminished by, that from which a part has been taken away, MBh". In Sanskrit the root *śudh* means "to pay, to clear (debts)". This has been taken from PW : *saḍ-bhāga pariśuddha* "von dem das sechstel (für den Fürstan) abgezogen ist" MBh. 13.5550. It refers to the fact that the sixth part due to the state as tax has been deducted. It is a specific term of state revenue and does not apply to the body. The verse in the MBh. 13.113.16 (Pune ed.) reads :

saḍ-bhāga-pariśuddhaṁ ca kṛṣer bhāgam upārjitam/
vaiśyo dadad dvijātibhyaḥ pāpebhyaḥ parimucyate//

A vaiśya who donates to brāhmaṇas, from earned agricultural income after the due sixth part has been paid as state revenue, is absolved of sins. The income donated has to be pure to earn merit. Thus the word *pariśuddha* can *never* mean that Viṣṇuvardhana was "physically compromised". The virtuous qualities of King Viṣṇuvardhana are lauded : he was of pious inclination since birth, kind, dedicated to dharma, and moreover a joy to kings by his might and prowess in uniting the Land that pleased the people; by ushering in an era of peace and prosperity. Just as father Viṣṇuvardhana was innately pure and pious, so was his son Kṛtanagara by virtue of his knowledge : *jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅgaḥ*. Kṛtanagara had undergone consecrations and the luminosity of knowledge had made him devout and dedicated to dharma. The words *pariśuddhāṅga* and *viśuddhāṅga* applied to father and son stress their fervent devotion, dedication and commitment to national unification and its stabilisation through cosmic powers of dharma. The word *aṅga* in both the places (verses 8, 12) does not mean 'a limb of the body', but refers to the components of dharma, and by *double entendre* refers to the five components of counsel (pañcāṅga mantra) : 1. *karmaṇām ārambhopāyaḥ* : means of commencing operations. 2. *puruṣa-dravya-sampad* : providing men and materials, 3. *deśa-kāla-vibhāga* : distribution of place and time, 4. *vipatti-pratikāra* : counteraction

of disaster, 5. *kārya-siddhi* : successful accomplishment. The word *anga* is *arya-aṣṭāṅgika-marga* is the eight-fold path pointed out by the Buddha. These eight divisions (*aṅga*) are *the virtuous life*. In the yoga-tantras, there are sixteen ways (*aṅgas*) to evoke each deity (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 236-7). The yoga-tantra with Vairocana of the Vajradhātu was prevalent in Indonesia since the eighth century. The tenor of the inscription is religious and the fervour of both father and son is emphasised. The context of *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅgu* and *jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅga* is spiritual and not physical, even from the linguistic point of view. Both the expressions emphasise the purity and peity in every way (*aṅga*), in every respect. Yoga is *aṣṭ-āṅga* or *ṣaḍ-aṅga*.

As the country had been unified, a nation-wide facelift and restoration of the religious establishments was undertaken to strengthen her integrity. As (*yathaiva*, verse 10) the restoration of the monuments (*jīrṇoddhāra-kriyā*, verse II) was in enthusiastic swing (*udyukta*), the King re-consecrated with devotion the image that he had earlier consecrated in person (*svayaṁ*) in the cemetry named Wurara. This re-consecration was done according to highly esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya who is the Akṣobhya of the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhya is the main deity of the mahāyoga-tantra group according to the classification of Atiśa (Lessing/Wayman 1968:100). In the centre of his pentapartite crown, in the central leaf of the crown on the middle head, there is generally a wheel (Getty 1928:144), a cakra of the cakravartin. King Kṛtanagara seems to have introduced advance esoteric empowerments and this occasioned the new consecration.

Nihom (485) has himself spoken of the "unfortunate choice of nomenclature which led to incorrect conclusions." The Tantras share common rituals and terms, like gaṇacakra, gaṇamaṇḍala, the trinity of kāya, vāk and citta, the two utpanna and sampanna kramana, śmaśāna, etc. These terms are a common heritage of the various classes of tantras. Variations in the same ritual or location are also possible : thus there are a number of eight śmaśāna and separate rites connected with them. Simple-looking terms like jñāna and vijñāna become highly specific and distinguish two Vairocanas in two maṇḍalas : vijñāna relates to vairocana of the Garbha maṇḍala and jñāna to Mahāvairocana of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The term *jīrṇoddhāra* is linked by Nihom specifically to Śaiva contexts. It is a general term and refers to repair and restoration in general. We have to be cautious in either simplification or specialisation. In the Jaka Dolog inscription it refers to restoration in general.

Kṛtanagara's initiation name is given in verse 12 as Jñāna-śiva-vajra : Śiva refers to Śaiva initiation and vajra to Vajrayanic/Tantric Buddhist empowerment. It is an un-ambiguous statement of the inter-denominational harmony practised by the king himself.

The name of the author of the inscription is Nādajña (verse 18) and not Nāda as given by Nihom throughout his paper (e.g. p. 486)

The reading of the second half of verse 19 according to Kern is :
śaka-kāla-sambaddha-Vajrajñānaśiva— — //19//

Kern emends :

śaka-kālas sambaddhe'yam Vajrajñānaśivāśrayaḥ //19//

Poerbatjaraka 1922 : 429 reads :

śaka-kālaṁ sambaddhatya tad-rājānujñayā punaḥ //19//
The reading is uncertain, and no conclusions can be based on it.

Observations on Nihom's Paper

Nihom points to Candi Jajawa as the original site of Jaka Dolog. To put the situation in a proper perspective it is imperative to identify the image at Candi Jajawa, and a reconsideration of the Nāgarakṛtāgama is essential. The Nāgarakṛtāgama is clear that Kṛtanagara installed a statue of Śiva in Candi Jajawa and its crown had an image of Akṣobhya which was of high sanctity because of its supernatural powers (*siddhi*) and it verily merged (*winaśa*) into the supreme (*parama*) absolute (*śūnyatattva*). The Candi Jajawa was a foundation (*kīrtti*) of Kṛtanagara who had erected it himself in person (*śarīra*) and this was the reason that both Śaiva and Buddhists worshipped here in the past regularly. The translation of these passages by Pigeaud and Nihom have to be corrected. Akṣobhya in the crown is a small image as can be seen clearly in the Padang Roco Heruka, which I am inclined to interpret as a representation of Kṛtanagara (Kempers 1959 : 87 pl. 259, Nihom 485). King Viṣṇuvardhana must have named his son Kṛtanagara as one who would usher in the golden age (*kṛta*-yuga) in the country (*nagara*). Kṛta-yuga or Satya-yuga is the first of the four ages of the world. King Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised in a Śaiva statue at Waleri and a Buddhist statue at Jajaghu. Jajaghu had the 13 deity maṇḍala of Amoghapāśa (Kempers 1959 : 85). Bronze plaques of this maṇḍala were made by King Kṛtanagara. It seems that while Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised as Amoghapāśa, his son Kṛtanagara was devoted to Akṣobhya. Continuing the liberal traditions of his father who was apotheosised both as a Śaiva and a Buddhist deity, he enshrined a Śiva at Candi Jajawa with an Akṣobhya in the crown. The image of Candi Jajawa is described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama 56. 1-57.4. The translation of Pigeaud needs to be redone. We reproduce below the text and translation of Pigeaud, followed by a revised interpretation :

56.1 ndan tiṅkah nikaṅ suḍarmma riṅ usāna rakwa kaṛṅo /
kīrtti śrı kṛtanāgara prabhū yuyut nareśwara sira /
tekwān rakwa sirāṅaḍiṣṭita śarīra tan hana waneh /
etunyaṅ dwaya śaiwa boḍḍa saṅ amūja ṅūni satatā //

56.2 cihnaṅ caṇḍi ri sor kaśaiwan apuck kaboddan i ruhur /
mwaṅ ri jro śiwawimbha śobhita haḷpnirāparimitā /
akṣobhyapratime ruhur mmakuṭa tan hanolyantikā /
saṅke siddinirān wināśa tuhu śūnyatatwaparamā //

57.1 hanā māta kaṛṅo tepek saṅ hyaṅ akṣobhyāwimbhan hilaṅ /
prakaśita pada pādukha śrī mahāgurwi rājaḍikā /
. . .

57.2 sira ta mahās atīrtha seccāmgil riṅ suḍarmma ḍaḷm /
. . .
yataṅ amuhara śālyani twasniraṅ sthāpakānaṅśaya /

57.3 muniwara mawarah sire tatwa saṅ hyaṅ suḍarmmeṅ daṅū /
mwaṅ i hananira saṅ hyaṅ akṣobhyawimbhātisūkṣme ruhur /
. . .

57.4 pilih anala śarārkka rakwa śakābde hyaṅ ārccan hilaṅ /
ri hilaṅira sināmber iṅ bajraghoṣa sucaṇḍi daḷm /

56.1. Now (as to) the arrangement of that eminent dharma (domain) there in olden times, so it is said, according to oral tradition :

it was a kīrti (foundation) of the Illustrious Kertanagara, the Prabhu, the Prince's great-grandfather was He.

In fact, so it said, He erected it Himself, there was nobody else.

Therefore were double, Shiwaites and Buddhists, the honoured ones who performed worship in the past, regularly.

56.2. The token is : the candi (monument) is, below, a Shiwaite place, with a top, a Buddhist place, high up,

and inside is a Shiwa-likeness, splendid, its majesty unmeasured.

An Akṣobhya-pratimā (statuette) was on high, a crown, not otherwise, small was that.

A consequence of His supernatural power was its disappearance, verily the Non-entity's supreme (manifestation).

57.1. There were now, one hears, at the time that the honoured holy Akṣobhya-likeness vanished,

renowned, the Feet of the pāduka (His Magnificence) the Illustrious Mahāguru (Grand Master) of Rājyādhika,

57.2. He now made a tour visiting holy places; with pleasure he sojourned in the eminent dharma (religious domain) in the Interior.

This now was causing irritation in the heart of the worshipful sthāpaka (abbot); having his doubts,

57.3. The excellent muni (sage), He told the state of the honoured holy eminent dharma (domain) in the past,

and His presence, of the honoured holy Akṣobhya-likeness, most subtle, high up.

56.1 It is clear that>Candi Jajawa was founded by Kṛtanagara, and he consecrated it himself *(rakwa sira)*, in person (*śarīra*) and not through anyone else. The consecration rites were performed by the king personally and not through a priest. The word *adhiṣṭhita* is not 'erected' (Pigeaud), but 'consecrated'. That is the reason, that both (*dvaya*) Śaiva priests and Buddhist monks performed worship constantly in the past. Pigeaud's 'double' is 'both', 'the honoured ones' is 'priests and monks'.

56.2 The translation of Pigeaud has missed both the sense and the spirit of the verse. It means : the distinctive speciality (*cihna*) of the Candi was its composite architecture; it was a Śaiva monument in the lower part and was Buddhist on top. Besides the architectural exterior, the temple, was composite also within (*mwaṅ ri jro*) the sanctum with a syncretic image of Śiva with an Akṣobhya in the crown. Kṛtanagara was a devotee of Śiva-Buddha, for we know that on passing away he attained the abode/paradise of Śiva-Buddha (*bhaṭāra śri Kṛtanagara*, *sira saṅ lina ri Śivabuddhālaya*, INI 38f (2a.5) 1296). The image of Śiva was splendid, its serenity beyond measure. Atop in its crown (*makuṭa*) was an image of Akṣobhya, without compare (?). Pigeaud's rendering "not otherwise, small was that" ill-fits the context. In his notes, Pigeaud amplifies "narrow, small, with the connotations : trifling, hidden". The image of Akṣobhya in the crown of Śiva must have been small as compared to the main image as well as hidden to enhance its esoteric effects. The intention of the poet is to bring on par both the Śaiva and Buddhist elements. So *tan hanolyantikā* should correspond in meaning to *halěp nirāparimita*. The newly discovered manuscripts have to be consulted to shed light on this phrase. Pigeaud's translation of the fourth quarter is misleading. The statuette of Akṣobhya though relatively small in size and hidden, but because of its supernaural powers (*siddhi*) it merged (*wināśa*) into the supreme (*parama*) Absolute (*śūnya-tattva*). The word 'disappearance' is completely out of context in *this* verse.

57.1. It is said that shortly thereafter when the image of Akṣobhya disappeared,virtuous and learned Mahāguru of Rājyādhika undertook a pilgrimage. 57.2. He came to the holy statue with great devotion. This caused irritation to the abbot of the Candi. 57.3. The Buddhist *munivara* told him the real facts about the holy domain in the past and about the presence of the image of Akṣobhya, most subtle, atop (in the crown of Śiva). 57.4. The Akṣobhya statue disappeared in 1331 and lightning struck the very interior of the candi.

The following facts emerge from the Nāgarakṛtāgama : Kṛtanagara created Candi Jajawa. Its central image was that of Śiva, with a powerful statuette of

Akṣobhya in the crown. Akṣobhya was the spiritual perfection or siddhi of the composite image. In course of time, the Akṣobhya disappeared from the crown, probably it was removed by the Śaiva abbots. The Buddhist Patriarch of Rajyādhika visited the place and was dazed by the vanishing of the statuette of Akṣobhya, and how could he pay homage to the statue of Śiva (*śivārca* 57.2),

As it vanished in 1331, the candi was violently struck by lightning, never to regain its former glory.

Nihom has tried to prove that Jaka Dolog was originally sited in Candi Jajawa and it was the vanished image. This misconception has arisen because of the Akṣobhya at this candi which was a small statuette in the crown, like the Akṣobhya in the Padang Roco image of Bhairava (Kempers 1959 : pl. 259). The large-sized Jaka Dolog cannot be equated with the Akṣobhya statuette, nor can it obviously be this Śiva image.

Nihom's (486) proposal that "a link must exist between the disappearance of the Jajawa image in 1331 and the displacement of the Jaka Dolog to Majapahit and its rededication in 1351", is not tenable. The statuette of Aṣobhya in the Jajawa image disappeared for ever. The Jaka Dolog, consecrated by King Kṛtanagara, must have become a symbol of the nation and was thus transferred to Majapahit. The original site of Jaka Dolog was Wurara, where it was consecrated by Kṛtanagara himself twice : the second time according to the esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya of mahāyoga-tantras.

Nihom's translation (487) of verses 10-13 has to be amended to the following, excluding the ornate expressions of kāvya style.

> Whereas the king of the Land, the son of Harivardhana (Viṣṇuvardhana) and Jayavardhanī, the lord of the four islands (continents), [and yet] a sage, endowed with all the Truths, the best of those who know the scriptures (dharmaśāstra), engaged in restoration projects, the promulgator of dharma, [with the initiation name] Jñāna-śiva-vajra, adorned by a jewelline mind, whose limbs are purified by the rays of knowledge, conversant in the knowledge of Enlightenment, consecrated the image with devotion which he had earlier consecrated himself (in person) in the cemetry named Wurara, according to the rites of Mahākṣobhya.

To read the triguhya of body, speech and mind, into verses 10-12 as a system is straining the words too far. The triguhya are not transformed into Mahākṣobhya. The words ātmaja and putra in verse 10 are used synonymously, without any extraordinary notions of descent, nor does father refer to Vajradhara as pointed out by Nihom (487,488). The repetition of putra in 10c is for metrical reasons. The inscription intends to point out that Kṛtanagara was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana

from his chief queen Jayavardhanī, and thus not only inherited the kingdom but also the nobility of both parents. It is common in Indian inscriptions to name the mother alongwith the father, specially when she comes from a distinguished and renowned royal family. Jayavardhanī is mentioned twice in verses 7 and 10 both as queen-consort and as royal mother, which means that she was from an eminent royal house and added lustre to her new family into which she was wedded. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta say : *mahārājādhirāja śrī-Candraguptaputrasya-Licchavī-dauhitrasya mahādevyāṁ Kumāradevyām utpannasya* "son of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta, grandson of the Licchavis, born of the Paramount Queen Kumāradevī" (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta* Kings 1981 : 214-215). Distinguished dynastic descent of the mother added to the quasi-divine splendour of the king and endowed him with greater substance of kingship, the effulgence of deep-rooted royalty. Nihom interprets *pitrādhiṣṭhāpanāya* (verse 9) as : "Viṣṇuvardhana united the land, in order to effect the firm establishment of (his) father(s)". I feel that this refers to Kṛtanagara who deposited the funeral remains of his father Viṣṇuvardhana at Candi Jago, as a part of ancestral duties.

The abhiṣeka name of Kṛtangara was Jñānabajreśvara (Nag. 43. 2c), Jñāneśvarabajra in the Singosari inscription of 1351 (P. 11), and Jñānaśivavajra in the Jaka Dolog inscription of Śaka 1211. The word jñānavajra occurs in an abhiṣeka in Guhyasamāja-tantra 15.98. As pointed out earlier Mahākṣobhya refers to the mahāyoga-tantra Guhyasamāja. The initiation of Kṛtangara must have been according to the rites of Guhyasamāja-tantra whose main deity is Akṣobhya. That is why he got the name Jñānavajreśvara 'the lord (īśvara) of jñānavajra' or one who has attained the full empowerment of the jñānavajra of Guhyasamāja. Here īśvara refers to attaining the powers, the endowments, the puissance of Tantra rites. Īśvara also refers to a king. The Singosari inscription changed the sequence of the words in the compound to Jñāneśvaravajra. As Īśvara also means Śiva, Jñān-eśvara-vajra became Jñāna-śiva-vajra in the Jaka Dolog inscription. It was political expedient to lay equal emphasis on the Śiva-Buddha nexus, for after all Kṛtanagara attained the Śivabuddhālaya Paradise on death.

Thy synthesis of varying traditions worked out by Nihom is :

Verse 10 : Kṛtanagara is Viṣṇu as identical in essence with his father Viṣṇuvardhana

Verse 11 : As teacher of the dharma identical with Buddha

Verse 12 : As fully conversant with the gnosis of enlightenment, he is Śiva.

Nihom (492) himself says that it "is so palpably adventitious that it cannot be taken seriously. Not so : association of the trivajra with Hindu divinities may be found in the indubitably Buddhist Guhyasamāja. The correlations are different, but the idea is the same". Kāya-vajra is Brahmā, vāg-vajra is Maheśvara, and

citta-vajra is Viṣṇu. Analogical thinking is ubiquitous in the tantras. Nihom's correlations are remarkably ingenious but apparently forced. The verses are simple statements and have no symbolic pretensions. Viṣṇuvardha in verse 10 can hardly refer to Viṣṇu, for he was apotheosised as a Śaiva statue at Weleri and a Buddhist image at Jago. Though his name begins with Viṣṇu, he is not associated with Viṣṇu, as Erlanga was, clearly evidenced by his portrait statue in the form of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Kempers 1959 : pl. 202). Verse II is identified with Buddha by Nihom, but it is too general. Nihom is working on the basis of the Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Nihom has overlooked that sambodhi in verse 12 pertains to Buddha and not to Śiva. So his correlation of verse 12 with Śiva is not tenable.

Verse 13 has the expression *Mahākṣobhyānurūpatāḥ*. Nihom to right is saying that the image was caused to be erected "in conformity with the essence (or, nature) of Mahākṣobhya. . . .In short, it [Jaka Dolog] is *not* Mahākṣobhya as such" (494). Firstly, the Jaka Dolog was consecrated earlier as an Akṣobhya. The inscription commemorates its second consecration according to the Guhyasamāja rites. Nihom's identification of Akṣobhya with Viṣnu is far-fetched in the present context. It rests on Viṣṇu being the first element in the name of Kṛtanagara's father Viṣṇuvardhana and Kṛtanagara is his "spiritual progeny (*ātmaja*)" (488) : *ātmaja* from *ātmā* "spirit, soul". Association of ideas leads to wild conclusions.

Nihom proposes "that Jaka Dolog is the reflection, call it a portrait statue if one will, of Kertanagara as Śiva-Amoghasiddhi erected as a material reflex of the ineffable Mahākṣobhya" (494). Jaka Dolog was consecrated by Kṛtanagara himself. Portrait statues are done after the passing away of the person depicted. Hence it cannot be a portrait-statue. The Jaka Dolog is not a Śiva-Amoghasiddhi : it has no third eye, characteristic of Śiva. Amoghasiddhi has the right hand in abhaya, but Jaka Dolog is in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā characteristic of Akṣobhya. The philosophical exposition of Nihom mystifies but is hardly on solid ground.

Nihom derives Wurara from hypothetical *wruḍa>wrura>wurara* and correlates it to Gahvara one of the eight cemetries in Tantric rites. The eight are a group and are not taken in isolation. The deity of Gahvara is Yama : Wurara cannot be Gahvara, because Akṣobhya has been invoked. Wurara seems to be the proper name of the place where the cemetery was situated.

Nihom says (495) that "Bhaṭāra Śivabuddha is of course the abhiṣeka name for Kértanagara in the Pararat on 18.15-16 : *sirāji Kértanagara sira añjénéṅ prabhu abhiṣeka bhaṭāra Śivabuddha*". It is better to interpret the passage as : "Kṛtanagara performed his royal consecration with Śivabuddha rites". *Jénéṅ* "being in function, reign, being established" (Zoetmulder 739a).

Nihom (495) takes the Jajawa image described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama to be Jaka Dolog. The Jajawa image was of Śiva with a statuette of Akṣobhya in the crown. The Jaka Dolog does not correspond to this description as already indicated. The identity of the two images cannot be established, and thereby the original site of Jaka Dolog cannot be Candi Jajawa. The three words *vimba/ bimba* 'image', *arca* 'statue' and *pratima* 'likeness" are not separate semantemes : the three are synonyms.

Nihom (495) translates *sirāndhiṣṭhita śarīra tan hana waneh* (Nāg. 56. Ic) "he magically estabished a physical reflex of himself, no one else". The correct rendering is : "he consecrated it in person and no one else", and that is why both the Śaivas and Buddhists always worshipped the image, in deference to the deep reverence done to it by the King himself. In the next verse 57.2 Nihom has inserted the concepts of 'mundanely' and transcendentally in the translation. They do not occur in the original verse of the Nāgarakṛtāgama. Nihom translates : "The mark of the shrine is that : mundanely, it is a Śaivite sanctuary, transcendentally, it has a summit which is a Buddhist sanctuary". The correct translation will be : "The special feature of the candi is that its lower part is Śaiva, while its summit portion is Buddhist". This refers to its mixed architecture, which must have been evolved specially because of the King's predilection. Just as the statue within is Śaiva crowned with a Buddhist Akṣobhya, likewise is the architecture Śaiva below and Buddhist above. Both the without and the within were equally Śaiva-Buddhist. Nihom translates the second half as : "The likeness of Akṣobhya transcendentally forms the high point, no confusion is there at all. Because of its perfection in that it disappeared (the likeness) is veritably the supreme, the truth which is void." Again 'transcendentally' is unwarranted by the OJ. wording. *Ruhur makuṭa* has been mistranslated 'high point', while it clearly describes the image as having an Akṣobhya in the crown. The fourth quarter in Nihom is mystifying; we have translated it above.

Nihom (495) seems to agree with Bosch (1918b) that the replica of the Jaka Dolog found in Malang, was a mortuary statue of Kṛtanagara in Sagala. Bosch bases himself on Nāg 43.6a. Nihom (497) places the replica image in Bureng-Wendit and emends the reading *ring sākgala* to *ring sāgara*, and adds that we should await the publication of newly discovered manuscripts of the Nāg. The word *Sākgala* corresponds to the Indian Śākala the capital of Madra-deśa in the Mahābhārata 2.32. The city of Sāgala in the kingdom of Madda (Madra) is known from the Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka (Chalmers 1895 : 4.144). The town of Sāgala is described in Milindapañha (ed. V. Trenckner 1f.). Sākgala in Nāg. is the name of a city, which demands identification. The image instituted at Sākgala is described in Nāg. 43.6 :

lāwan riṅ sākgala pratiṣṭā jināwimbhātyanta riṅ śobhitā /
tkwan nārdḍanarsewari mwaṅ ika saṅ cri bajradewy āpupul /

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CONTENTS

C. E. BOSWORTH, A Turco-Mongol Practice amongst the Early Ghaznavids? . . . 237
SIR GERARD CLAUSON, The Muḥabbat-Nāma of Xwārazmī . . . 241
GERHARD DOERFER, Zur Bezeichnung der Westtürken . . . 256
LOKESH CHANDRA, The Life and Works of Ḥjam-Dbyaṅs-Bzhad-Pa 264
KAMIL SEDLÁČEK, Existierte ein Lautgesetz in zusammengesetzten Anlauten des Proto-Sino-Tibetischen? . . . 270
RUDOLF LOEWENTHAL, Russian Contributions to the History of Islam in China . . . 312
REVIEWS . . . 316

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ḤJAM-DBYAṄS-BZHAD-PA

by

LOKESH CHANDRA

New Delhi

Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I is well known for his masterly manuals of study (*yig-cha*) which are highly esteemed among the Gelukpa. These manuals form the academic curricula in the universities of Tibet (including Kham and Amdo), Inner and Outer Mongolia, Buryats, Kalmuks and other regions inhabited by the Mongols. They go by the name of *Sgo-maṅ yig-cha*, and embrace every branch of Buddhist philosophy. The vast geographic expanse of the study of the manuals of the great Master entitle him to a unique position in the Lamaist world. The present short note intends to outline a biographic sketch of the saint-scholar and to give a survey of his works.

From a short life-sketch, which has been very kindly sent to me by Academician Dr. Rinchen of Ulanbator, we learn that Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I[1] Ṅag-dbaṅ-brtson-ḥgrus dpal-bzaṅ-po was born in the 22nd Earth-Mouse year of the eleventh rab-byuṅ cycle (1648 A.D.) in the area Mdo-smad Rgaṅ-gyaḥi-ltiṅ-riṅ (*sic*). His father was Dpal-śul-kha-ḥdal-dpaḥ-ḥbum-rgyal (*sic*) and his mother's name was Thar-mo-byams. At the age of seven, he studied the alphabet with his uncle

[1] See Günther Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig, 1958), pp. 288-89; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 260 n. 234. J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions* (Rome, 1956), p. 39-41 gives the biography from Chinese sources.

The Second Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa was Dkon-mchog-ḥjigs-med-dbaṅ-po-ye-śes-brtson-ḥgrus-grags-paḥi-sde-dpal-bzaṅ-po. He is known by his short title 'Kun-mkhyen sku bar-ba' (Kun-mkhyen *sarvajña* is the usual appellation of the Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa incarnations). His date is A.D. 1728-1791: "The Author of the Hor chos ḥbyuṅ" by G. N. de Roerich, *JRAS*, 1946, p. 194. His works are listed by Kloṅ-rdol in his *Bkaḥ-gdams-pa daṅ dge-lugs bla-ma rag-rim-gyi gsuṅ-ḥbum mtshan-tho* ('A catalogue of the works of Kadampa and Gelukpa Lamas': *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism*, hereafter referred to as *TWB* Sendai 1953, no. 6555). See Lokesh Chandra, "The Authors of Sumbums", *IIJ*., II (1958), p. 120 no. 42. A complete list of his works will appear in the forthcoming, Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

bhikṣu Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, and within a short time he mastered reading and writing. At the age of thirteen, he become a pravrajita under Vinayadhara Ye-śes-rgya-mtsho. He took the vows of a śramaṇera (*dge-tshul*) the same scholar. He kept his vows assiduously as if they were the apple of his eye (*mig-ḥbras ltar bsruṅ*). At the age of 21, in the Ape year (1668 A.D.) he proceded to Tibet for his studies. He paid obeisance to the two Jo-bo at Lhasa. He had audience with the Panchen Lama Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, the Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho and other eminent gurus. He took his final vows of a śramaṇera (*dge-tshul*) with the ācārya of Sgo-maṅ college of the Drepung Monastery. In that very year he got admitted into the sacred Sgo-maṅ College and devoted himself assiduously to his studies. Attaining the 26th year, he went to Gsaṅ-phu for his degree of Dkaḥ-bcu. At the age of 27 he got his full ordination (*bsñen-par-rdzogs-pa 'upasampanna'*) from the Great Fifth (Dalai Lama) and became a Vinayapati. From his 29th year he entered the Smad-rgyud College and sat at the feet of eminent masters like Ācārya Blo-gros-rgya-mtsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lcaṅ-skya Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-ldan,[2] Rgyud-chen Dkon-mchog-yar-ḥphel. He heard their discourses on the Sūtras and Tantras and became an unsurpassed scholar. From the age of 33 to 55 he sat in meditation in the Dge-ḥphel ri-khrod, a cave near Drepung, and attained siddhi. At 53, in the Iron-Dragon year (1700 A.D.) he came to the See of Holy Sgo-maṅ. He led this college to fame. At the age of 60 he retired from this position. At the age of 62 he returned to his country Mdo-smad with an idea of constructing a new monastery over there. The following year he got the title of *Erdeni nom-un qaγan* and a seal from the Fifth Dalai Lama. In that very year he constructed a new monastery at a place called Bkra-śis-ḥkhyil. A donor gave him a square felt tent (*phyiṅ-gur gru-bzhi*) in which 800 people could congregate. He made it an assembly hall. More than 300 disciples gathered to hear the dharma. He made Dkaḥ-bcu-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-bkra-śis the abbot of the grva-tshaṅ. At the age of 69 he opened a Tantra College at Bkra-śis-ḥkhyil. At the age of 73 he got the title of *Bstan-pa-ḥdzin-ciṅ-skyoṅ-bar-byed-paḥi*[3] *Erdeni nom-un qaγan* and a Golden Seal from Emperor K'ang-hsi (*Bde-skyid*). From his birth to his nirvāṇa he toiled for the welfare of beings of the universe. He wrote 15 pothis which are a nectarine subsistence for the learned in China, Mongolia and Tibet. At the age of 74, in the Iron-Ox year of the 12th rab-byuṅ (1721 A.D.) he attained nirvāṇa.

[2] His list of works will also appear in Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.
[3] The Chinese title is given in J. R. Rock, *ibid.*, p. 39.

Now we give a selective survey of the *gsuṅ-ḥbum* or collected works of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I. The full titles in Tibetan will appear in the author's forthcoming work *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

The first pothi (*KA*) of his *opera omnia* begins with his short versified biography in 7 folios. It continues with a commentary on the vision (*mnal-lam*) of the great Tsoṅ-kha-pa (3 f.), a guide catalogue of the famous Dgaḥ-ldan monastery (14 f.), tables of Tibetan years (11 f.), astrological tables (26 f.), gsol-ḥdebs of lamas (23 f.), stotras of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, yi-dam, and dharmapālas (20 f.), introduction to the various siddhāntas (*grub-mthaḥ*). Hence come two kāvya works of 3 and 30 folios respectively. There are works on pratiṣṭhā (*rab-gnas*) in 94 and 9 folios, the eight caityas (4 f.), earth-ritual (13 f.), Nāgeśvararāja (7, 2 f.), the insertion of dhāraṇīs in images (11 f. with a supplement of 7 folios). A treatise on Sanskrit (*legs-sbyar*) (8 f.) is followed by two introductories to metrics (2f., 5f.). Then a fairly big commentary (*ṭī-kā-chen*) on the Kalāpa (82f.), question-answers of the great Lotsaba Blo-bzaṅ-ḥod-zer (3 f.), the crucial points of the four grammatical works (*sgra-mdo chen-po bzhi*, perhaps Kalāpa, Cāndra, Sārasvata and Pāṇini, 3f.) and a résumé on differentiating the three genders (5 f.). The first volume closes with a short collection of blessings (8 f.).

Pothi 2 (*KHA*) opens with essential points regarding the guruyoga called Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma[4] (6f.) and continues with seven treatises on the different aspects of the Guhyasamāja like utpannakrama (55 f.), sampannakrama (14 f., 15 f.), and pañcakrama (13 f.). The utpannakrama of Śaṁvara is dealt with in 11 folios. Six works on Vajrabhairava include his sampannakrama (34 f.), abhisamaya (5 f.), sevāsādhana (22 f.). Propitiation of the śānta and krodha Mañjuśrī (Vajrabhairava is the wrathful aspect of Mañjuśrī, TWB. no. 6004) is dealt in three treatises (29, 20 and 7 f.). The volume ends with question-answers of Blo-gros-rgya-mtsho (2f.) and an exposition of *Ḥpho-badaṅ groṅ-ḥjug* (the translation of a soul, by the efficacy of charms, from one body to another just vacated by death – S. C. Das, *Tib. Eng. Dict.* p. 849 b).

In pothi 3 (*GA*) the first work is on *chos-ḥkhor* (9 f.), followed by the method of guru-worship (23 f.), a guide to the bodhipatha (51 f.), question-answers to the big and small Lam-rim (24 f.), instructions for the triśaraṇagamana (8 f.), exposition of abhiṣeka (*dbaṅ*) (14 f.), supplement on the ekavīra Vajrabhairava (10 f.), supplement to Bari-lotsaba's

[4] For the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma see *TWB*. 5827, 6056, 6064, 6106-7, 6219, 6263, 6432, 6989, 6998, 7021, esp. 6105 and 6261.

centuple abhiṣeka (*brgya-rtsa*)[5] (36 f.), comments on the anujñā (*rjes-gnaṅ*) of Narthang brgya-rtsa (5 f.),[5] vidhi for Vaiśravaṇa, etc. (53 f.), text on the abhisamaya and anujñā of Sgrub-thabs-rgya-mtsho "Ocean of Sādhanas" (19 f.), Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-rin-chen-tshaṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mtsho's reply to a question of the author (8 f.), commentary on a question-answer of Red-mdaḥ-ba[6] (15 f.), question-answer (10 f.), and an elucidation of jātiparivarta/saṅkrānti (*ḥpho-ba*, cf. TWB. 5252, 5961) (7 f.). Hence follow works on logic: Dkar-dmar (56 f.),[7] elucidation of elementary logic (*bsdus grva*) (28 f.), a short exposition of the Prāsaṅgika school (?, 10 f.), a short elucidation of the difficult points of the second chapter of the Pramāṇavārtika (6 f.), introduction to the siddhāntas (*grub-paḥi-mthaḥ*), the siddhāntas of the Mādhyamikas (*mthaḥ-ḥbral*, cf. TWB. 5548.11), introduction to 108 topics in the Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā (4 f., cf. TWB. 6542), some technical terms (6 f., cf. TWB. 6545).[8]

Pothi 4 (*ṄA*) begins with a collection of the available opuscules giving the gsan-yig[8] of the author (60 f.). The next work gives the author's *gsan-yig* of the Kanjur sūtras (34 f.), followed by his *thob-yig* of the tantras (46 f.). The method of painting the thaṅkas (*ras-bris*) of Tsoṅ-kha-pa (26 f.), a commentary on the Lam-rim (71 f.), miscellaneous writings (15 f.), maxims (13 f.), on Prātimokṣa (*So-thar*, 7 f.), exposition of bali (35 f.), (,? 4 f.), glosses on Darpaṇācārya's Raktayamārijīvatattvopadeśa (Tanjur, Tohoku no. 2037) (5 f.), explanations of the Dohakośa (14 f.) and of pratiṣṭhā (4 f.), sādhana of iṣṭadevatā (*yi-dam*, 87f.), offerings (*gsol-mchod*) to Guardians of the Law (*bstan-sruṅ*) (22f.), praṇidhāna and āśīrvacana of Vajrapāṇi (4 f.).

Pothi 5 (*CA*) contains only the long chos-ḥbyuṅ of Vajrabhairava in 417 folios.

With pothi 6 (*CHA*) we come to the *yig-cha* or obligatory study manuals,[9] which have made our author so very famous. This pothi contains the detailed consideration of the Vinaya in two parts, the first

[5] For Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa see *TWB*. 5618 (4), (38), for Mitra's brgya-rtsa *TWB*. 6227, 6231, Blo-sbyoṅ glegs-bam brgya-rtsa *TWB*. 6969.

[6] He was the guru of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, A. Ferrari, L. Petech, H. Richardson, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Tibet* (Rome, 1958), p. 127 note 264.

[7] A. Vostrikov, "Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contributions to the Bibliography of Tibet", *BSOS*, VIII (1935), p. 61; G. Tucci, *ibid*., p. 137.

[8] The *gsan-yig* are 'a record of what Buddhist doctrines he learnt from what teachers' (*TWB*. 5825). It is the same as *thob-yig*, which class is described in G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 124 and A. Wayman, *Outline of the Thob-yig Gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, in *Indo-Asian Studies*, edited by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, I (New Delhi, 1961), p. 109ff.

[9] See Vostrikov, p. 73.

part (*gzhi stod*) in 316 folios and the second (*gzhi smad*) in 158 folios.

Pothi 7 (*JA*) contains the critical study (*mthaḥ-dpyod*)[10] of the 3 chapters of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (I chapter 290 f., II chapter 43 f., III chapter 24 f.). The remaining chapters are continued in pothi 8 (*ÑA*) (IV chapter 113 f., V chapter 38 f., VI chapter 6 f., VII chapter 7 f., VIII chapter 102 f. + 68 f. – in the works of Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan also the eighth chapter is commented upon in two parts: TWB. 6813 and 6814).

Pothi 9 (*TA*) is solely devoted to the critical exposition of Madhyamakāvatāra in 442 folios.

Pothi 10 (*THA*) contains a critical study, alongwith interpretations of words and meanings (*tshig don mthaḥ dpyod*)[11] of the eight chapters of the Abhidharmakoṣa (I chapter 107 f., II chapter 102 f., III chapter 122 f., IV chapter 127 f., V chapter 61 f., VI chapter 60 f., VII chapter 42 f., VIII chapter 45 f.).

Pothi 11 (*DA*) contains a comprehensive critical study of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's celebrated *Draṅ-ṅes*[11] (= TWB. 6831) in 143 folios, followed by a synopsis in 22 folios. Two critical studies on pratītyasamutpāda (58 f., 17 f.), an exposition of the Prasannapadā? (*Tshig gsal*) (69 f.), a general introduction to Vinaya (120 f.) and a survey of the Four Truths (*bden bzhi*) (16 f.) brings the volume to a close.

Pothi 12 (*NA*) contains an elucidation of the *bsam-gzugs* (*caturdhyānas* of *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpyadhātu*, cf. TWB. 5417, 6823) (14 f., 28 f.), *thos bsam sgom gsum* (19 f.), concise explanation of *Draṅ-ṅes*[12] (42 f.).

Pothi 13 (*PA*) contains a critical exposition of the Pramāṇavārtika (I Chapter 305 f., II Chapter 113 f., III Chapter 17 f.).

Pothi 14 (*PHA*) is devoted to the siddhāntas (*grub-paḥi-mthaḥ*). The first is a short introduction to the subject in 16 folios, followed by the voluminous *Grub-mthaḥ-chen-mo*[13] in two parts of 290 and 240 folios each.

The last pothi 15 (*BA*) begins with a guruyoga (16 f.), esoteric biographical[14] notes, etc. (5 f., 4 f., 6 f.), stotra of *rgyud chen* (?, 5 f.) and Vinaya rites (20 f.). Then we have mtshan-ñid works: Seventy Topics (of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra) (22 f.), *Rtags rigs* (63 f.), *Blo-rigs*[15] (36 f.), *bsdus chen* (56 f.), the *rtsa chig* (11 f.). Now comes the lexicographical section:

[10] For the detailed definition of *mthaḥ-dpyod* see Vostrikov, p. 73.

[11] See Vostrikov, p. 72-73.

[12] *Draṅ-ṅes* is no. 5396 of *TWB*. It gave rise to an enormous commentarial literature (Vostrikov, p. 63).

[13] See Vostrikov, p. 73.

[14] For *gsaṅ-baḥi-rnam-thar*, "secret biography, an account of mystical experiences and visions" see A. Ferrari, *ibid.*, introd. xix.

[15] See extracts in Stcherbatsky, *Indian Logic*, II, p. 323 ff.

a gloss on the Tibetan lexicon *Ṅag sgron*[16] (42 f.), Amarakośa (*Mṅon-brjod Ḥchi-med-mdzod*, 112 f. – here there is no indication of the nature of the work). The collected works end with a tract on monastic regulations (*bcaḥ-yig*, 4 f.).

The above collected works are detailed according to a xylographed dkar-chag from the library of the Ganden Monastery at Ulanbator (Mongolia). It was photographed by the author in 1957. The gsuṅ-ḥbum is also described by Kloṅ-rdol in his *Bkaḥ-gdams-pa daṅ Dge-lugs bla-ma rag-rim-gyi gsuṅ-ḥbum mtshan-tho* (TWB. no. 6555, *RA* of his complete works), folios 19a line 5 to 20b line 4. Herein the titles are nicknames and their order does not seem to conform to a xylographed edition. The lists of Kloṅ-rdol, as a general rule, do not seem to follow any edition of the collected works treated, but present a very general survey.

[16] Ṅag-sgron is a Tibetan lexicon of Dpal-khaṅ lotsava. It has been duplicated in the cursive Tibetan script by the Freedom Press, Darjeeling under the title *Dpal-khaṅ lo-tsa-bas mdzad-paḥi Bod-kyi brdaḥi bye-brag gsal-bar-byed-pa Ṅag-gi-sgron-ma zhes-bya-baḥi don cuṅ-zad mchan-bur btags-pa Byis-pa-dgaḥ-baḥi mgur bzhugs-so.*

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MĀRA-VIJAYA-STOTRA
reconstructed from its Chinese transliteration

釋迦牟尼佛成道在菩提樹降魔讚

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MĀRA-VIJAYA-STOTRA

The Shih-chia-mu-ni-fo-ch'êng-tao-tsai-p'u-ti-shu-hsiang-mo-tsan or in its Japanese pronunciation Shakamuni-butsu-jōdōzai-bodaiju-gōma-san (T.941:vol.19.941, S.25.15, Z.1.2.5, Bagchi 2.638 no.28) is a transcription of a Sanskrit stotra to Śākyamuni Buddha, by an anonymous author. Its title indicates that it is a stotra(san) for performing homa (gōma) to the bodhi tree (bodai-ju). The original Sanskrit title is preserved at the end of the last stanza in the Chinese transliteration. Its transliterator into Chinese as well as the date are unknown. It is not found in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka catalogued by Nanjio. In the Taisho edition it is placed alongwith the works of Dānapala (?, Chin.Shih-hu, Jap.Segō) who worked in China from A.D. 982 to 1000. A study of the Chinese transliterations of Sanskrit texts by Dānapala and its comparison with the present stotra may help us to assign a probable authorship, though the imperfections in reading the Sanskrit as discerned by the transliteration hardly warrant us to ascribe it to the master: Dānapala.

The original Sanskrit manuscript must have been fairly faulty or it was read wrongly in a number of cases by the person transcribing it into Chinese. These misreadings can reveal the Indic script in which the original manuscript was written. The misreadings are noted below:

1b	nya for tya	1b	tun for taṁ
1c	muṅ for maṁ	2d	haṁ for bhuṁ
4a	to-du for ta-nuṁ	5a	yi for ya
5b	ru for ra(in sphurad-)	6a	ru for ra (in pāṇḍura-)
6d	tha for taiḥ	6d	gha for mpa
7a	bhi for bha	7c	bhi for nti

7d	kti for nti	8d	nān for nāḥ
9a	nan for nāḥ	9b	bhya for tya
9c	de for do	9c	laḥ for lān
10b	ti for ta(in śīta-)	10d	van for viḥ(in raviḥ)
11b	tṛ for nṛ (in nṛṇāṁ)	11d	pun-ṣma for pu-ṣpa
11d	tāṁ for tāḥ	12a	nṛ for tra
12c	ca for va (in śiva-)	12c	ṇai for ṇāṁ (in nṛṇāṁ)

The Chinese transliteration of stanza 6cd leads us to the presumption that the Sanskrit manuscript was faded and illegible and that the transliterator tried to make the best of it. The tentative reconstruction given is:

na madasthā vaśīkṛu nāgasutāḥ
śvasitaiḥ skhalitair api kampayitum//

But the fourth syllable should be short, which gives the reading <u>tava</u>.

In stanza 8, the Chinese transliteration has three miniscule characters after [redacted] which correspond to <u>lya</u>. This can be an alternate marginal or inserted reading from the original Sanskrit manuscript itself: <u>kalya-sukham</u> in which case <u>kalya</u> would correspond to <u>kalyāṇa</u>.

The corrected text is reproduced below in Devanagari letters:

जित-मार-कलिं जगदेकगुरुं सुर-यक्ष-महोरग-दैत्य-नतम् ।
चतु-सत्य-सुदेशित-मार्गमिमं गुण-मेघमहं प्रणमामि सदा ॥ १
भव-भीम-महोदधि-मध्य-गतं कृपणार्त्त-रवं समवेक्ष्य जनम् ।
परिमोचयितुं य इह प्रणिधिं प्रचकार विभुस्तमहं प्रणतः ॥ २
गिरिराज-निभं शरदिन्दु-श्रियं सुमुखं सुभुजं वर-रूप-धरम् ।
सुगतं गतमप्रतिमं सुगतं प्रणतोऽस्मि सदा जगदर्थकरम् ॥ ३

कनक-प्रभया परिपीत-तनुं वर-दुन्दुभि-तोयद-वल्गु-रुतम् ।
गज-हंस-विलम्बित-धीर-गतं शिरसा ऽभिनतो ऽस्मि गुणैक-निधिम् ॥ ४
तरुणार्क-समैश्चलैर्नयनैः स्फुरद्-उग्र-महाशनि-भीम-रवैः ।
नमुचि-प्रहरैरसि शक्तिधरैश् चलितो ऽसि विभो न हि कुविकृतैः ॥ ५
लवली-फल-पाण्डुर-कर्णपुटाः कुच-भार-विनामित-गात्र-लताः ।
न मदस्था वशीकुरु नागसुताः श्वसितैः स्खलितैरपि कम्पयितुम् ॥ ६
तरवः कुसुम-स्तबकाभरणा बहु-रत्न-सहस्र-चिताश्च नगाः ।
न तथाभिरतिं जनयन्ति सतां जनयन्ति यथा तव वीर गुणाः ॥ ७
स्फुट-चित्र-पदं बहु-युक्ति-युतं गमकं वचनं तव कर्ण-सुखम् ।
शुभ-मार्ग-फलं प्रसमीक्ष्य जना न शृणन्ति पुनः तारिते ऽन्यवचः ॥ ८
इति वः शरणं समवेक्ष्य जना न पतन्त्यपि कल्प-शतैर् निरये ।
विनिहत्य च दोष-रिपून् बहुलान् परियन्ति शुभं वर-मोक्ष-पुरम् ॥ ९
तव सौम्यतया ऽप्यभिभूतो ऽवनौ न विराजति शीतकरो गगने ।
तव काञ्चन-कुंकुम-सप्रभया प्रभया ऽभिहतो न विभाति रविः ॥ १०
तव नाथ शुभे वदनाम्बुरुहे नयन-भ्रमरा निपतन्ति नृणाम् ।
प्रतिबुद्ध-दले कमले विमले भ्रमरा इव पुष्प-शताकुलिताः ॥ ११

इति तोटक-मन्त्र-वरैरतुलैः परिकीर्त्य मया तव वर्ण-लवान् ।
यदुपार्जितमद्य शुभं विपुलं शिवमस्तु ततो भुवि देव-नृणाम् ॥ १२

॥ मार-विजय-स्तोत्रं समाप्तमिति ॥

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7

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गु ण मे ध म हे प्र ण मा मि स दा

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च तु स त्य सु दे शि त मा ग मि मं (मु)

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儞而以反 多平音 麼引 羅迦㖫一 惹誐禰引 迦虞喻二

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क न क प्र भ या प रि पी त त(तो) तं(रु)

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नतथा भिरतं जनयन्ति(भि) सतां
曩多他引鼻囉丼惹曩野鼻娑擔引

वदु रल सहस्र भिता श्च नगाः
嚩吽短聲羅怛曩合二娑賀娑囉合二唧跢引室左合二曩誐引

तरवः कुसुमस्त वका भ(भि) रगाः
多囉嚩無博反矩素麼娑多合二嚩迦引鼻囉拏引

惹ज 難ना(नान्) 那न 戍嚕合二श्रु 難上引नान् 帝ति 補बु 諾呼入नः 多त 哩रि 底反丁ते 引異 賀也反二合ह्य 嚩व 作呼入कः

秫反詩律श्रु 婆反蒲紺भं 麼引मा 囉誐合二र्ग 頗फ 藍ल 鉢囉合二प्र 娑स 彌引मी 乞史也合三क्ष्य

誐ग 麼म 劍कं 嚩व 左च 難नं 多त 嚩व 迦क 囉挐合二र्ण [redacted] 反里 藥 素सु 欠खं

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वि नि ह त्य च दे (दे) म रि पुन् व हु लान् (ळा)

曩跛多毗葉反二合 比羯臘波合二 捨戴引 儞囉曳引

न प त त्य (भ्या) पि क ल्प श तैः नि र ये

伊底嚩捨囉赦娑麼吠引 乞史也合三 惹難上

इ ति वः श र णं स म वे क्ष्य ज ना (नान्)

鉢囉(合二)娑野(引)鼻賀婀(引)曩尾娑(引)底囉舛

प्र भा या मि ह तो न वि श्वा ति र विः (वत्)

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न वि रा ज ति श्री त (ति) क रो ग ग ने

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त व सौ म्य त या प्य मि भू त व

भ्र म रा इ व पु ष्य(कृष्ण) श ता कु लि ताः(तां)

婆囉合二 麼囉引 伊嚩本灑麼合二 捨跢引 矩里擔引

प्र ति बु द्ध द ले क म ले वि म ले

鉢囉合二 底沒馱娜黎二 迦麼黎二 尾麼黎引

न य न भ्र म रा नि प ह्रि ति ट(टि) णां

曩野曩婆嚂合二 麼囉引 儞跛多胝多哩合二 赧引去

त व ना थ शु मे व द नं बु रु हे

多嚩曩引 他秫反詩律 陛引 嚩娜難引 沒嚕傒引

麼囉尾若野娑姤反二合 怛囕合二 娑麼引 跛多合二 弭底

मा र वि ज य स्तो त्रं स मा प्त मि ति

始者麼娑覩合二 多姤引 步尾禰引 嚩涅哩合二 嬭引

शि(नि) व म स्तु त तो भु वि दे व ट गां(गा)

野耨播引 呰反而以 多麼儞也反二合 秫反同上 婆反蒲紺 尾補譬

य दु णात् जि त म घ श्रु भं वि दु लं

跛哩枳引 多也合二 麼野引 多嚩嚩反無鉢 囉拏合二 覽鑁

प रि णी(त्) त्य म या त व व र्ण ल वात्

伊底姤引 吒迦文涅哩合三 底嚩嚹引 囉覩歷入引

इ ति तो ट क मं त्र(त्रे) व रे र त्नैः

釋迦牟尼佛成道在菩提樹降魔讚

靈雲校本云　貞享四中春廿一一校了

淨嚴 四十九

The transliteration system of the Māra-vijaya-stotra

(r)ta 哆 tā 哆引 tāṁ 擔引 tāḥ 哆引 擔引 ti 底 胝 帝 tu 覩 tuṁ 頓

捺 引轉舌 ṇi 抳 ṇai 嬭引 ṇaṁ 拰 ta 多 多平音 怛 底 姤

ṇa 拏 ṇan 難引上 ṇaṁ 拰去引 嬭引 ṇāḥ 拏引 拏引一 ṇār 捺 引轉[illegible]

ja 若 惹 ji 呰 而以反 爾 而以反 jaṁ 惹 子琰反 ṭa 吒 ṭā 吒引 ḍa 女去音

gu 虞 麌 gra 誐攞二合 gha 健 伽 ca 左 拶 ci 唧 汁 caḥ 作入呼

kṣya 乞史也三合 khaṁ 欠 ga 誐 儼 ga(r) 儉 gā 誐引 gāḥ 誐引 gi 儗

kṛ 訖哩二合 kaṁ 劍 kti 乞底二合 kṣa 乞叉二合

i 伊 ka 迦 劫 羯 ka(r) 建 kā 迦引 kāṁ 建引 kī(r) 枳引 ku 矩 知 姤 劫[illegible]反

nṛ 涅哩二合 ne 𡤤引 naiḥ 乃入引 naṁ 難 難上 naḥ 諾入呼

dhya 馱也 na 曩 那 暴 nā 曩引 曩 難上 難 nāṁ 難引 ni 儞 nu 訥

ddha 馱 dya 儞也反二合 dha 馱 dhi 地 dhiṁ 地反地寅 反地寅 dhī 地引

diṇ 儞反泥以 du 嬭 𡤤 訥 de 禰引 dai 禰引三 do 禰引 daṁ 旦

taḥ 多反都各 tha 他禿引 thā 他引 da 娜 捺 dar 達 dā 娜引

儞也二合 tra 怛囉二合 涅哩三合 tram 怛嚂二合

tna 怛曩二合 tya 䛮反丁烈 多也二合 毘葉反二合 婆也二合

tṛ try nṛ 多哩二合 to 底反丁異引 taiḥ 戴引 to 妬引 taṁ 擔 丼 頓 旦

ra 囉羅嚕 rā 囉引 囉 ri 哩 ru 嚕 ruṁ 噜 rū 嚕 rai 㘑引

ya 野藥拽也以 yan 延 yā 野引 yi 以 yu 欲 ye 曳引 yaṁ 琰

mu 母 me 銘引 mai 每引 mo 謨引 maṁ 蒙平一文 給 mya 麼也引二合

bhra 婆囉二合 婆嚂二合 ma 麼末 mā 麼引 麼 mi 弭 mī 彌引

bhī 鼻引 bhu 步 bhū 步引 bhe 陛引 bho 步引 bhaṁ 婆蒲紺反

ba/va 嚩 bi? 弭嚩二合 bu 沒 bha 婆 婆蒲紺反 鼻 bhā 婆引 bhī 鼻

pu 補本 pūn 奔 pta 跛多二合 pya 跛也文二合 pra 鉢囉二合 pha 頗

nti 乞底二合 鼻 ndu 娜嬾 pa 跛鉢 pār 播引 pāṁ 半 pi 比 pī 臂引

sau 賽引 skha 娑佉二合 sta 娑多二合 stu 娑覩二合 sto 娑妬二合反

śva 濕嚩二合 ṣa 灑 ṣpa 灑麼二合 sa 娑 sā 娑 si 悉 su 素

śī 勢引 施引 śu 秫詩律反 秫同上反 śca 室左二合 śru 戍嚕二合

ve 吠引 vaiḥ 吠入引無盃解反 vaṁ 鑁 vaḥ 嚩嚩無博反 śa 捨捺 śi 始

ḷpa 臘波二合 va 嚩嚩無鉢反 gu 渚 vān 鑁 vi 尾 viḥ 刎 vī 尾引

le 黎引 lai 㘑引 laiḥ 曆引入 laṁ 藍覽 ḷgu 攞麌二合

ṛṇa 囉拏二合 ṛha 囉曩二合 ḷa 攞覽 lān 礫 li 里 liṁ 嘍 lī 里引

rai 嚹引 raiḥ 㘑入引 ro 嚕引 raṁ 囕楞 rga 囉誐二合

hya 賀也反二合

hi 呬 hu 吽短 吽短聲 he 係引 ho 護引 護 haṁ 唅

sphu 娑普二合 smi 悉弭二合 sra 娑囉二合 ha 賀 郝入 hā 賀引

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PRAHA

A NEW INDONESIAN EPISODE OF THE MAHABHARATA-CYCLUS

Lokesh Chandra, Delhi

The Oriental Institute, Prague, has an Indonesian *lontar* or palmleaf manuscript consisting of ten leaves protected by beautifully carved wooden boards.* It has no title. The text ends abruptly on the tenth folio, and in the absence of the colophon it is not possible to specify the title. It is written in the Balinese script. The language is "Kawi mudha". The rest of the first leaf has two interesting scenes. One depicts Kuntī and Pāṇḍu facing each other with a flower-pot in between. At the back of Pāṇḍu is Arjuna. The names are inscribed. The second scene shows Arjuna near the shell encasing Bhīma with the elephant Gajahsena using all his might to break open the shell. Here too the name of the elephant is written. The scene is laid in the forest which is delineated by the foliar designs around the shell and on the side of the elephant.

The text is in the three metres: Sinom, Smaradahana and Paṅkur. The first seven stanzas are in Sinom, stanzas 2—25 in Smaradahana, and 26—55 in Paṅkur. They are specified at the beginning of every group.

The ending of the stanzas can be located by the double daṇḍas in the lontar. We have serially numbered all the stanzas in the text. The numbers have been indicated in the translation. The text has been kept close to the lontar. The important mss. readings and corruptions have been noted. Scribal errors like the nasalised *iṅkaṅ* for *ikaṅ*, *dannawa* for *dānawa* have been corrected without being recorded in the footnotes. The interchange of short and long vowels, of the three sibilants, of the aspirates and nonaspirates, of cerebrals and dentals in Sanskrit words is a common phenomenon in Indonesian lontars and as much they have been left out in the present apparatus. Though the translation follows the original closely, it is not verbatim.**

Text

|| Sinom[1] ||

1. Wiṅkiṅ carita winarṇa ¦ Pnawa[2] ikaṅ[3] kawarṇi[4] ¦ Rājā Paṇḍu-dewa wastaneka[5] ¦ duk andrawe putra iki | anibari binuṅkus iki | iki maṅke nora mtu | karika sajroniṅ buṅkusan ¦ wus lawe tahun umurnika ¦ kantos kandrawe[6] rahi nuṅgal ||
2. rahine wastanira ¦ saṅ Pārtha[7] wastaneki[8] | Arjuna masih[9] ya[10] ¦ Arjuna aṅgawa

* The size of the MS. is 32,3×3,4 cm. Every leaf is numbered in the left upper corner of the verso. Every page has 4 lines. See the photographs. (Note of the editor.)

** I am grateful to Tjokorda Rai Sudhartha for his invaluable help in the translation of this text.

rakaneki ¦ anujeṅ alas Gondhamahi[11] | pinasah aṅkaneṅ riku | Arjuna añjajaga | wus umahaseṅ dunuṅ ¦ neṅakna polahe Arjuna ||

3. nagrī Batareta kawarṇaha | ngarane[12] punaṅ Yakṣi | nāmane ratuni ditya[13] | rājā Duloma[14] ikaṅ[3] nāmi || duk balane sineba iki | diniṅ[15] patih ira iku | nāma patih Pragalbha[16] | lawan ĕmbanne ṅawiji | nāmane ĕmban[17] Kĕpĕtmegha[18] ||

4. rājā Duloma[19] aṅandika "e Kĕpĕtmegha sireki || apa kuraṅan haneṅ jro pura" ¦ Kĕpĕtmegha umatur bhakti ¦ "siṅgih dewa śrī bhūpati | nora nana[20] kiraṅ sadudu | miwah kahula haneṅ jaba ¦ saṇḍaṅ-paṅan pĕpĕk sami | miwah bala dānawa haneṅ gyu sdaya[21] ||

5. nora lĕsu amamānisa[22] | buron kañcil katah sami | nora nana kiraṅ[23] sanuṅgal ¦ naṅiṅ sawiji kiraṅ gusti ¦ nora nana sariniṅ purī ¦ naṅiṅ andika duruṅ kayun[24] | aṅulati naṅ garwa[25] | saṅ nātha[26] aṅandika aris ¦ "e sira maṅke ĕmban[17] Kĕpĕtmegha[27] ||

6. mariṅ ĕndi[28] hana wārtā ¦ putraniṅ ratu kaṅ lwih ādi[28a] | Kĕpĕtmegha umatura ¦ "siṅgih dewa prabhu haji ¦ kahula amyarsa wārti | sakiṅ woṅ dagaṅ iku | [29]hana koda[29] sakiṅ Jawa || hana putrane śrī bhūpati ¦ mariṅ Tasikmadhu[30] kaṅ ngara ||

7. rājā Kratagĕna[31] punika ¦ nāma diwi[32] Citrawarṣiti[33] | baguse lwir suparabhā[34] | akeh ratu aṅlamarin ¦ saṅ ratnā datan apti | kari aṅamoṅ śarīranipun" ¦ Prabhu Duloma aṅandika | "e Kĕpĕtmegha sireki | manawi kari aṅantos ratu kaṅ kaya || || Smaradahana[35] ||

8. "ikaṅ sugih kaya mami ¦ tur śakti riṅ apraṅ | mantke manira luṅa[36] rĕke ¦ aṅlamara saṅ ratnā | yendatann arsa mariṅ ṅwaṅ | iṅsun lurug ngra[37] nipun | masa waṅde lĕbur kaṅ ngara" ||

9. Kĕpĕtmegha umatur bhakti ¦ "siṅgih dewa śrī narendra[38] ¦ aja andika luṅa[39] rĕke | kadi datan andrabe patya | bĕcik ki patih lumampah" | rājā Duloma aṅandika harum ¦ "e patih Pragalbha" ||

10. sira uga luṅha[40] maris | mariṅ Tasikmadhu[41] ngara ¦ aṅgawa ṭayaṅ i ṅoṅ || haturakna[42] mariṅ saṅ nātha[43] || mariṅ rājā Kratagĕna | [44]ya norakna[44] saṅ ayu ¦ sira aja umantuka" ||

11. ki patih umatur bhakti ¦ "sapaṅarthika nira saṅ nātha | nda upamit kahula rĕke" ¦ saṅ nātha aṅandika | "lah luṅaha sira" | ki patih anuli lumaku ¦ umijil sakiṅ jro pura ||

12. kapaṅgih balaneki || pra sama winarahan ¦ anuli sama umambur rĕke ¦ livir barat lampah ira | anujeṅ[45] Tasikmadhu ngara | syaṅ rātri[46] lumaku ¦ wus prāpteṅ Tasikmadhu ngara ||

13. tumurun sakiṅ gyatti[47] ¦ lumampah anujeṅ ngara | duk balane saṅ nātha rĕke ¦ sineba haneṅ paseban | diniṅ putranira karowa | raden Sitavarṣita[48] iku ¦ nora lyan rinahosan ||

14. amuṅ putrane saṅ putrī | diwi[49] Citravarṣiti[50] ika ¦ datan harsa krama rĕke ¦ duk kālane aṅĕndu[52] rasa | woṅ iṅ jaba kahurahan ṅandulu dānawa akatah rawuh | hana umatur riṅ saṅ nātha ||

15. saprāptane umatur bhakti "siṅgih dewa śrī narendra ¦ akatah dānawa haneṅ jaba maṅke" | saṅ nātha aṅandika ¦ "e Sitavarṣita | lah tilikna punaṅ diyu | baya paran gawenya" ||

16. satreṅ[53] kĕmbar nuli lumaris ¦ tumurun sakiṅ paseban | amarani pranah i dānawa rĕke | nora suwe sawus kapĕndak[54] | Sitavarṣita aṅucap | "manawa sakiṅ pundi sireku ¦ miwah paran kāriyanira" ||

17. ki patih Pragalbha anawurin[55] ¦ "manira sakiṅ Batareta ngara | patih Pragalbha

nāmani ṅoṅ | dūtane śrī narendra | rājā Duloma[56] kanāma | aṅaturana[57] sewalapatra[58] iku | mariṅ[59] rājā Kratagĕna" ||

18. Sitavarṣita anahurin | "e patih Pragalbha | antosna[60] manira maṅke | manira umatur riṅ saṅ nātha" | Sitavarṣita lumampah | umuṅgah i sĕndhi batur | umarĕk mariṅ saṅ nātha ||

19. Sitavarṣita umatur bhakti | "siṅgih dewa śrī narendra | dānawa sakiṅ Batareta rĕke | dūtane prabhu Duloma | nāma patih Pragalbha" | saṅ nātha aṅandika harum | "lah akona[61] namerene ya" ||

20. satren kĕmbar nuli lumaris | tumurun sakiṅ paṅastriyan | wus kapaṅgih rĕke | kahana[62] ki patih ika[63] | Sitavarṣita aṅucap | "e Pragalbha sireku | payu umuṅgah mariṅ paseban" ||

21. anuli sama lumaris | umuṅgah mariṅ paseban | saprāptane umatur sĕmbah rĕke | "siṅgih dewa śrī narendra | pasantabe kahula" | saṅ nātha aṅandika harum | "lah luṅguh ta sira dānawa" ||

22. wus tatah denira aliṅgih | saṅ nātha aṅandika | "sakiṅ pundi[64] sira iki rĕke | lawan paran kāriyanira" | ki patih umatura | "kahula sakiṅ[65] Batareta ngara iku | dinūta diniṅ gusti kahula ||

23. rājā Duloma ikaṅ nāmi | aṅatura sewalapatra" | saṅ nātha anampa rĕke | anuli amanaha | bubukane sewalapatra | "e rājā Kratagĕna sireku | ranak anda[66] asih ira ||

24. gandhi putra nireki | ni diwi Citrawarṣiti ika | yen sira asraha maṅke | sayan haguṅ dadiyanta[67] | yen sira nora sraha | ngara Tasikmadhu iṅsun gĕmpur | masa waṅde dadi alas" ||

25. rājā Kratagĕna brahmantyan miyarsi | wadana abaṅ awiṅawiṅan | surat sinibitta maṅke | sarwi aṅandika | "e Pragalbha sira | lah umantuka sira iku | warahna gustinira ||
|| paṅkur[68] ||

26. manira datan paweha | dānawa kalintaṅ ciciṅ | dimen hage merene aṅgĕmpur | masa ulap manira | apraṅ kalwan diyu" | ki patih sumahura "tuhu sira datan kasrah maṅkin ||

27. masa waṅde iṅsun rabut | ngaramu masa waṅde kabhasmin" | Sitawarṣita sumahur | "pakṣa gañcaṅ ko Pragalbha | paya kita sama tumurun | sakrasamu apraṅ | aja kakehan haṅliṅ" ||

28. anuli sama tumuruna | tatĕṅran tinĕmbaṅ nuli | woṅ Tasikmadhu kagegeran rawuh | anuli sama apraṅ | kalintaṅ rameniṅ cucuh | tumbak tinumbakana | bḍil saliṅ bḍil ||

29. sama katah ikaṅ pjah | jalma kalawan yakṣi | bala dānawa krūra aṅamuk | syáṅ rātri[69] apraṅira | kalintaṅ kasoran woṅ Tasikmadhu anumuh | raden Sitawarṣita lumpah | aṅulati bantu lwih ||

30. luṅa ya mariṅ alas | alas Gondhamahi[69a] kaṅ nāmi | mariṅ pranahe Arjuna iku | añjaga rakanira |
kaṅ kari binuṅkus | sakwehiṅ bajra[70] nora tumamah | aṅge aṅrusak buṅkusneki ||

31. galandaṅ-glunduṅ[71] mariṅ alas | satreṅ kĕmbar anuli prāpti | raden Sitawarṣita iku | saprāptane umatura | "siṅgih dewa raden bagus | kahula prāpta ṇḍa sreya[72] | kahula apraṅ kalawan yakṣi ||

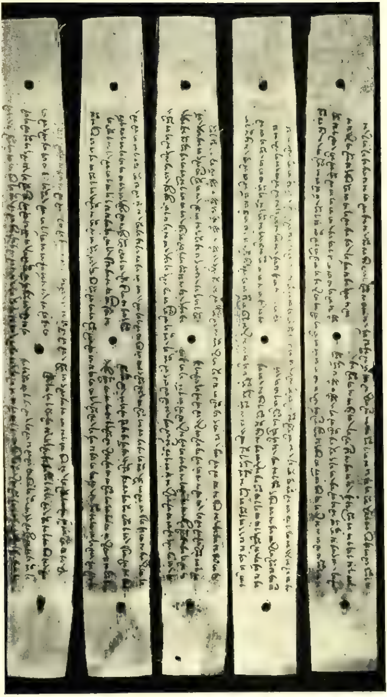
32. yen kasoranta ṅ dānawa | ngara Tasikmadhu maṅkin | kahula asrah sḍayeku | mariṅ jĕṅ andika dewa" | Arjuna adan sumahur | "saharsanir yayi ika" | anuli sama lumaris ||

33. anujen Tasikmadhu ngara | sakiṅ glis carita nuli | wus prāpteṅ[73] ngara Tasikmadhu |

kari rame ikaṅ praṅ | Arjuna nuli amagut | katmu lawan Pragalbha | sipatih anuli aṅliṅ ||

34. "baya sapa mariṅ harsa niṅwaṅ | bagus hanom rūpa-nireki | rūpane dudu woṅ Tasikmadhu" | Arjuna sumahura | "yen sira nora udani[74] iku | manira sakiṅ ngara Pnawa[75] | putrane śrī bhūpati ||
35. rājā Pāṇḍu dewa nātha | Arjuna manira iki | harsa anugĕl mastakamu" | Pragalbha sumahura | "pakṣa lañcaṅ mamuṣya iku" | anuli sama apraṅ gada ginada gĕnti ||
36. sakiṅ krūraniṅ dānawa | Arjuna cinaṇḍak nuli | binuwaṅ mariṅ luhur | adoh atika mira tiba | satibane anuli baṅun | nora krasa lara | anuli sira anaṅis[76] ||
37. sarĕṅ Bagoṅ smar iku | sakiṅ titahiṅ Bṭāra[77] | Bṭāra Indra anuli rawuh | kaya rūpa woṅ twa-twa[78] | anulih sira aṅliṅ ||
38. "e sira buyut hiṅwaṅ | aja sira laraanaṅis diniṅ kasoran puna ṅ cucuh | mūla maṅkana woṅ apraṅ | hana kasor hana uṅgula cucuh | iṅ beñjaṅ iki sira | dadi lalanaṅiṅ jurit ||
39. iki sira iṅsun aweha | panah amunah yakṣi | lawanĕn maliha cucuh" | Arjuna sumahura | "sakrasa kaki iku" | panah wus tinampanan | Bṭāra[80] Indra hical nuli || || Durma[81] ||
40. Arjuna maṅke ạlumampah | amagut puna ṅ yakṣi | anuli sira kapĕndak kalawan patih ika | ki patih anuli aṅliṅ | "Arjuna malih prāpta | maṅke jañjinira mati" ||
41. anuli[82] sama apraṅ dadagan | bantiṅ sleṅ bantiṅ gĕnti | Arjuna śīghraha[83] amĕntaṅ kaṅ panah ira |
pgat gulune ki patih | juraṅkaṅan mariṅ lĕmah |
balane aniṅalin ||
42. śeṣaniṅ[84] pjah mlayu kasasar | tinumbak sakiṅ huri | sakalahe saṅ dānawa | sama muṅgah mariṅ paseban | Arjuna tinaṅkil nuli | saṅ dānawa aṅandika "siṅgih dewa putra mami ||
43. sukur bhāgya sira awlas | maṅke ngara manira iki | sira kawaśa sḍaya" | Arjuna umatura | "siṅgih dewa ama haji | hĕndhi hana ikaṅ bajra[85] | ikaṅ kalintaṅ śakti ||
44. aṅge kahula ṅrusak babuṅkusan" | aṅ nātha aṅandika aris | "siṅgih dewa anak iṅwaṅ | yadyan bajra[85] sabhūmya[86] | nora tumanah raka neki | yen nora krasaniṅ ya | antosna uga gusti" ||
45. duruṅ puput kaṅ wirasa |kĕtug linḍuh hudan prāpti | kagoñcaṅ swarga di lwiha | dewadhara[87] kagegeran bulan sūrya kagiṅsir | Bṭāra[77] Guru aṅandika | "siṅgih kaka ṅ Nrada[88] sireki ||
46. kaka ṅ uga tumuruna | sarĕṅ liman Gajahsena iki | mariṅ alas Gondhamahi "ika | pcahna babuṅkusan hika" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada sumahur siṅgih | anuli sama umaṅkat | tumurun sakiṅ swargi ||
47. anujeṅ alas Gondhamahi ika | pranahe babuṅkusan hiki | nora suwe wus prāpta | saprāptane Bṭāra[77] Guruwa | liman Gajahsena nuli | añaṇḍak babuṅkusan | binantiṅan nuli ||
48. nora pasah ikaṅ babuṅkusan | Gajahsena maṅke nuli | aṅĕtokta śaktihan | babuṅkusan malih cinaṇḍak | binantiṅan maṅke nuli | wus picahan[89] | mtu ikaṅ jabaṅ balī ||
49. wus andruwe wastra sdaya | luhurne aguṅ aṅiṅgil | Bṭāra[77] Nrada haneṅ arsanira | anuli amaranana | "sapa iki woṅ twa tiki" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada aṅandika | "manira Bṭāra[77] sakiṅ swargi ||
50. ha Bṭara[77] Nrada iki manira | dinūteṅ Bṭāra[77] Guru mami | aṅluwarkĕnta sira | sakiṅ pajinĕmanira | malih wastanira iki | saṅ Bratasena | sira maṅke umulih ||

I.



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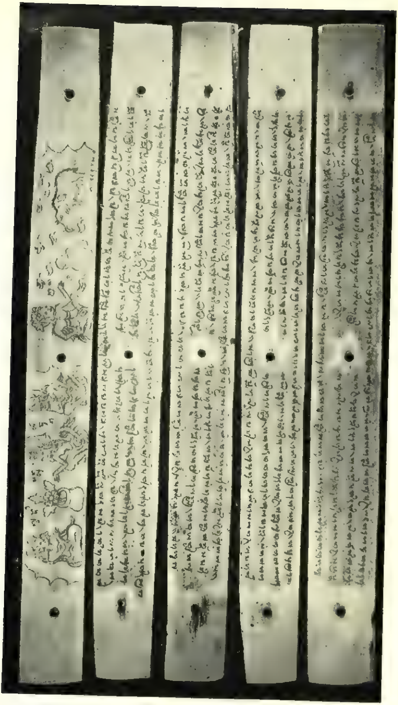
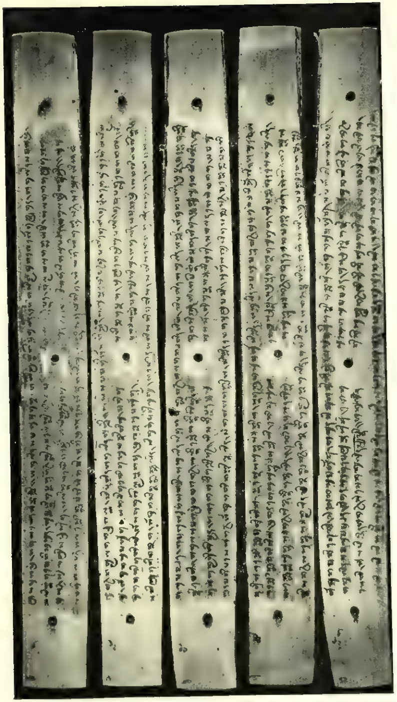
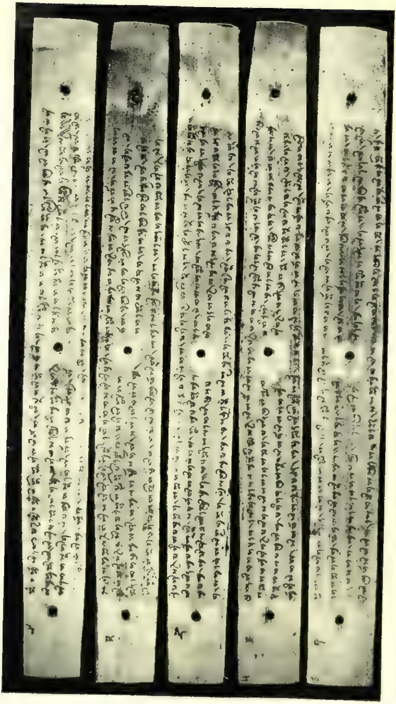




IV.



51. mariṅ ngareṅ Astina punika | sapanartika Arjuneki" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada anuli ical | amantuk mariṅ yaṅanira[90] | saṅ Bratasena anuli aṅliṅ | "iki sira sapa" | Arjuna anahurin ||

52. "iki kahula rahi paduka | Arjuna manireki" | saṅ Sena sumahura | "aduh sira ari niṅwaṅ | payu mariṅ Astina ngari" | Arjuna sumahura | "mapaṅarthi kaka ṅ mami" ||

53. Anuli sama lumampah | miwah Gareṅ Petruk haṅiriṅ | nora suwe alumampah wus prāpteṅ Astina | Arjuna kinĕpunan teki | ṅarsa pinjahan | saṅ Sena nulih prāpti ||

54. anuli rinĕbutan | diniṅ ni Kurawa iki | kalawan Śakuni[91] ika | aṅiṅ sami binantiṅan | puh sami anuliha lari | saparan paran hana pcah guluneki ||

55. nora nana wani tumaṇḍaṅa rika[92] ....

[1] Name of a metre. [2] = Pāṇḍawa. [3] L. iṅkaṅ (L. = lontar). [4] -i is metri causa. [5] It may be corrected to °nika. [6] L. *kandhra.* [7] L. patra. [8] It may be corrected to °niki. [9] L. matsih. [10] L. hya (in this ms. we often find the visarga). [11] So in the lontar. It can be Gandhamāyu, which occurs in Sri Tañjuṅg. [12] = nagara. [13] = daitya. [14] L. dulosa. [15] = Oj. deniṅ. [16] L. bragalba. [17] L. hĕ°. [18] L. Nĕ°. In other occurrences it is Kĕ°. [19] L. Dulomṣa. [20] = Oj. nor hana. [21] L. sdhaya. [22] V māmsa. [23] = Oj. kuraṅ. [24] = kahyun. [25] < garbha? It means "queen". [26] In this lontar it is always spelt nata. [27] L. Pĕpĕtmega. [28] L. hĕndhi. [28a] L. adi. It can also be *adhi.* [29] L. hana kkoda. Can it be emended to hana nakoda? [30] Literally "Honey-ocean". [31] L. Kratagĕna. It is always spelt so. It may be Kṛtteguṇa? [32] = dewī. [33] L. °si. [34] metri causa for *Suprabhā,* name of a widyādharī. [35] L. smarandhana. Name of a metre, usually met with in sad themes. [36] = luṅha. [37] = nagara. [38] L. usually spells it as nalendhra. [39] = luṅha in Oj. [40] L. luṅ. [41] L. tamadu. [42] L. haturrĕnna. [43] L. spells it always as *nata.* [44] L. yannorakna. [45] L. anujeh. Cf. line 2 of § 13, line 1 of § 33. [46] L. latri. [47] Cf. Sanskrit *viyat.* [48] L. °varsita. [49] = dewī. [50] L. °varsiti. [52] L. aṅĕndhu. [53] L. satra < kṣatriya. [54] L. °dhak. [55] L. anahurrin. [56] L. Dulaṁsa. [57] L. turrĕnna. [58] L. na°. [59] L. ṃari. [60] L. antesna. [61] L akenna. [62] L. kahan. [63] L. ina. [64] L. pundha. [65] L. saki. [66] L. andha. [67] L. dadidata [68] Name of a metre. [69] L. latri. [69a] L. Gondhamai. [70] L. braja. [71] L. °dhaṅ-glundhuṅ. [72] So the L.; cf. Sanskrit āśraya. [73] L. °te. [74] L. udanni. [75] = Pāṇḍawa. [76] Only one daṇḍa in L. [77] = Bhaṭāra. The lontar spells it as Btāra (with a dental *t*). [78] = Oj. tuha-tuha. [79] L. uṅgulla. [80] L. btala. [81] Name of a metre. [82] L. anula. [83] L. sigraḥha. [84] L. sisa°. [85] L. braja. [86] L. sabumya. [87] L. °dara. Cf. widyādhara. [88] = Nārada. [89] L. pincaḥhan. [90] L. yaṅṅannira. It is equal to Oj. hyaṅanira. [91] L. saṅkuni. [92] The lontar abruptly stops here.

Free Translation.

Now we shall narrate an ancient story of the Pāṇḍawas. The name of the king was Pāṇḍu-dewa. He had a son who was encased in a hard shell, which could not be broken. So the son could not come out. He remained in the shell even till he attained the age of twenty-five years. By now, he had a younger brother, (2) whose name was Pārtha and who was also called Arjuna. Arjuna brought his elder brother to the forest Gondhamahi. He put him there. He kept watch over it and resided in the watch-house. Now let us drop the story about the deeds of Arjuna.

Now (3) we will describe the Batareta country of the demons (yakṣa). The name of the daitya king was Duloma. The name of his minister commanding the armies was Pragalbha. He had an aide-de-camp named Kĕpĕtmegha. (4) King Duloma asked: "What is lacking in the palace?" Kĕpĕtmegha replied reverentially: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, nothing is lacking. Outside the palace too, people are well-provided with food and clothing. The danawa armies are in high spirits. (5) They are not tired of eating. Beasts and foxes, etc. are plentiful. Nothing is lacking. Only one thing is lacking, My

Lord: the paragon of the palace, because My Majesty did not yet think of looking for a queen." The Lord spoke slowly: "Hay, aide-de-camp Kĕpĕtmegha, (6) is there any news about the daughter of a preeminent king?" Kĕpĕtmegha replied: "Pray, Your Majesty My Lord, I have news from a merchant, a ship-captain of Java, that there is a daughter of the King of the Tasikmadhu country, (7) King Kratagĕna. The name of the princess is Citrawarsiti. In charm she is like the nymph Suprabhā. Several kings have asked for her hand, but the jewel-one has not consented. She is happy by herself alone." King Duloma spoke: "Oh you Kĕpĕtmegha, she might be waiting for an affluent king, (8) for one like me, affluent and powerful in battle. Now I will go there to ask the hand of the jewel-one. If she does not accept me, I will attack her country. How can it escape destruction?" (9) Kĕpĕtmegha spoke: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, please do not think of going there yourself, as if you have no minister. It is better that the minister goes." King Duloma spoke gently: "Oh minister Pragalbha, (10) you yourself go straightaway to the Tasikmadhu country to carry my letter. You give it to King Kratagĕna. If he refuses to give the beautyful one, then do not return." (11) The minister replied reverentially: "As My Lord commands. Now I take leave of Your Majesty." The King said: "Do go." The minister departed. He came out of the palace. (12) He found his army waiting. He gave them the command. All of them went thence flying. Their flight was like a tempest towards the Tasikmadhu country. They marched day and night.

Reaching Tasikmadhu, (13) they descended from the sky. They went towards the capital. The army of the king over there was assembled in the court by his twin son raden Sitawarṣita. Nothing else was being discussed (14) but his daughter dewi Citrawarṣiti, who was not willing to marry. When they were in the midst of discussion, people outside were perturbed to see a host of dānawas (demons) coming. One among them informed the king. (15) Coming in the court he said reverentially: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, there are many demons outside." The king said: "Oh Sitawarṣita, go and see them. Wherefrom and what for have they come?" (16) The twin prince went straight towards them. He got down from the Court, went near the dānawas, and immediately on contacting them he asked: "From where are you and what is the purpose of your coming?" (17) Minister Pragalbha replied: "I am from the Batareta country. My name is minister Pragalbha, the messenger of His Majesty King Duloma by name. I want to hand over this letter to King Kratagĕna." (18) Sitawarṣita replied: "Oh minister Pragalbha, await me for a moment. I will inform His Majesty." Sitawarṣita went away. Sitting on the stone base of the pillar, he informed the king. (19) Sitawarṣita spoke reverentially: "Pray Your Majesty the King, the dānawa is from Batareta, messenger of King Duloma, minister Pragalbha by name." The king spoke gently: "Go, ask them to come in." (20) Then the twin prince quickly departed. Getting down from the side of the harem and reaching the place where the minister was, Sitawarsita spoke: "Oh Pragalbha, please come up to the court." (21) Then both of them started. They came up on the Court. On reaching he paid homage: "Pray Your Majesty the King, my homage to you." The king spoke gently: "Be seated, you dānawa." (22) After he sat down comfortably, the king spoke: "From where are you coming, and what is the purpose?" The minister replied: "I am, Your Majesty, from the Batareta country. I have been commissioned by my master, (23) King Duloma by name, to hand over this letter." The king accepted it. Then he pondered before opening the letter. [It read as follows]: "Oh King Kratagĕna, I love your daughter, (24) that charming daughter of yours, Princess Citrawarsiti. If you will give her to me now, you will become greater. If you will not give her, them I will attack the Tasikmadhu country until it is turned into a forest." (25) King Kratagĕna become furious on knowing its contents. His face was glowing red. He tore the letter and said: "Oh Pragalbha, go back and tell your master that (26) I will not give her. A dānawa is lower than a dog. He wants to come to attack. I am not dazzled by this threat of a fight." The minister replied: "Really you are not going to give her now. (27) Without delay I will carry her away by force. Your country will be reduced to ashes." Sitawarṣita replied: "You Pragalbha, you are a swollen-head. Let's get down and fight in any manner you want. Don't talk much." (28) Both of them got down. The town-signal was sounded. The people of Tasikmadhu came agitated. They all fight. There was heavy fighting. They struck with spears and were struck back, they shot and were shot back. (29) Many died on both sides, men as well as demons. The demon hosts fought cruelly day and night. The people of Tasikmadhu were down and they were loosing. Raden Sitawarṣita went away to look for a powerful ally. (30) He proceeded towards the forest named Gondhamahi near the place where Arjuna was gurd-

ing his elder brother who was still in his shell, as no weapon could pierce it and break it. (31) Wandering about in the forest the twin-prince raden Sitawarṣita reached there and said: "Pray Your Highness the handsome one, I have come to beseech your help. I am fighting with demons. (32) If you can defeat the dānawas I shall at once surrender to Your Highness the Tasikmadhu country." Slowly spoke Arjuna: "My dear young one, as you wish." Then both of them set forth (33) to the Tasikmadhu country.

To narrate the story in short, when they reached Tasikmadhu, heavy fighting was going on. Arjuna confronted Pragalbha. The minister spoke: (34) "I wonder who are you in front of me, young and handsome, different from the people of Tasikmadhu in appearance." Arjuna replied: "You do not know me. I am from the Pāṇḍawa (Pnawa) country, son of His Majesty (35) the King Pāṇḍu dewa. I am Arjuna. I want to sever your head." Pragalbha replied: "You are too daring, boy." Then both of them fought. They struck with and were struck by mace. (36) Because of the cruelty of the dānawas Arjuna was captured and thrown up [in the air]. He fell far away. As soon as he fell he got up. He did not experience any pain, but he wept (37) together with his aides Bagong and Sĕmar. By the grace of Bhatāra, Lord Indra descended in the form of a very old man and said: (38) "Oh my great grandson, do not weep so bitterly because you have suffered defeat in fight. Such is the rule of warriors: one is defeated and another wins the battle. Tomorrow you take up the fight again. (39) I will give you an arrow to kill the demons. Confront them in the fight." Arjuna answered: "As my grandfather desires." After the arrow had been accepted by Arjuna, Lord Indra disappeared.

(40) Arjuna went back to face the demons. He confronted the minister who said: "Arjuna, you have come back again. Now is the time for you to die." (41) Straightaway they plunged into a fierce fight. They crushed and were countercrushed. Arjuna hastened to discharge that arrow of his. It cut the throat of the minister, who rolled down to the ground. When his hosts saw it, (42) they fled in confusion. They were attacked with spears from behind. When the dānawas were routed, all went up to the Court. Arjuna was brought up. The king said: "Your Highness my dear son, (43) it is our good fortune that you came to our help. Now my country is entirely at your disposal." Arjuna said: "Pray Your Majesty my uncle, where is the bajra which is mighty powerful, (44) so that I can use it to break the shell of [my brother]?" The king spoke slowly: "Your Highness my son, even if there is a bajra sufficient for the entire globe, it will not pierce [the shell] of your brother, if he himself does not want it. Just wait for it, my son." (45) Before the talk finished, the earth quaked and rains burst forth. Heaven was shaken terribly. The gods were confused. The sun and the moon were dislodged. Bhatāra Guru said: "Pray brother Nārada, (46) please come down together with the elephant called Gajahsena, to the forest Gondhamahi and break the shell [of Bhīma]." God Nārada replied yes. Both started and descended from Heaven, (47) heading for the forest Gondhamahi towards that shell. Without delay they reached there. On the arrival of Bhaṭāra Guru, the elephant Gajahsena took hold of the shell and threw it down. (48) But it did not break. Gajahsena applied all his force. He took hold of it and threw it down once again. After it was broken, thence came out a bearded person, (49) completely dressed and very tall. God Nārada was in front of him. Approaching him [he asked]: "Who is this old man?" God Nārada said: "I am a god from Heaven. (50) I am God Nārada, commissioned by my Bhatāra Guru to take you out of your shell. Your name will be Bratasena. Now you go back home (51) to the city of Hastinā together with Arjuna." God Nārada disappeared to return to Heaven. Bratasena said: "Who are you?" Arjuna answered: (52) "I am your younger brother. I am Arjuna." Sena replied: "Oh, you are my younger brother. Let us go to the city of Hastinā." Arjuna replied: "As you desire, my elder brother." (53) Then both of them departed together with Gareṅ and Petruk who followed them. Shortly after their departure they reached Hastinā, and there Arjuna was chased. They wanted to kill him. Sena came to the rescue. (54) Both of them were mobbed by the Kaurawas together with that Śakuni. But all of them were thrown down. They fled wherever they could, some with their heads broken. (55) None dared to confront them…

Reprint

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A NEWLY DISCOVERED URGA EDITION OF THE TIBETAN KANJUR

by

LOKESH CHANDRA

New Delhi

During his extensive travels in search of materials for the Śatapiṭaka,[1] Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira undertook a journey to the Mongolian People's Republic (M.P.R.) at the invitation of the Committee of Sciences, Ulanbator. *Inter alia*, he discovered a hitherto unkown[2] edition of the Tibetan Kanjur which was revised and printed in Urga during the sway of the eighth and last Jibcundampa (*rje-btsun-dam-pa*). Prof. Raghu Vira was told that only two copies were printed. The xylographic blocks are no longer extant. One copy is in the State Library at Ulanbator, and the other is now on the shelves of the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi. It was presented to Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira in December 1955, by His Excellency Mr. U. Tsedenbal, the Prime Minister of the M.P.R.

The Urga Kanjur consists of 105 volumes of the size $24 \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches (printed surface 20×3 inches) with seven lines to a page. This size is smaller than all the other known xylographic editions. According to a *kiṁvadantī* among the Chahars the reduction of the size of this edition was effected so that it could be carried on one camel, but it was an inauspicious sign: it ushered the decline and the virtual extinction of the Law among the Khalkhas.

The volumes are listed on the last unnumbered page of the dkar-chag as follows:

[1] The Śatapiṭaka is a plan of the International Academy of Indian Culture founded by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira for the publication of Indo-Asian literatures in original scripts and languages, with translations, annotations and critical evaluations. Nine volumes have appeared and 25 are in press or under active preparation.

[2] Mr. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en furnishes details about the various editions of the Kanjur and Tanjur in his article "The Tibetan Tripiṭaka", *HJAS*, 9 (1946), pp. 53–62. Prof. G. Tucci has supplemented it in his "Tibetan Notes, 1: The Tibetan Tripiṭaka", *HJAS*, 12 (1949), pp. 477–481. The prospectus of the photomechanic reprint of the Peking Kanjur and Tanjur under the editorship of Prof. D. T. Suzuki (issued by the Tibetan-Tripiṭaka Research Institute, Tokyo) has a short note on the history of the Peking edition. The xylographed editions of the Kanjur known to the above sources are tabulated below:

NAME OF THE EDITION	DATE	BLOCKS
Old Snar-thaṅ[1]	1312–1320 (Suzuki)	handwritten
Yung-lo[2]	(8th year of Yung-lo; 1410)	destroyed
Wan-li[3]	1602 (Ch'en), 1605 (Suzuki)	destroyed
Bshad-pa-rtsal[4]	1617–82	not known
Saṅs-rgyas-mtsho[5]	1617–82	not known
K'ang-hsi (Peking)[6]	(22nd year of K'ang-hsi: 1683)	burnt in 1900
Lithaṅ	later than K'ang-hsi edition. Exact date unknown	burnt in 1908. Blocks were carved by Śākya-rgyal-mtshan and others in Ḥjaṅ-yul
New Snar-thaṅ[7]	1730–1742	the blocks of the Kanjur were carved in 1730–1732 and of the Tanjur in 1741–1742; see G. Tucci, *HJAS*, 12 (1949), pp. 479–480 and L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 144–145.
Derge[8]	± 1733 (Suzuki)	carving commenced in 1730 under orders of King of Sde-dge. Blocks extant
Co-ne[9]	—	destroyed
Ch'ien-lung (Peking)[10]	1737	lost
Punaka	—	—
Rjes-rku-ḥbum[11]	—	lost
Cha-mdo[12]	—	lost
Buryat[13]	—	—
Lhasa	1933 (?) (during Dalai Lama XIII)	extant in the Shöparkhang which is situated below the Potala (see Lokesh Chandra, "Tibetan works printed by the Shoparkhang of the Potala", *Jñānamuktāvali*, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 120 et sq.)

REMARKS

[1] Through the generosity of Btsun-pa Ḥjam-dbyaṅs, Blo-gsal-byaṅ-chub-ye-śes collected with great effort the texts with the help of Bsod-nams-ḥod-zer and Byaṅ-chub-ḥbum.

[2] Exact reprint of Old Snar-thaṅ (Suzuki).

[3] Yung-lo edition served as basis (Ch'en).

[4] Carved by Bshad-pa-rtsal of Zahor about the time of Dalai Lama V (1617–1682).

[5] Carved by Saṅs-rgyas-mtsho about the time of Dalai Lama V (1617–1682).

[6] Reprint from the Yung-lo edition (Suzuki). Zha-lu copy is the basis (Ch'en).

[7] Old Snar-thaṅ was used as basis, supplemented by the catalogues of Tshal-pa, Bu-ston, and others.

[8] Based on Lithaṅ. To it were added the canonical works mentioned in Bu-ston's catalogue. See F. Weller, "Zum Kanjur und Tanjur von Derge", *OLZ*, 1936, pp. 201–218.

[9] After the Derge edition. On this edition see J. F. Rock, Life among the Lamas of Choni, *The National Geographic Magazine*, 54 (1928), pp. 569–619.

[10] Revised mainly with the help of Derge and enlarged by two new sūtras in the Ratnakūṭa section.

[11] Stored in the Kumbum monastery in Amdo.

[12] Kept in the Cha-mdo monastery in Khams.

[13] There was a metallic set of blocks for printing the Kanjur in the Buryats according to my informant Lama Chimpa.

Particulars	*Volumes*		*Pages of the list at the Academy*
SŪTRA			
Vinaya:			
Ḥdul-ba (Vinaya)	ka-pa	(13)	20
Prajñāpāramitā:			
Ḥbum (100.000) (Śatasāhasrikā)	ka-ḍa, a	(12)	27
Ñi-khri (20.000) (Viṁśatisāhasrikā)	ka, kha, a	(3)	29
Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa (18.000) (Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā)	ka-ga	(3)	29
(*Śes-rab*) *khri-pa* (10.000) (Daśasāhasrikā)	ka	(1)	30
Brgyad-stoṅ-pa (8.000) (Aṣṭasāhasrikā)	ka	(1)	30
Śer-phyin sna-tshogs (Vividhāḥ prajñāpāramitāḥ)	ka	(1)	31
Sūtra:			
Phal-chen, Phal-po-che (Avataṁsaka)	ka-ga, a	(4)	34
Dkon-brtsegs (Ratnakūṭa)	ka-cha	(6)	36
Mdo (Sūtra)	ka-a, aṁ, aḥ, ki	(33)	42
TANTRA			
Rgyud (Tantra)	ka-wa	(20)	79
Rñiṅ rgyud (Purātana Tantra)	ka-ga	(3)	118
Gzuṅs-bsdus (Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha)	e, vaṁ	(2)	120
Dri-med-ḥod (Vimalaprabhā)	śrī (bis)	(2)	133
Dkar-chag (catalogue)		(1)	
		105	

This list tallies exactly with the set of volumes at the Academy. All its cardboard (not wooden) covers have the division headings (e.g. *ḥdul-ba, ḥbum*) in the Mongolian language side by side with Tibetan, both written by hand.

The dkar-chag or catalogue of this edition consists of 75 folios. Two folios bear the number 10 (*bcu goṅ* and *bcu ḥog*); the penultimate folio containing the list of volumes and the last folio illustrating the four lokapālas are unnumbered: so the folio numbers in Tibetan words run up to 72. As usual with Mongolian xylographs, the obverse of most folios has the number in figures preceded by the marginal title *dkar-chag*.

The full title given on folio 1a runs: *Bde-bar-gśegs-paḥi bkaḥ-bsgyur ro-cog par-du bzheṅs-paḥi dkar-chag dge-mtshan ḥbum-phrag phyogs mthar ḥphel-bar byed-paḥi skye-ba lṅa-paḥi sgra-dbyaṅs zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so.* Folio 1b has the illustrations of *rigs kun khyab bdag Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ* and *bstan-paḥi bdag-po Thub-paḥi-dbaṅ-po*, while folio 2a illustrates *rgyal-ba gñis-pa Tsoṅ-kha-pa* and *grub-paḥi-ḥkhor-bsgyur Dzñāna-badzra* (Jñānavajra, the first Jibcundampa).[3]

Hereafter we give a resumé of the important data from the dkar-chag. [1b1] After the opening maṅgalavacana in Sanskrit (*namo gurumunīndrāya*), there are 14 Tibetan stanzas of salutation to the eminent Jewels of the Faith. The first stanza invokes the blessings of His Supreme Holiness the Jibcundampa Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-chos-kyi-ñi-ma-bstan-ḥdzin,[4] in the classical rhetorical style with *double entendre* on the name of His Supreme Holiness. The ensuing stanzas are an obeisance to Lord Buddha (st. 2), Mi-pham mgon, Mañjuśrīguhyapati, the Six Jewels of India[5] (*rgyan drug*), the two Eminent Ones (*mchog gñis*) and others (st. 3), spyod-paḥi rdo-rje (st. 4), to the lotsābas and paṇḍitas (*lo-paṇ*) who enriched the world by their translations of the invaluable Jewels of the Law from India (st. 5), Atīśa, his disciple Ḥbrom-ston, the eminent bkaḥ-gdams-pa teachers (st. 6), to the Second Jina (*rgyal-ba gñis*, i.e. Tsoṅ-kha-pa) along with his disciples (st. 7), Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-chos-rje[6] (st. 8), the successive incarnations of the Dalai Lamas (st. 9) and Panchen Lamas (st. 10), the [first] Jibcundampa Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-paḥi-rgyal-mtshan who upholds the illustrious Law of Jina Sumati[kīrti] (*Blo-bzaṅ rgyal-ba*, i.e. Tsoṅ-kha-pa) (st. 11), and his successive incarnations (st. 12), and to the [last Jibcundampa] Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-chos-kyi-ñi-ma-bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-phyug (st. 13). The final stanza is a general invocation to all the Upholders of the Doctrine to protect the Law.

[3a5] Every Tibetan work begins with one or more of the following: *phyag-ḥtshal*, *smon-lam*, *bskul*, *spro-tshig*: these are the constituent parts of the maṅgalācaraṇa which is essential in Sanskrit works too for the

[3] A short biography and names of extant works by the first Jibcundampa Jñānavajra (Skyabs-mgon rje-btsun-dam-pa rin-po-cheḥi sku-ḥphreṅ daṅ-po Raṅ-byuṅ Ye-śes-rdo-rje *ham* Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-paḥi-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po) will appear in my forthcoming work: *Some Eminent Buddhist Authors of Mongolia.*

[4] The Eighth Jibcundampa, under whose auspices the Urga edition was prepared.

[5] The *rgyan drug* are: Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, and Dharmakīrti.

[6] The stanza describes him as: *dgon-chen btab sogs ḥphrin-las mkhaḥ khyab-paḥi . . .* : he was the first abbot of Ḥbras-spuṅs monastery (Prof. Tucci, *TPS* [*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*], part II, genealogical tables, E). He was born in Bsam-yas in 1379 (*sa-lug*) and was a disciple of Tsoṅ-kha-pa (TPS. p. 612). He died in 1449 (*sa-sbrul*).

unimpeded completion of any work. According to this classical tradition, the authors of the dkar-chag finally proceed to give the *spro-tshig*: it is a great pleasure to commence the catalogue of the complete Kanjur which is being xylographed in this country of Mongolia by the grace of Rje-btsun-dam-pa Chos-kyi-ñi-ma, and which is entitled "*Bkra-śis dge-mtshan spel-bar-byed-pa yi skye-ba lha-paḥi sgra-dbyaṅs*."

On folio 3a line 6 the subjects to be set forth in the catalogue are enumerated as four:

§ 1. How the Kanjur was collected and redacted in Tibet, etc. (*Gaṅs-can-gyi ljoṅs sogs su*...).

§ 2. How the Law was propagated in the country of the Khal-khas.[7]

§ 3. How this edition was prepared for print.

§ 4. The detailed list of titles (*them-byaṅ*), ending with the final auspicious embellishments (*bsṅo smon btab-pa daṅ bkra-śis-kyis mthaḥ brgyan-paḥo*).

[3b1] § 1. The incomparable Teacher Munīndra (Lord Buddha) having become fully enlightened proclaimed the Law, which is auspicious in the beginning, middle and end, to all the worlds. The words of the Lord were proclaimed to the devas, nāgas, gandharvas, men and innumerable other beings according to their inherent natures in their respective languages. Their expanse and depth is incomprehensible even for the śrāvakas, pratyekajinas, caramabhavika Bodhisattvas (*srid-pa-tha-ma-pa*, cf. Mvy. 7003); nothing to speak about common men. From this vast ocean a few drops were gathered by the noble arhats at three occasions (i.e. the Three Councils), by the Six Jewels, the two Eminent Ones, the eighty (*sic*) mahāsiddhas, and numerous other noble personages. The streams of preaching, study, and meditation converged in the great Anavatapta lake and thence they flowed into Tibet (*bsil-ldan-gyi-ljoṅs-chen-po*) in the form of the mighty river of Sūtras and Tantras (*mdo rgyud*). By the grace of the incarnations of the Three Protecting Lords Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī, the three dharmarājas, etc., the King and Minister, and the lotsābas and paṇḍitas, the Holy Words (*gsuṅ rab*) which have been brought to Tibet (*kha-ba-can-gyi-ljoṅs*) and translated, were collected together and became known as the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*. During the life-time of chos-rgyal Sad-na-legs-mdziṅ-yon,[8] lotsāba Ka-ba

[7] The Tibetan transcription of Mongolian words has been given as it is in the text of the dkar-chag, without any alterations.

[8] The precise date of Sad-na-legs is not settled. Dr. L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 62, assigns him to 797–804 A.D. Also see *ibid.*, p. 74 ff. According to the *Deb-ther-sṅon-po* it is 804–814 A.D. (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 283). Also see Dr. G. de Roerich, *Blue Annals*, part 1, p. xx.

Dpal-brtsegs[9] and others prepared a detailed list (*them byaṅ*) of all the works that were deposited in the Ḥphaṅ-thaṅ-ka-med monastery (*gtsug-lag-khaṅ* = vihāra, Mvy. 9152), giving the title, number of *bam*, *leḥu*, and ślokas. This became famous as the **Ḥphaṅ-thaṅ-ma Catalogue**. It is famed that this was the first effort in Tibet (*Gaṅs-can*) to collect together the entire (*ro-cog*) Kanjur.

[4a4] After this lotsāba Dpal-brtsegs, Ḥkhon Kluḥi-dbaṅ-po[10] and others collected together, arranged and catalogued holy works kept in the great palace (*pho-braṅ chen-po*) of Stoṅ-thad-ldan-dkar.[11] It became known as **Ldan-dkar-ma**.[12]

[4a5] At the time of the preparation of these big catalogues the mystic (profound?) tantras (*gsaṅ-sṅags naṅ-gi rgyud sde zab-mo-rnams*) were not included in the detailed lists (*them-byaṅ*) because of their secret practices. At the time of the later propagation of the Doctrine (*bstan-pa phyi-dar*) the lotsabas translated and added several sūtras and tantras to the numerous already extant. But no catalogue (*dkar-chag*) was produced.

[4b1] Later[13] the disciple of Bcom-ldan-rig-ral, Mchims Ḥjam-dbyaṅs,

[9] Dpal-brtsegs was "one of the two famous lotsābas in the times of King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan" *TPS*, p. 680, n. 41. The date of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan is 755–797 A.D. (Dr. L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 62).

[10] On Ḥkhon Kluḥi-dbaṅ-po (Nāgendra) see *TPS*, p. 679, n. 16, and Dr. G. de Roerich, *Blue Annals*, part 1, p. 210.

[11] Bu-ston in his chos-ḥbyuṅ (Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, part II, p. 191) also writes about this catalogue.

[12] Prof. S. Yoshimura of the Ryukoku University, Kyoto, has published *The Denkar-ma Catalogue*. This catalogue has also been published by Marcelle Lalou, *JA*, 1953, pp. 313-353.

[13] This attempt is described at length in the *Deb-ther-sṅon-po* cha 5b7 -6b1 in my xylograph. This passage has been discussed by Prof. G. Tucci in "Tibetan Notes", *HJAS*, 12 (1949), pp. 477–478, and *TPS*, p. 107 f., and translated by Dr. G. de Roerich in *Blue Annals*, part 1, pp. 337–339. There are some discrepancies in them. As this passage is of importance for the history of the redaction of the Tibetan Canon, it is being quoted *in extenso*: Bcom-ral-gyis Bde-bar-gśegs-paḥi bkaḥ-rnams-kyi bam-tshad daṅ ḥgyur-byaṅ sogs-laḥaṅ ṅes-ṅes mdzad | bstan-bcos-rnams kyaṅ so-sor phye-nas tshan-tshan-du bsdu-baḥi bstan-bcos bstan-par-rgyas-pa bya-baḥaṅ mdzad | de steṅ btsun-pa Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-kyis yo-byad-tshan chen-po bskur | Dbus-pa Blo-gsal-la sogs-pa Bkaḥ-daṅ-bstan-bcos-ḥgyur ro-cog bzheṅs-la[a] dpal Snar-thaṅ-gi gtsug-lag-khaṅ-du bzhags-par-gyis-śig ces lan-bskur-ba bzhin | Dbus-pa Blo-gsal-byaṅ-chub-ye-śes daṅ lo-tsā-ba Bsod-nams-ḥod-zer daṅ Rgyaṅ-ro Byaṅ-chub-ḥbum gsum-gyis ḥbad-pa chen-pos Bkaḥ-ḥgyur Bstan-ḥgyur phyi-mo[b] btsal-zhiṅ legs-par bzheṅs-nas | Ḥjam-lha-khaṅ zhes-paḥi gtsug-lag-khaṅ-du bzhugs-pa-las | gzhan-du yaṅ maṅ-du mched-de | Stod-kyi Grom-pa Sa-skya[c] daṅ | Khab Guṅ-thaṅ-la sogs-par mched | Smad-du yaṅ Ḥtshal[d] Guṅ-thaṅ-du yaṅ tshad gsum | Stag-luṅ ñe-ḥkhor daṅ bcas-par tshad gsum | Bu-ston rin-po-ches Snar-thaṅ-las Bstan-ḥgyur spyan-draṅs-te zlos-pa-rnams dor | Snar-thaṅ-gi de daṅ-po kho-na yin-pas phyi-mo ci rñed bsdus-paḥi-phyir | go-rim med-pa-la go-rim-rnams legs-par sgrigs | chos-kyi-rnam-graṅs gsar-pa stoṅ lhag[e] tsam bsnan-nas | Zha-luḥi gtsug-lag-khaṅ-na bzhugs de-la phyi-mo bgyis-te gzhis-kha Rin-spuṅs-su slob-dpon

whose name is well-known in its corrupted form Ḥjam-geg[14] bakṣi (xylograph: *pakṣi*) collected resources from China and Mongolia (*Rgya Sog*). To prepare a complete copy of the Kanjur he collected a lot of originals (*ma-phyi*) through his strenuous efforts. Having corrected and arranged them thoroughly with the help of various scholars, Śākyabhikṣu Ḥjam-paḥi-dbyaṅs placed it in the great vihāra of dpal Snar-thaṅ and prepared a catalogue (*dkar-chag*). This came to be known as the **Narthang Kanjur** (*Snar-thaṅ Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*).

Nam-mkhaḥ-rgyal-mtshan-pas bzheṅs | Rtses[f]-thaṅ-gi chos-grvar bzhugs | de-la phyi-mo[g] byas-te Goṅ-dkar daṅ | Gdan-sa-thel-na yaṅ bzhugs | phyis ni Khams-pa-rnams-kyis so-sor bzheṅs-te Khams-su khyer-ba daṅ | de-rnams ñid-la phyi-mo byas-nas Khams ñid-du bzheṅs-pa daṅ chos-rjes Mthoṅ-ba-don-ldan-pas[h] bzheṅs-pa daṅ | Dbus-su Du-dben-śa-bas[i] bzheṅs-pa daṅ | Ḥtshur-phur-na yaṅ chos-rjes Raṅ-byuṅ-bas[k] rin-po-che-las bzheṅs-pa daṅ | Byams-pa-gliṅ-du Yar-rgyab-dpon-chen Dge-bsñen-pas bzheṅs-pa daṅ | Gzi Kun-spaṅs-pas pu-sti brgya-brgyad-bcu tsam-cig bzheṅs-pa daṅ | Stag-rtse-bas kyaṅ gtsug-lag-khaṅ bzaṅ-po daṅ | Bkaḥ-ḥgyur Bstan-ḥgyur sṅar-gyi steṅ-du | dus phyis phyi-mo rñed-pa maṅ-po daṅ-bcas-te bzheṅs-paḥi bar-ba graṅ-las-ḥdas-ba-zhig byuṅ-ba-rnams kyaṅ | Bcom-ldan-rig-paḥi-ral-gri slob-ma btsun-pa Ḥjam-paḥi-dbyaṅs-kyi mthu-las byuṅ-ba yin-te | ḥdi-rnams kyaṅ mthar-btugs-na Rṅog lo-tsā-baḥi bkaḥ-drin daṅ | de yaṅ Kha-che-baḥi mkhas-pa-rnams-kyi bkaḥ-drin daṅ | mthar Saṅs-rgyas-rnams-kyi bkaḥ-drin-du gyur-paḥo ||

(a) Prof. Tucci, *ibid.*, p. 477 says: "bTsun-pa ḥJams-dbyaṅs, a disciple of *sKyo-ston bCom Ral-khri* . . . sent to dBus-pa Blo-gsal a large amount of money in order to have a copy of the bsTan-ḥgyur and bKaḥ-ḥgyur printed and placed in the temples of sNar-thaṅ." This passage needs reconsideration. Ḥjam-dbyaṅs was a disciple of Bcom-ldan-rig-paḥi-ral-gri (not °*khri*; also known as Bcom-ral and Bcom-ldan-pa), who in turn may be said to be a disciple of Skyo-ston-pa (*Blue Annals*, part I, p. 336–37). The *guru-paramparā* may be worked out as:

Skyo-ston-pa
|
Bcom-ldan-rig-paḥi-ral-gri (*or* Bcom-ral, Bcom-ldan-pa, Rig-ral)
|
btsun-pa (= Venerable) Ḥjam-dbyaṅs
|
Dbus-pa Blo-gsal-byaṅ-chub-ye-śes (*or* Blo-gsal)

Further Ḥjam-dbyaṅs had sent money for the preparation, and not printing, of a copy of the Canon.

(b) The word *phyi-mo* is rendered by Prof. Tucci as "supplementary texts". Dr. Roerich translates it as "original texts", which is better suited to the present context. Compare the use of *phyi-mo* later in the passage under discussion: *de-la phyi-mo bgyis-te gzhis-kha Rin-spuṅs-su* . . ., *de-la phyi-mo byas-te Goṅ-dkar daṅ*, and other sentences where it certainly cannot be translated as "supplementary texts". The dkar-chag of the Urga edition uses the word *ma-phyi* instead of *phyi-mo*. According to S. C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 945a s.v. *ma* II: "the original of any document or book is termed the *ma-gzhi* or *a-ma* while the copy of the same is styled the *bu* 'son' or *bu-dpe*". In *Kāśyapaparivarta* 89 (ed. Baron A. von Staël-Holstein), *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* 1N (ed. J. Rahder), and *Prasannapadā* 359.11 (J. W. de Jong, *Cinq chapitres de la Prasanna-padā*, p. 98) *yi-geḥi-phyi-mo* is the translation of Sanskrit *mātṛkā*.

[4b3] With this as the original (*ma-phyi*), Tshal-pa Si-tu Dge-baḥi-blo-gros[15] had [a copy prepared] and placed in the Tshal guṅ-thaṅ vihāra. To the original (i.e. Narthang) were added other texts. This is known as the **Tshal-pa Kanjur** (*Tshal-pa Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*). Because of its great authenticity (*śin-tu khuṅs-btsun*)[16] it became very famous. Bu-ston thams-cad-mkhyen-pa rin-chen-grub came for its *pratiṣṭhā* (*rab-gnas*).[17] Having corrected it according to the three criteria (*dpyad-pa gsum*)[18] together with Si-tu Dge-baḥi-blo-gros,[15] he made it the sole writ of the holy Law. [4b6] Later on the red-cap (*zhva-dmar*) Chos-kyi-grags-pa,[19] rje Ye-bzaṅ-brtse-ba, and others revised it so that it may be incomparably correct – so say the big catalogues.

[5a1] According to the Derge Catalogue, the king of Ḥjaṅ Karma Mi-pham-bsod-nams-rab-brtan took the Tshal-pa Kanjur, and as concerns the tantra division, he compared also the Stag-luṅ-rgyud-'bum. The sixth red-cap (*zhva-dmar drug-pa*)[20] revised it. Then it was printed (*par-du*

(c) Dr. Roerich takes *Grom-pa Sa-skya* as one word. Prof. Tucci, *ibid.*, p. 478, has: "Gom-pa, Sa-skya".

(d) Prof. Tucci, *ibid.*, p. 478, has *Tshal*, but Dr. Roerich has the same reading as our xylograph.

(e) Prof. Tucci and Dr. Roerich render it as "about a thousand". Can it mean "over a thousand" (?)

(f) Prof. Tucci spells *rTse-thaṅ*.

(g) Prof. Tucci: "hence new additions and new copies"; this is due to interpreting *phyi-mo* as "supplementary texts" or the like. But see supra note b.

(h) Prof. Tucci: *mThoṅ-ba-ldon-ldan*, and Dr. Roerich: *mThoṅ-ba Dun-ldan-pa*.

(i) Dr. Roerich reads it as *Dun-ben Śa-ba*. Prof. Tucci is right in interpreting *du-dben-śa* as the Chinese title *tu-yüan-shih* 都元帥 conferred on Tibetan dignitaries.

(k) Prof. Tucci: Chos-rje-raṅ-byuṅ. Chos-rje is the title, and not an integral part of the name; it is clear from its termination *-s* (*chos-rjes*). Our xylograph has *Ḥtshur-phu* while Prof. Tucci's *mTshur-phu*.

[14] See *Blue Annals*, part 2, p. 779.

[15] Dge-baḥi-blo-gros is also called Kun-dgaḥ-rdo-rje. For his efforts to prepare the Tshal-pa Kanjur, see Prof. Tucci, *HJAS*, 12 (1949), p. 479, and *TPS*, p. 630a.

[16] *Khuṅs-btsun* "well-founded, genuine, of undefiled origin" S. C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 147b. H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 41b, translates it as "of noble descent, or when applied to statements, etc.: 'well-founded'."

[17] ". . . having taken monastic vows, was celebrated by the name of the extremely honourable, all-knowing, Dge-baḥi-blo-gros. He invited in Tshal Bu-ston, the prince of the learned ones, for the consecration of a Kanjur . . . "; *Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles*, f. 63a, quoted in *TPS*, p. 630a.

[18] According to Lama Chimpa the *dpyad-pa gsum* are: (i) *luṅ daṅ mi ḥgal*, (ii) *rig-pas gnod med*, (iii) *raṅ tshig sṅa phyi ḥgal med*.

[19] *Blue Annals*, p. 831, mention His Holiness Chos-kyi-grags-pa-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po as the fourth hierarch of the Red Crown (*zhva-dmar-cod-paṇ-ḥdzin-pa*) of dpal Kar-ma-pa. In Kloṅ-rdol-bla-ma's list of the *zhva-dmar-* patriarchs Chos-grags-ye-śes is the ninth (*TPS*, p. 682b n. 61).

[20] If we take Chos-grags-ye-śes as the fourth patriarch of the *Zhva-dmar*, then the

bsgrubs-pa). Now it is in the Li-thaṅ Byams-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-chos-sde.

[5a3] The dharmarāja of Rgyal-rtse prepared a copy on the basis of the Snar-thaṅ Kanjur. Bu-ston (*thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Bu-ston rin-po-che*) having examined it according to the three criteria (*dpyad-pa gsum*) corrected it and also prepared a catalogue. On some points (this catalogue) disagrees with Ven. Bu-ston's *chos-ḥbyuṅ*, and for this reason it is often considered that the author of Them-dpaṅ-ma (the catalogue of the Rgyal-rtse Kanjur) was Lo-chen Thugs-rje-dpal. Whatever be the authorship, the catalogue was so correct and complete that its authenticity was accepted by all and it came to be known as **Them-dpaṅ-ma.**[21]

[5a5] All the Kanjur editions which have been xylographed (*par-du-ḥkhod-pa*) on the basis of the Tshal-pa Kanjur and the Rgyal-rtse Them-dpaṅ-ma are given below:

[5a6] The Chinese Emperor Yung-lo (*Tsī-naḥi yul-du goṅ-ma ta-miṅ Gyuṅ-lo-chen-po*) invited *rje-bdag-ñid-chen-po*, but Byams-chen-chos-rje Śakya-ye-śes[22] went in his place, and exerted himself for the propagation of the doctrine of Tsoṅkhapa, so that it may spread in all directions and last for a long time. Through his grace the Emperor had excellent copper blocks (*zaṅs-par*) of the complete Tibetan Kanjur prepared for the first time.

[5b1] The Mtshal-pa Kanjur prepared by the Chinese Emperor K'ang-hsi (*Bde-skyid*).

The Li-thaṅ-Mtshal-pa Kanjur prepared by Sa-tham king Mi-pham-bsod-nams-rab-brtan.[23]

The Snar-thaṅ Kanjur prepared by Mi-dbaṅ Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyas during the time of Dalai Lama VII.[24]

The Cone Kanjur prepared by Mi-dbaṅ Dmag-zor Mgon-po-rgyal during the time of Co-ne-grags-pa Bśad-sgrub.

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sixth will be Dkon-mchog-chos-kyi-ñi-ma (11th in Kloṅ-rdol-bla-ma's list given in *TPS*, p. 682b).

[21] *Dpaṅ* means "a witness, one able to attest or bear witness; also, a surety" (S. C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*). In *Daśabhūmika* 10J, 11E *dpaṅ-du-bzhugs-te* (11E *gyur pa*) renders the Skt. *sākṣibhūta*. In the present context *dpaṅ* should mean authentic.

[22] "Śa-kya-ye-śes is one of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's most celebrated disciples who died in the year 1435 at the age of 82". (*TPS.*, p. 253b, note 62). According to *TPS*. p. 25 he was "better known by the name of Byams sems rdo rje" but our dkar-chag gives it as Byams-chen-chos-rje.

[23] It is the same edition as already described above (our dkar-chag folio 5a1).

[24] On this New Narthang edition see Prof. Tucci, *HJAS*, 12 (1949), p. 479.

[5b3] The Derge Kanjur prepared by Mi-dbaṅ Bstan-pa-tshe-riṅ during the time of Si-tu-paṇ-chen.

Śiṅ-bzaḥ-paṇḍi-ta Blo-bzaṅ-dar-rgyas had the entire Kanjur xylographed (*par-du bzheṅs-pa*) during the time of Paṇ-chen Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal.[25] Similarly other editions furthered the spread of the Law.

[5b4] Lord Buddha proclaimed the eightyfour thousand dharmaskandhas for the eightyfour thousand afflictions. Among them some have been translated into Tibetan, while others not. Among the translated are the earlier and later translations (*sṅa-ḥgyur phyi-ḥgyur*). Besides, there are the biographies (*rnam-thar*) and annals (*lo-rgyus*) of the paṇḍitas (*paṇ-grub*) and great lotsabas (*lo-chen*). In Tibet is the earlier and later propagation of the Law (*sṅa-dar phyi-dar*). Among them are the Sa-[skya], Rñiṅ-[ma-pa], Kar-[ma-pa], Ḥbrug-[pa], Jo-lugs (= Jo-naṅ-pa), Bu-lugs, old and new (*gsar-rñiṅ*) Bkaḥ-gdams-pa and numerous other denominations. The biographies, annals, etc. have been given in the big catalogues and hence they have been omitted here.

[5b7] § 2. How the Law has been propagated in the Khal-kha country. Here our dkar-chag refers to the prophecy in the *Ḥdus-rgyud* about Lhan-cig-skyes-paḥi-dgaḥ-ba, Ye-śes-rdo-rje, and others. It further mentions the prophecy in the *Ḥdus-rgyud-phyi-ma* about Ye-śes-mthaḥ-can-nag-po, Ma-dhu-ma-ti-srin-poḥi-dbaṅ-po, Ye-śes with a vajra and ghaṇṭā in hand, and Nag-po holding a kha-ṭvāṁ-ga, rus-rgyan caṅ-teu and chaṅ-snod. The dkar-chag goes on to quote from a sūtra that in the future in the world called *Ñi-zla-skar-maḥi-ḥod* will incarnate the Tathāgata called Gaganatilaka (*Nam-mkhaḥi-thig-le*) to lead all beings to mokṣa and to all-knowledge. According to this prophecy skal ~[26] skyabs-mgon rje-btsun-dam-pa Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-paḥi-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po, the God of all beings of this northern land, incarnated in this Khal-kha country which was drowned in darkness in the absence of the light of the Law. In ornate style the dkar-chag goes on to relate that with him the country was enriched by several big and small monasteries. He made this country like the Āryadeśa (*Ḥphags-paḥi-yul*). By the holy acts of the successive incarnations of the Jibcundampas the Law attained greater and greater heights like the waxing of the moon of the bright fortnight.

[6b3] § 3. How this print was prepared. When the Spiritual Lord of this Northern Land, our crest-jewel, the eighth Incarnation rje-btsun

[25] The date of Paṇ-chen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma is: 1780–1852 A.D. (J. Bacot, "Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non-canoniques tibétains," *BEFEO*, tome XLIV, 2 (1954) p. 334).

[26] This sign is found in the xylograph of the dkar-chag to indicate a cryptic lacuna.

Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-chos-kyi-ñi-ma-bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-phyug-dpal-bzaṅ-po ascended the abhaya-siṁhāsana several monasteries (*dge-ḥdun-gyi-sde*) were established, and similar religious acts flourished, as if a forest were on fire. Previously[27] preparations for the printing of the Holy Kanjur (*Bkaḥ-ḥgyur rin-po-che*) were undertaken, but it was never accomplished. In the 34th year of the accession of the Manchu Emperor Kuang-hsü 光緒 which was the Earth-Ape year called *Kīlaka* in the Bṛhaspati-cycle reckoning (*gnam-bskos ḥjam-dbyaṅs goṅ-ma chen-mo Kvon-shuḥi gser-khrir mṅaḥ gsol-baḥi lo so-bzhi-pa rab-tshes naṅ-gi phur-bu zhes-pa sa-pho-sprel lor*), i.e. in 1908, H. H. Jibcundampa (~[26] *skyabs-mgon kun-gzigs*) himself and E-rte-ni-tshe-tsheṅ-no-yon Don-grub-lha-mo ordered the preparation of the print of this edition so that the Law may spread and last for ever. They gave 11,000 sraṅ silver (*rin-chen-gñis-pa*). They made Chancellor of the Treasury (*Erte-ni phyag-mdzod-pa*) Padma-rdo-rje the head. The officiants (*las-sne-pa*) of Khu-re-chen-mo, the big qans[28] (*han-chen*), waṅ's and others of the four provinces (? *ru-sde*) of Khal-kha, lay and spiritual persons (*ser-skya thun-moṅ-pa*) – all being mightily pleased contributed with great devotion. The names of the contributors which are detailed in the dkar-chag are quoted here in full. They are a valuable record for the history of Outer Mongolia.

[7a7] Mkhan-po no-moṅ-haṅ Blo-bzaṅ-phun-tshogs (1 bsod-btags [hereafter abbreviated to s.t.] and 10 sraṅ silver), Ded-mkhan-po (vice-khampo) Nam-mkhaḥ (1 s.t. and length of fine silk [*gos-chen-gos-ldaṅ*]), Ded-mkhan-po Bsod-nams-dar-rgyas (10 rnam-dbaṅ),[29] Erte-ni phyag-mdzod-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1 s.t. + 28 sraṅ silver), Dkaḥ-chen chos-rje Dpal-ldan-bstan-ḥdzin (length of fine silk + 70 sraṅ silver), Chos-rje Blo-bzaṅ-don-grub (10.7 sraṅ silver), Chos-rje Gnas-brtan (1 s.t. + 3.5 sraṅ silver), Chos-kyi-rin-chen-don-grub (1 s.t. + 3.5 sraṅ silver), E-rte-ni hva-bel-kaḥaṅ (1. s.t. + 3.5 sraṅ silver), Dar-pa paṇḍi-ta sprul-sku (the preparation of the print of one *pusta-ka*), Tā-bla-ma Bkra-śis-skyabs (1 s.t. + 5 sraṅ silver), Tā-bla-ma Tshe-riṅ-ḥchi-med (1 s.t. + 5 sraṅ silver), Anpan (amban) of Bai-se Phun-tshogs-tshe-riṅ (1 s.t. +100

[27] Efforts to xylograph an edition of the Kanjur date back to the first Jibcundampa.

[28] According to my friend Lama Chimpa, at present working at the International Academy of Indian Culture, the hierarchy of lay ranks occurring in the dkar-chag was: Han, Waṅ, Guṅ, Thas-ji, Bai-se, Pe-li.

[29] Rnam-dbaṅ is a costly khatag with the decasyllabic *hkṣmlvryaṁ* printed or embroidered on it. It is also known by its fuller form *rnam-bcu-dbaṅ-ldan* (Lama Chimpa). An explanation of the meaning of his symbol is given by G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, p. 138 (Leipzig, 1958) who also refers to publications by Grünwedel, Filchner, Bleichsteiner and v. Korvin-Krasinski.

sraṅ silver), Guṅ Rnam-sras (1 s.t. + 24.5 sraṅ silver), Thas-ji of Co-naṅ (1. s.t. + 14 sraṅ silver), Guṅ of Thu-śe-ye Phyag-rdor (1. s.t. + 100 sraṅ silver), Guṅ of Śu-hur (50 sraṅ silver), Gur tā-hi-zhig Cir-kal and his queen Yid-bzhin-ḥkhor-lo (50 sraṅ silver), Pa-ruḥaṅ-khu-re monastery (30.3 sraṅ silver), people of the territory of Thu-śe-ye-thu king (more than 1646 sraṅ silver), people of the territory of the Tshe-theṅ king (more than 2150 sraṅ silver), people of the territory of the Dza-sag-thu king (more than 2056 sraṅ silver), people of the territory of Saḥaṅ-no-yon (more than 2150 sraṅ silver), E-rte-ni dbu-mdzad Ḥchi-med (length of fine silk + 1 s.t.), Gñer-pa (steward) Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis (more than 3 sraṅ silver), Gñer-pa Don-rtogs (10 rnam-dkar),[30] Bhikṣu Ṅag-dbaṅ (7 zho 5 skar-ma[31] silver), Bkra-śis-brtsegs-pa (2.2 sraṅ silver + 1 s.t.), Blo-bzaṅ-bkra-śis (more than 2 sraṅ silver), Dṅos-grub (more than 1 sraṅ silver), Bhikṣu Bor (27.5 sraṅ silver), Rdo-rje (7.1 sraṅ silver), Gnas-brtan-bsruṅ (1.7 sraṅ silver), Don-grub-rdo-rje (7 zho silver), Mgon-po-bsruṅ (50 sraṅ silver), Blo-bzaṅ-sbyin-pa (7 zho silver), Brgya-stoṅ-pa (2 sraṅ silver + 1 s.t.), Dkaḥ-bcu Bsam-gtan (1.5 sraṅ silver), Rdo-rje (10 rnam-dkar), Tshe-riṅ-sgrol-ma (7 zho 5 skar-ma silver), Phun-tshogs (90 sheets of printing paper [*par-gyi śog-bu*]), Bhikṣu Ṅag-dbaṅ-skyabs (more than 1 zho silver), Bhikṣu Dpal-ldan-rdo-rje (more than 1 zho silver), Rnam-grol (4 zho 5 skar-ma), Bzaṅ-po (5 rnam-dkar), Tshe-dbaṅ (more than 1 zho silver), Yul-ḥkhor-bsruṅ (3.5 zho).

[8a6] The following persons contributed more than 1 zho silver: Ḥphags-skyes-po, Gzi-legs-ma, Pa-tha-na-saṅ, Sri-thar, Tā-ri-skyabs, Bde-skyod-ma, Tshe-riṅ-bde-skyid, A-yu-śi, Tshe-riṅ-bde-skyid, Sgrol-ma, Tshe-ldan-skyabs, Gsaṅ-bdag, Duṅ-ma-hu, Bhikṣu Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes, Blo-bzaṅ-tshul-khrims, Blo-bzaṅ-rta-mgrin, Rta-mgrin-skyabs, Tshe-dpag-rdo-rje, Rin-chen, Bsod-nams-bskyed, Dbyaṅs-can. Bhikṣu Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-ḥphel, Bla-ma-skyabs, and Blo-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma each contributed one bsod-btags. Dkon-gñer Bkra-śis-ñi-ma more than 2 sraṅ, and Dkon-gñer Tshe-dpag-med 3.5 sraṅ silver.

[8b3] Several persons contributed prepared xylographic blocks (*sṅon bsgrub-paḥi par-rnams*) of one or more volumes (*po-thi, pusti-ka*):[32] King

[30] Rnam-dkar is a khatag of white silk, superior to the usual ones of blue silk.

[31] According to Lama Chimpa the measures in Mongolia are as follows:

10 skar-ma	=	1 zho
10 zho	=	1 sraṅ
16 sraṅ	=	ca-ma
50 sraṅ	=	rta-rmig (lit. "horse-hoof" – from its shape.)

[32] When less or more than one volume has been contributed the number is given in parentheses.

of Thu-śeḥi-ye-thu, Tas-cheṅ-cheṅ Vaṅ (4), King of Che-tsheṅ, Rgyal-khaṅ-rtse, Tas-chen-rtsun Vaṅ (3), Tshe-tsheṅ-cho-noṅ Dzasag, A-has Guṅ, Yo-ga-dzra (= *yogācārya*) bla-ma, Bai-se Lha-dbaṅ, El-kog-saṅ hu-thag-thu, Dza-sag Mgon-po-skyabs, Dza-sag-thu King, Be-śrel-the Vaṅ, Tas-chen Pai-se (sic), Guṅ Thu-ge-se, Tas-chen Guṅ, Guṅ Siddhi, Guṅ A-yur, Sar-thu-la Guṅ, Guṅ Tsakra (= *Cakra*), Thu-śe-ye Guṅ Dgaḥ-ston-dpal, Sahaṅ-no-yon, Dza-ya-pa-ṇḍi-ta, Tshe-tsheṅ Vaṅ, Ta-las pe-li, Yel-tiṅ Pe-li, Vaṅ Saṅgha-śrī and Dza-sag Tshe-riṅ-mgon-po (1), Guṅ Tshe-ldan-ḥphel-rgyas [9a1] and No-yon-hu-thug-thu (1), Ta-las Guṅ, Guṅ Rab-brtan-rdo-rje, Guṅ A-pa-ri-mi-ta, Mer-gan Dza-sag, Dza-sag Ma-ṇi-bha-dra, Guṅ Dbu-rgyan, Erten-ni paṇḍi-ta, Tshe-tsheṅ Pi-li (3), Co-noṅ Bai-se (2), Har-del Bai-se (2), Ta-las Bai-se (3), Thu-śe-ye Guṅ Lcam-sriṅ (2), Guṅ Yid-bzhin-nor-bu, Tas-chen Dza-sag.

[9a3] The work of carrying out corrections and additions was accomplished under the supervision of Mkhan-po-no-mon-haṅ by various chos-rje (*dharmasvāmins*) and the following scholars selected by H. H. the Jibcundampa himself: Dar-pa-paṇḍi-ta gabcu (= *dkaḥ-bcu*) Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-ḥbyor-don-grub, gabcu Rta-mgrin-sruṅ, gabcu Bsam-gtan, sṅags-rams-pa Śes-rab, gabcu Bstan-pa-dar-rgyas, gabcu Bstan-pa-dar-rgyas, gabcu Yon-tan, gabcu Tshe-riṅ-rdo-rje, gabcu Bsam-gtan, gabcu Gsaṅ-ḥdus-skyabs, gabcu Grags-ldan, gabcu Spyin-pa, gabcu Bstan-pa-dar-rgyas, gabcu Arya-badzra, etc. Several hundred other gabcus and dge-bśes's compared the Derge and Chinese editions (*Sde-dge-par-mar Rgya-par-ma gñis*). After exerting themselves hard for three years they corrected it to perfection (*legs-par zhus-dag mdzad-pa*).

[9a7] Persons superintending board, lodging and other amenities (*do-dam-byed-pa-po-rnams*)[33] were: Gesgui (*dge-bskos*)[34] zhi-dar Blo-bzaṅ-kun-dgaḥ-mthaḥ-yas, [9b1] Gesgui Khe-che-yeḥaṅ-gi-tshaṅs-spyod, Gesgui zhi-dar Yon-tan, Gesgui gabcu Phun-tshogs, Dzaḥi-saṅ Gñer-pa[35] Rdo-rje, Gñer-pa Ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Gñer-pa Don-grub, Dar-ga[36] Blo-bzaṅ-don-grub, Dar-ga Bla-ma-skyabs, Dar-ga Sri-thar, Dar-ga Ḥjam-dbyaṅs,

[33] *do-dam-byed-pa* "to supervise, superintend" *do-dam-pa* "an overseer, authorised person" (S. C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 640a).

[34] *Dge-bskos* = *upadhivārika* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, Sakaki's ed., no. 9067).

[35] *Gñer-pa* "bhāṇḍarī, a storekeeper" (S. C. Das). *Mahāvyupatti* (Sasaki's ed.) 3739 gives *śeṣapatiḥ* for *gñer-ba*. *Śeṣapati* is interpreted as "a certain royal officer: Mvy. 3739 = Tib. gñer-ba *administrator*" by Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. Śeṣapati is not a royal officer, but a monastic administrator, lower than *dge-(b)skos*. According to Lama Chimpa, he is in charge of board and lodging.

[36] Dar-ga stands for Mongolian *daruγa*. A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, gives no ecclesiastic meaning. According to Lama Chimpa, *dar-ga* is a monastic inspector.

Dar-ga Dam-chos, Dar-ga Sñiṅ-po, and others with their dge-*γyog*,[37] Ja-ma[38] Tshogs-thu, fuel-men (*śiṅ-len-pa*), watermen (*chu-len-pa*), etc.

[9b3] Printing-masters (*par-dpon*) were: Bhikṣu Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan, Bhikṣu Ratna, Bhikṣu Grags-pa, Bhikṣu Ḥbum, Bhikṣu Mgon-po-skyabs, Pa-tha, Bla-ma-skyabs, etc.

[9b3] Those who wrote the xylograph-script (*par-yig-bris-pa-po*) were: Khe-che-yeḥaṅ-ge Bhikṣu Bstan-pa-dar-rgyas, Bhikṣu Rnam-sras, Bhikṣu Kun-dgaḥ-rgya-mtsho, Bhikṣu Blo-bzaṅ-śes-rab, Bhikṣu Kun-dgaḥ, Bhikṣu Rta-mgrin-skyabs, Mkhas-grub, Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims-phun-tshogs, Bhikṣu Ḥod-zer, Bhikṣu Yi-dam-bsruṅ, Bhikṣu Luṅ-rigs, Bhikṣu Dkon-mchog, Bhikṣu Mchog-gsum-rdo-rje, Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims, Bhikṣu Bkra-śis-don-grub, Bhikṣu Śes-rab, Dpal-ldan-rdo-rje, Ḥjam-dbyaṅs, Rgyas-grub, Spyin-pa, Bhikṣu Dge-ḥphel, Bhikṣu Mgon-dkar-skyabs, Bhikṣu Blo-bzaṅ-tshe-riṅ, Thun-moṅ-cer-gal, Bhikṣu Tshul-khrims, Ṅag-dbaṅ, Ḥphrin-las, Bhikṣu Brtson-ḥgrus, Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan, Bhikṣu Chos-grags, Bde-legs, Mkhas-grub, gabcu Mgon-po-skyabs, Ḥchi-med-rdo-rje, Bhikṣu Mgon-dkar, Brtan-pa, Ba-yar, Dar-rgyas, [10(1)a1] Chos-ḥphel, Don-grub, Zla-ba, Chos-ḥphel, Bstan-ḥdzin, Chos-mchog, Dge-legs-yon-tan, Gur-skyabs, Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, Mgon-po-skyabs, Thabs-mkhas, Dmag-zor, Gsaṅ-ḥdus, Ḥjam-dpal, Don-grub, and others.

[10(1)a2] The engravers of the xylographs (*par-bkos-pa-po*) were: Sri-thar, Brtson-ḥgrus, Rnam-sras, Rta-mgrin-sruṅ, Ḥphel-rgyas, Spyin-pa, Dkon-mchog, Blo-bzaṅ, Dpal-ldan-ḥod-zer, Muṅ-khu-rdo-rje, Don-grub-rdo-rje, Rta-mgrin, Blo-bzaṅ-dge-ḥdun, Rgyal-sras, Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan, Rdo-rje-sruṅ, Dge-sloṅ-khu, Mchog-gsum, Ñi-ma-ḥod-zer, Blo-bzaṅ-tshul-khrims, Rnam-rgyal, Tshe-riṅ-don-grub, Ṅag-dbaṅ, Phun-tshogs-rdo-rje, Bstan-ḥdzin, Chos-skyoṅ, Rnam-sras, Dpal-ldan, Tshe-riṅ-don-grub, Blo-bzaṅ-mgon-po, Rdo-rje, Śes-rab, Blo-bzaṅ, Brtsegs-pa, Ha-sa, Don-grub, Tshe-mdo, Badzra-skyabs, Tshul-khrims, Ṅag-dbaṅ, Rten-ḥbrel, Don-grub, Dkon-mchog-dam-pa, Lha-mo-bsruṅ, Chos-maṅ, Bstan-bsruṅ, Bhikṣu Brtan-pa, Stobs, Mun-khu-tshog-thu, Blo-gsal, Sman-bla-skyabs, Pa-tha-sva-ri, Ḥjigs-byed, Grags-pa-rgya-mtsho, Chos-rgya-mtsho, Dkon-mchog, Bsod-nams-phun-tshogs, Dpal-gyi-ñi-ma, Bstan-paḥi (*sic*), Yi-dam-skyabs, Chos-rgyal, So-sor, Srid-gsum, Pañtsa-

[37] *Dge-γyog* is a youth attending upon a monk who works with a view to enter the holy order. When he has passed the prescribed examination for admission, he gets the position of a dge-gzhon (S. C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*).

[38] *Ja-ma* "tea-maker, tea-cook, a cook who prepares tea and gruel, etc." (S. C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dict.*). In Mongolia, *ja-ma* supervised the preparation of tea. He was a monastic official with several cooks under him (Lama Chimpa).

rakṣa, A-yurdzñā-na (*Āyurjñāna*), [10(1)b1] Tshe-riṅ-rdo-rje, Karma, Spen-pa, Pa-tha-ḥor-zhi-hu, Bde-mchog, Tshul-khrims, Phyag-rdor-byams-pa, Bla-ma-skyabs, Dge-ḥdun, Bstan-ḥdzin, Bstan-paḥi (*sic*), Ḥjigs-med, Gdugs-dkar, Thabs-mkhas, Ye-śes-rgya-mtsho, Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho, Dkon-mchog-rgya-mtsho, Bstan-pa-rin-chen, Dge-ḥdun, Bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, Tshul-khrims, Blo-bzaṅ-sbyin-pa, Don-grub-rgya-mtsho, Dge-legs-yon-tan, Dge-legs-sbyin-pa, Grags-pa-rdo-rje, Ye-śes-rdo-rje, Ye-śes-ḥjam-dbyaṅs, Brtan-pa-rdo-rje, Tshe-riṅ-skyabs, Tshe-riṅ-rdo-rje, Ḥjam-dpal, Bsod-nams, Dam-chos, Dri-med, Kun-dgaḥ-don-grub, Rgyal-mtshan-bzaṅ-po, Bstan-ḥphel, Śes-rab-mchog-ldan, Śes-rab-mchog-grub, Thu-mvur, Bsam-gtan, Bde-mchog, Bden-pa, Dam-chos, Gsuṅ-bur, Śū-kra, Bstan-ḥphel, and others.

[10(1)b5] Thus by the exertions of the aforesaid persons this work was completed in the properous and pious land of northern Mongolia. Here the dkar-chag gives epithets after epithets as to how the country was sanctified by religious observances. One of the interesting epithets [10(2)a3] is that it resounded with the voice of thousands of men of erudition studying and teaching the three piṭakas (*sde-snod-gsum* = Tripiṭaka) and the four classes of tantras.

[10(2)a5] In the second year of the accession of Hsüan-t'ung 宣 統 i.e. the 44th Iron-Dog year called *Sādhāraṇa* in the Bṛhaspati-cycle (i.e. 1910 A.D.), ten thousand monks (*rab-byuṅ* = *pravrajita*) vowed to reside together for the varṣāvāsa (*dbyar-gnas-pa*) in the great monastery of Khu-re-chen-mo *alias* Ri-bo-dge-rgyas-dgaḥ-ldan-bśad-sgrub-gliṅ, which is the source of the Law for this Northern Land (i.e. Mongolia). Besides, a new monastic college (*grva-tshaṅ*) Yid-dgaḥ-chos-ḥdzin-gliṅ was founded to impart instruction according to the *yig-cha* of Rje-btsun-pa. Thus the whole year was replete with auspicious activities. Hereafter follow five ornate stanzas adoring H.H. the Jibcundampa for his numerous acts for the propagation of the Law.

[11a1] § 4. The dkar-chag is divided into two parts: sūtra (*mdo*) and tantra (*sṅags*). The first part (sūtra) is subdivided into (i) vinaya (*ḥdul-ba-luṅ-gi skor*), (ii) prajñāpāramitā (*śes-phyin-gyi skor*), (iii) sūtra (*mdo-gzhuṅ bzhugs tshogs che-baḥi skor*), and (iv) sūtrānta (*mdo-maṅ*) which includes the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sūtras. The dkar-chag discusses the various classifications of the Vinaya. It is arranged by Bu-ston as: Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa and vibhaṅga (*phaḥi so-thar daṅ rnam-ḥbyed*), Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa and vibhaṅga (*maḥi so-thar daṅ rnam-ḥbyed*), Vinayavastu (*luṅ-gzhi*), Kṣudraka (*phran-tshegs*), Uttaragrantha? (*luṅ-zhu-pa*). According to *Goṅ-dkar-pa* the order is: the two Prātimokṣas

(*so-thar gñis*), Vinayavastu (*luṅ-gzhi*), Vibhaṅga (*rnam-ḥbyed*), Uttaragrantha? (*zhu-ba*), Kṣudraka (*phran-tshegs*).

But in this edition the order of the Tshal-pa Kanjur has been retained, which is based on the old catalogue Ḥphaṅ-thaṅ-ma: Vinayavastu (*ḥdul-ba-gzhi*), Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa and vibhaṅga (*phaḥi so-thar daṅ rnam-ḥbyed*), Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa and vibhaṅga (*maḥi* ~), Kṣudraka (*phran-tshegs*), Uttaragrantha (*gzhuṅ bla-ma*). The Vinayavastu has 17 vastus, is well-known as *luṅ-gzhi*, has 32.700 ślokas and 109 *bam-pos*.

Hereafter the detailed list begins. It gives the precise location of every text: the volume-letter (*ka*, *kha*, etc.), preceded by the folio number, its recto or verso, and line. The sub-titles are also indicated, e.g. the 17 vastus of the Vinayavastu (folios 11a5 et seq.). The list of titles comes to an end on folio 72a2. Then comes the final maṅgalācaraṇa in stanzas, ending with *Oṁ ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc.

According to Prof. Dr. Rinchen, the *par-yig* of the Urga edition of the Tanjur was complete in 1937. Some volumes were carved and even printed. It is likely that some of them may be found among the arats in remote habitations of the Mongolian People's Republic.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE INTRODUCTORY PART OF THE URGA EDITION OF THE TIBETAN KANJUR

by

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Namo guru muni indrāya |
*Ṅag** la *dbaṅ* bsgyur *blo* gros *bzaṅ* po yi |
chos kyi ñi ma rgyal *bstan* padmaḥi gñen |
rig *ḥdzin* grub paḥi dbaṅ phyug brgyad ldan la |
gus pas btud do dge mtshan ḥbum phrag stsol || [1]

rmad byuṅ mtshan dpeḥi gzi brjid ḥbar baḥi sku |
tshaṅs dbyaṅs yan lag bzhis lhag drug cuḥi gsuṅ |
ji lta ji sñed gcig char gzigs paḥi thugs |
rnam ḥdren ñi maḥi gñen gyi zhabs la ḥdud || [2]

gaṅ deḥi gsuṅ rab rgya mtshoḥi sdud pa po |
mi pham mgon daṅ ḥjam dpal gsaṅ baḥi bdag |
gtad rabs bdun daṅ rgyan [2a] drug mchog gñis sogs |
bstan pa ḥdzin skyoṅ spel mdzad rnams la ḥdud || [3]

mi ḥgyur mchog tu phra baḥi bde stoṅ gar |
bye ba phrag brgyaḥi ḥkhor lor bsgyur mdzad pa |
groṅ khyer bcu gñis gdul bya smin ciṅ grol |
luṅ bstan brñes paḥi spyod paḥi rdo rjer ḥdud || [4]

ḥphags yul rgya mtshoḥi kloṅ nas chos kyi nor |
rin thaṅ med pa bsgyur len mdzad pa yis |
ḥgro baḥi dbul phoṅs rgud pa sel mdzad paḥi |
chos rgyal lo paṇ rnams la sñiṅ nas gus || [5]

* In the original xylograph, in stanzas 1, 11, 13 words with double entendre have been marked with a small subscript circle, which has been indicated in the transcription by italicising.

legs bśad ḥbum gyi chu bo gcig bsdus paḥi |
[2b] gdams ṅag kun gyi bdag po A ti śa |
rnam thar gtsaṅ ma ḥphel mdzad Ḥbrom ston sogs |
bkaḥ gdams goṅ ma rnams la sñiṅ nas ḥdud || [6]

rnam dag chos skuḥi lha lam yaṅs par mkhyen brtse nus paḥi chu
[ḥdzin ḥkhrigs |
mkhas btsun bzaṅ poḥi dbyar rṅa sgrogs bzhin ḥchad rtsod rtsom paḥi
[char ḥbebs pa |
lta sgom spyod paḥi lo tog bzaṅ po skal ldan ḥdzin mar khyab mdzad
[paḥi |
rgyal ba gñis pa sras bcas rnams la sgo gsum kun nas gus pas ḥdud || [7]

dran dbaṅ gzhan gyis ḥgran par mi nus paḥi |
gzhuṅ lugs ḥbum phrag thugs thog steṅ nas ḥchad |
dgon chen btab sogs ḥphrin las mkhaḥ khyab paḥi |
ḥjam dbyaṅs chos rjeḥi zhabs la sñiṅ nas gus || [8]

thugs rje chen poḥi chu gter las ḥoṅs paḥi |
rmad byuṅ mdzad paḥi tsha zer ḥbum phrag gis |
thub bstan pad tshal bzhad paḥi gñen gcig pu |
rgyal dbaṅ rim byon rnams la gus pas ḥdud || [9]

gzhan phan sñiṅ stobs thugs rjeḥi ded dpon gyis |
bde ldan rin chen gliṅ nas ñer draṅs pa |
skye dguḥi re ba skoṅ baḥi bsam ḥphel dbaṅ |
paṇ chen sku ḥpreṅ rim byon rnams la gus || [10]

dge legs ḥod stoṅ rab tu ḥphro baḥi *blo bzaṅ* rgyal baḥi *bstan paḥi rgyal*
[*mtshan* bsgreṅ |
byaṅ phyogs sog yul mun pa mthaḥ dag sel zhiṅ ḥphral daṅ yun gyi bde
[la bgod |
rgyal kun las lhag bkaḥ drin gyis khyab gdugs dkar srid paḥi rtse las
[khyad ḥphags paḥi |
zla med rje btsun dam [3a] paḥi zhabs kyi padmor yan lag mchog gis lan
[brgyar ḥdud || [11]

rgyal baḥi bstan pa rgya cher spel baḥi slad |
rnam pa sna tshogs sprul paḥi zlos gar gyis |
yaṅ daṅ yaṅ du byon nas je cher ḥphel |
sku ḥphreṅ rim byon rnams la sñiṅ nas gus || [12]

Ṅag la *dbaṅ* ḥbyor *blo bzaṅ* rgyal baḥi *chos kyi ñi ma* mchog |
mchog gyur ḥphrin las ḥod zer ḥbum phrag ḥphro bas *bstan* pa *ḥdzin* |
ḥdzin skyoṅ spel la dpe zla raṅ ñid las gzhan rñed min skyabs |
skyabs mchog *dbaṅ phyug* brgyad ldan zhabs la sgo gsum gus pas [ḥdud || **[13]**

gnaḥ dus rgyal baḥi spyan sṅar rgyal baḥi luṅ rtogs dam paḥi chos |
chos tshul rtag tu bsruṅ bar rtag tu legs par zhal gyis bzhes |
bzhes bzhin chos bzhin sgrub rnams chos bzhin legs par rtag tu skyoṅ |
skyoṅ mdzad bstan bsruṅ rnams kyis bstan daṅ bstan ḥdzin kun skyoṅs [śig || **[14]**

rje btsun dam pa Chos kyi ñi maḥi bkaḥ drin gyis |
Bkaḥ ḥgyur ro cog phyogs ḥdir par du bsgrub pa ḥdiḥi |
dkar chag bkra śis dge mtshan spel bar byed pa yi |
skye ba lṅa paḥi sgra dbyaṅs deṅ ḥdir sgrogs la spro || **[15]**

ḥdir brjod par bya baḥi dṅos po gtan la ḥbebs pa la bzhi | [§ **1**] gaṅs can gyi ljoṅs sogs su Bkaḥ ḥgyur rin po che phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa ḥdi ji ltar ḥbyuṅ baḥi tshul | [§ **2**] khal khaḥi yul ḥdir bstan pa ji ltar dar baḥi tshul | [§ **3**] par ḥdi ñid ji ltar bzheṅs tshul | **[3 b]** [§ **4**] them byaṅ smos śiṅ bsṅo smon btab pa daṅ bkra śis kyis mthaḥ brgyan paḥo |

daṅ po ni | ḥdir ston pa mñam med thub paḥi dbaṅ pos daṅ por byaṅ chub mchog tu thugs bskyed | bar du bskal pa graṅs med gsum du tshogs bsags | mthar mṅon par rdzogs par saṅs rgyas nas | sñigs ma lṅa ches cher bdo bas ḥdul dkaḥ zhiṅ stobs bcu mṅaḥ ba gzhan gyis thugs las chuṅ ṅur btaṅ sñoms su bzhag paḥi gdul bya rnams ḥdul bar zhal gyis bzhes pa | thabs mkhas thugs rje sñiṅ stobs chen poḥi dbyaṅs kyi rgyal moḥi rṅa bo che srid rtseḥi bar du brduṅ baḥi mñam med bu ram śiṅ pa de ñid kyis legs par gsuṅs paḥi chos ni thog mthaḥ bar gsum du dge ba yin la | de lta buḥi gsuṅ rab ni lha klu mi daṅ dri za sogs ris med paḥi ḥgro ba rnams kyi khams daṅ bsam pa daṅ bag la ñal daṅ ḥtsham par draṅ ṅes kyi chos so soḥi skad daṅ mthun par stsal la | deḥi tshad ni nam mkhaḥi pha mthaḥ bzhin rtogs par dkaḥ bas ñan raṅ ḥphags pa daṅ | srid pa tha ma paḥi byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ rnams kyis kyaṅ ḥdi tsam mo zhes bzuṅ bar mi nus na tshur mthoṅ rnams kyi yul lta ga la zhig | ḥon kyaṅ rgya mtsho chen po las chu thigs tsam zhig dbus ḥgyur ḥchaṅ sogs su ḥphags pa dgra bcom pa rnams kyis bkaḥ bsdu ba rim pa gsum daṅ | rgyan drug mchog gñis grub chen brgyad cu sogs skyes chen du mas ḥthor ba sdud pa daṅ | ḥchad ñan gyis gtan la phab ste thos bsam sgom

paḥi chu bo gcig tu ḥkhyil baḥi **[4 a]** ma dros paḥi mtsho chen po las bsil ldan gyi ljoṅs chen por mdo rgyud chu kluṅ ñe bar babs śiṅ | rigs gsum mgon poḥi rnam ḥphrul chos rgyal rnam gsum sogs rgyal blon byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ daṅ | mkhas grub lo paṇ rnams kyi bkaḥ drin la brten nas kha ba can gyi ljoṅs su gdan draṅs śiṅ bsgyur baḥi gsuṅ rab rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa la Bkaḥ ḥgyur zhes grags śiṅ | de yaṅ chos rgyal Sad na legs mdziṅ yon gyi sku riṅ la lo tsā ba Ka ba Dpal brtsegs sogs kyis Ḥphaṅ thaṅ ka med kyi gtsug lag khaṅ du bzhugs paḥi gsuṅ rab rnams la mtshan daṅ bam graṅs leḥu ślauka rnams zhib par gtan la phab ste them byaṅ bkod par dkar chag ḥphaṅ thaṅ mar grags pa ste | gaṅs can du bkaḥ ḥgyur ro cog phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs paḥi thog ma ni ḥdi yin no zhes yoṅs su grags la |

deḥi rjes su lo tsā ba Dpal brtsegs daṅ | Ḥkhon Kluḥi dbaṅ po sogs kyis Stoṅ thad ldan dkar gyi pho braṅ chen po na bzhugs paḥi gsuṅ rab rnams phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs nas dkar chag mdzad pa la Ldan dkar mar grags pa byuṅ |

dkar chag chen mo de dag mdzad paḥi skabs su gsaṅ sṅags naṅ gi rgyud sde zab mo rnams gsaṅ nas spyod pa ñid yin paḥi phyir yoṅs grags su them byaṅ du ma btab bo | bstan pa phyi dar gyi tshe sṅar gyi de rnams phal cher yod paḥi steṅ du sprul paḥi lo tsā ba chen po rnams kyis mdo rgyud maṅ du bsgyur ciṅ bsnan par mdzad pa yin mod kyi | re zhig phyogs gcig tu bsdus nas dkar chag ḥdebs **[4 b]** pa ma byuṅ la |

phyis Bcom ldan rig ral gyi slob ma Mchims Ḥjam dbyaṅs la zur chag nas Ḥjam geg pa paksir grags pas | Rgya Sog nas yo byad maṅ po rñed pa Bkaḥ ḥgyur ro cog bzheṅs paḥi cha rkyen du bskur ba la brten nas ma phyi sna tshogs ḥbad rtsol chen pos maṅ du bsags te | mkhas pa maṅ pos sgo bstun te | dag par gtan la phab nas go rim ḥkhrul ba med par dpal Snar thaṅ gi gtsug lag khaṅ chen mor | Śākyaḥi dge sloṅ Ḥjam paḥi dbyaṅs kyis bzheṅs nas dkar chag tu btab pa Snar thaṅ Bkaḥ ḥgyur du grags |

de la ma phyi byas te | Tshal pa Si tu Dge baḥi blo gros kyis Tshal guṅ thaṅ gi gtsug lag khaṅ du bzheṅs śiṅ | ma phyir med paḥi snon ma yaṅ bsnan pas Tshal pa Bkaḥ ḥgyur zhes | śin tu khuṅs btsun zhiṅ grags che ba yin | Bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen grub kyis Bkaḥ ḥgyur rab gnas su phebs | Si tu Dge baḥi blo gros daṅ lhan cig par dpyad pa gsum gyi sgo nas zhus dag mdzad pas bstan pa rin po cheḥi rtsa lag gcig tu gyur pa lags |

dus phyis zhva dmar Chos kyi grags pa daṅ | rje Ye bzaṅ brtse ba sogs kyis slar yaṅ zhus dag mdzad pas śin tu dag ciṅ zla med pa lta bu yin gsuṅ zhes dkar chag chen po rnams su byuṅ |

Sde dge dkar [5 a] chag tu Tshal pa Bkaḥ ḥgyur de ñid phyis su Ḥjaṅ yul gyi rgyal po Karma Mi pham bsod nams rab brtan gyis bsod nams kyi śugs chen pos spyan draṅs te | gtso bor ma phyi de ñid daṅ | rgyud kyi skor Stag luṅ rgyud ḥbum daṅ yaṅ sgo bstun nas | zhva dmar drug pas kyaṅ ljags zhus mdzad de par du bsgrubs pa | dus dbaṅ gis da lta Li thaṅ byams chen rnam par rgyal baḥi chos sder bzhugs pa zhes daṅ |

yaṅ Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyis Snar thaṅ Bkaḥ ḥgyur la ma phyi byas te bzheṅs paḥi tshe | thams cad mkhyen pa Bu ston rin po ches dpyad pa gsum gyis gtan la phab ciṅ zhus dag mdzad nas dkar chag kyaṅ bsgrigs | zhes ḥbyuṅ | ḥgaḥ zhig tu Bu ston chos ḥbyuṅ daṅ skreg rtsom mi mthun pas Rgyal rtseḥi them dpaṅ maḥi dkar chag mdzad pa po lo chen Thugs rje dpal yin zhes maṅ du gzigs pa dag gsuṅ zhes ḥbyuṅ | gaṅ yin kyaṅ rnam par dag ṅes yoṅs rdzogs dkar chag them yig phyogs bsgrigs mdzad pa la kun gyis tshad thub kyi dbaṅ por bzuṅ bas Them dpaṅ mar grags so |

Tshal pa Bkaḥ ḥgyur daṅ | Rgyal rtse Them dpaṅ mar grags pa ci rigs kyi rgyun la brten nas Bkaḥ ḥgyur rin po che ji sñed cig par du ḥkhod pa ni |

sṅon Tsī ṇaḥi yul du goṅ ma tā miṅ Gyuṅ lo chen pos rje bdag ñid chen po gdan draṅs kyaṅ mkhyen par sku chab tu Byams chen chos rje Śākya ye śes byon nas bstan pa daṅ ḥgro baḥi don spyi daṅ khyad par du rgyal ba gñis paḥi bstan pa rin po che phyogs mthar dar zhiṅ yun riṅ du gnas paḥi thugs rje daṅ mdzad pa bsam gyis mi khyab paḥi bkaḥ drin gnaṅ ba la brten nas rgyal po des Bod yig gi Bkaḥ ḥgyur yoṅs rdzogs [5 b] kyi zaṅs par khyad par du ḥphags pa zhig bzheṅs pa ni par du bskrun paḥi thog ma yin no zhes byuṅ |

goṅ ma rgyal po Bde skyid kyis bzheṅs paḥi Mtshal par bkaḥ ḥgyur |

Sa tham rgyal po Mi pham bsod nams rab brtan gyis bzheṅs paḥi Bkaḥ ḥgyur Li thaṅ mtshal par grags pa daṅ |

Rgyal dbaṅ bdun paḥi riṅ la Mi dbaṅ Bsod nams stobs rgyas kyis bzheṅs paḥi Snar thaṅ Bkaḥ ḥgyur |

Co ne grags pa Bśad sgrub kyi riṅ la Mi dbaṅ Dmag zor mgon po rgyal gyis bzheṅs paḥi Co neḥi Bkaḥ ḥgyur |

Si tu paṇ chen gyi riṅ la Mi dbaṅ Bstan pa tshe riṅ gyis bzheṅs paḥi Sde dge Bkaḥ ḥgyur |

Paṇ chen Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan bstan paḥi ñi ma phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi riṅ la Śiṅ bzaḥ paṇḍi ta Blo bzaṅ dar rgyas kyis Bkaḥ ḥgyur yoṅs rdzogs par du bzheṅs pa sogs chos sbyin rlabs po cheḥi rtsa lag tu gyur pa mṅon par ḥphel te bzhugs so |

ston pa bcom ldan ḥdas kyis gdul byaḥi ñon moṅs kyi spyod pa brgyad

khri bzhi stoṅ gi gñen por chos kyi phuṅ po brgyad khri bzhi stoṅ gsuṅ tshul | de la yaṅ Bod du ḥgyur ma ḥgyur gyi dbye ba daṅ | ḥgyur ba la yaṅ sṅa ḥgyur phyi ḥgyur | tshul de la yaṅ Rgya Bod kyi paṇ grub daṅ lo chen rnams kyi rnam thar daṅ lo rgyus | Bod du yaṅ bstan pa sṅa dar phyi dar | de la yaṅ Sa Rñiṅ Kar Ḥbrug | Jo lugs daṅ Bu lugs | Bkaḥ gdams gsar rñiṅ sogs | grub mthaḥ dbye ba mthaḥ yas ba zhig byuṅ ba rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus sogs ni dkar chag chen mo rnams su gsal bar byuṅ bas ma bris so |

gñis pa Khal khaḥi yul ḥdir bstan pa dar tshul ni | [6 a] Ḥdus rgyud las | Lhan cig skyes paḥi dgaḥ ba la ni Ye śes rdo rje la sogs ḥbyuṅ bar byed | zhes daṅ | Ḥdus rgyud phyi ma las | Ye śes mthaḥ can nag poḥi miṅ can zhes daṅ | Ma dhu ma ti srin poḥi dbaṅ po ḥbyuṅ zhes daṅ | Ye śes miṅ can rdo rje dril bu lag rdub dag kyaṅ zhes daṅ | kha ṭvāṁ ga daṅ rus rgyan caṅ teḥu chaṅ snod thogs pa Nag poḥi miṅ can ḥbyuṅ bar ḥgyur | zhes daṅ | mdo las | ma ḥoṅs pa na ḥjig rten gyi khams Ñi zla skar maḥi ḥod ces bya bar De bzhin gśegs pa Nam mkhaḥi thig le zhes bya baḥi | mchog gi sprul skur ḥgyur nas ḥbrel ba thob tshad kyi gaṅ zag thams cad thar pa daṅ thams cad mkhyen paḥi go ḥphaṅ la bkod par luṅ bstan pa ltar gyi byaṅ phyogs ḥgro ba yoṅs kyi lha skal ~ skyabs mgon rje btsun dam pa Blo bzaṅ bstan paḥi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po ḥdi ñid byaṅ phyogs Khal khaḥi yul gru ḥdir ni | sṅon chad dam paḥi chos kyi ḥod snaṅ ma phog pas mun paḥi smag rum yun du gnas paḥi phyogs ḥdir sku skye ba bzhes paḥi tshul mdzad ciṅ rgyal baḥi dbaṅ poḥi mdzes zhal gyi ñin byed mṅon par śar te ṅo mtshar snaṅ bas phyogs thams cad khyab par mdzad pas yun du gnas paḥi mun pa mthaḥ dag sel zhiṅ | Ḥdzam gliṅ byaṅ phyogs ḥdi ñid phyag mtshan du bzhes paḥi stobs kyis dgon sde che chuṅ daṅ | dge ḥdun gyi gyi (*sic*) sde maṅ du ḥphel bar mdzad pas ñam thag paḥi ḥgro ba mthaḥ dag bde skyid kyi dpal ḥbyor phun sum tshogs paḥi dpal la bkod ciṅ | ḥkhor lo gsum gyi mdzad pa rlabs po cheḥi sgo nas gzhan gyis ḥgran [6 b] par mi nus paḥi mdzad bzaṅ gi srol phye ba daṅ | zab pa daṅ rgya che baḥi chos kyi ḥkhor lo bsam gyis mi khyab pa bskor te | skal ldan gyi ḥgro ba rnams smin grol gyi lam la bkod de yul phyogs ḥdi ñid Ḥphags paḥi yul lta bur bsgyur bar mdzad la | sgos su gdan sa chen po ḥdir rje btsun dam pa rim byon gyi mdzad ḥphrin la brten nas ḥkhor lo gsum gyi bya ba rnams yar ṅoḥi zla bzhin du sṅa ma las phyi ma rgyas pa ḥbaḥ zhig tu ḥgyur ba lags so |

gsum pa par ḥdi ñid ji ltar bzheṅs tshul ni | byaṅ phyogs bstan paḥi bdag po raṅ cag rnams kyi gtsug gi rgyan sku ḥphreṅ brgyad pa dpal ldan stobs bcu mṅaḥ ba kun gyi mdzad paḥi | khur mthaḥ dag gcig tu

bsnams paḥi thugs bskyed daṅ sñiṅ stobs ḥgran zla ma mchis pas | bstan pa spyi daṅ khyad par du zhva ser cod paṇ ḥchaṅ baḥi riṅ lugs mtshuṅs pa med paḥi bkaḥ drin gyis bskyaṅs pa | dmigs pa med paḥi thugs rje chen pos lus can mthaḥ dag ñin mtshan dus drug tu gzigs śiṅ skyoṅ bas mtshan rna bar lhuṅ ba tsam gyis dad paḥi spu laṅ γyo baḥi ḥgro ba kun gyis rje btsun dam pa rin po che zhes lhan paḥi dbyaṅs kyis yul gru thams cad du sgra dbyaṅs lham mer sgrogs pa | thabs la mkhas paḥi rdzu ḥphrul sna tshogs kyi sgo nas ḥgro baḥi don mdzad pa sogs kyi bkaḥ drin bskal paḥi bar du gzhal bar mi nus pa | mtshan brjod par dkaḥ ba ~ rje btsun Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ chos kyi ñi ma bstan ḥdzin dbaṅ phyug dpal bzaṅ po ḥdi ñid mi ḥjigs seṅ geḥi khri ḥphaṅ mthon por zhabs zuṅ rdo rjeḥi re kha mṅon par [7 a] bkod pa nas bzuṅ ḥgro baḥi bde skyid daṅ | dge ḥdun gyi sde maṅ du ḥphel ba sogs bstan paḥi bya ba rnams nags la me dpuṅ mched pa ltar non du med par ḥbar baḥi skabs | sṅon Bkaḥ ḥgyur rin po cheḥi par skrun paḥi dbu brtsams kyaṅ ma rdzogs par ḥdug pa la gnam bskos ḥjam dbyaṅs goṅ ma chen mo Kvon śuḥi gser khrir mṅaḥ gsol baḥi lo so bzhi pa rab tshes naṅ gi phur bu zhes pa sa pho sprel lor ~ skyabs mgon kun gzigs ñid daṅ | E rte ni tshe tsheṅ no yon Don grub lha mo rnam pa gñis kyis phan bde ma lus ḥbyuṅ baḥi gzhi saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa spyi daṅ | khyad par rgyal ba gñis paḥi mdo sṅags zuṅ ḥbrel gyi bstan pa rin po che phyogs thams cad du dar zhiṅ rgyas la yun riṅ du gnas paḥi phyir du Bkaḥ ḥgyur rin po cheḥi par ḥdi ñid legs par bcos śiṅ rdzogs par skrun śig ces bkaḥ luṅ phebs nas rin chen gñis pa sraṅ khri phrag gcig daṅ stoṅ phrag gcig bcas gnaṅ nas bkaḥ luṅ phebs pa ḥdi ñid Erte ni phyag mdzod pa Padma rdo rje gtso byas paḥi Khu re chen moḥi las sne pa rnams daṅ | Khal khaḥi ru sde bzhiḥi han chen vaṅ sogs ser skya thun moṅ pa kun gyis rab tu dgaḥ zhiṅ gus pa chen pos spyi bor mnos śiṅ | daṅ du blaṅs nas ḥbul baḥi cha rkyen ni | Mkhan po no moṅ haṅ Blo bzaṅ phun tshogs nas bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ bcu | Ded mkhan po Nam mkhaḥ nas [7 b] bsod btags gcig gos chen gos ldaṅ | Ded mkhan po Bsod nams dar rgyas nas rnam dbaṅ bcu | Erte ni phyag mdzod pa Padma rdo rje nas bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ ñi śu rtsa brgyad | Dkaḥ chen chos rje Dpal ldan bstan ḥdzin nas gos chen gos ldaṅ | dṅul sraṅ bdun cu | Chos rje Blo bzaṅ don grub nas dṅul sraṅ bcu zho bdun | Chos rje Gnas brtan nas bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ gsum zho lṅa | Chos kyi rin chen don grub nas bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ gsum zho lṅa | E rte ni hva bel kaḥaṅ bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ gsum zho lṅa | Dar pa paṇḍi ta sprul skus pusta ka gcig gi par bzheṅs | Tā bla ma Bkra śis skyabs bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ lṅa | Tā bla ma Tshe riṅ ḥchi med nas bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ lṅa | An pan Bai se Phun tshogs tshe riṅ nas bsod btags

gcig dṅul sraṅ brgya | Guṅ Rnam sras bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ ñer bzhi daṅ zho lṅa | Thas ji Co naṅ bsod btags gcig dṅul sraṅ bcu bzhi | Thu śe ye Guṅ Phyag rdor bsod btags gcig daṅ dṅul sraṅ brgya | Guṅ Śu hur dṅul sraṅ lṅa bcu | Gur tā hi zhig Cir kal | Ha thaṅ Yid bzhin ḥkhor lo gñis kyis dṅul sraṅ lṅa bcu | Pa ruḥaṅ khu re gzhuṅ nas dṅul sraṅ sum cu zho gsum | Thu śe ye thu rgyal poḥi rgyal khag mi maṅ nas dṅul sraṅ gcig stoṅ drug brgya zhe drug lhag bcas | Tshe tsheṅ rgyal poḥi rgyal khag mi maṅ nas dṅul sraṅ gñis stoṅ chig brgya lṅa bcu lhag bcas | Dza sag thu rgyal poḥi rgyal khag mi maṅ nas | **[8 a]** dṅul sraṅ ñis stoṅ lṅa bcu rtsa drug lhag bcas | Saḥaṅ no yon ni rgyal khag mi maṅ nas | dṅul sraṅ ñis stoṅ chig brgya lṅa bcu lhag bcas | E rte ni dbu mdzad Ḥchi med gos chen gos lṅaṅ (= lṅa daṅ) | bsod btags cig | Gñer pa Blo bzaṅ bkra śis dṅul sraṅ gsum lhag bcas | Gñer pa Don rtogs rnam dkar bcu | Dge sloṅ Ṅag dbaṅ dṅul zho bdun skar ma lṅa | Bkra śis brtsegs pa dṅul sraṅ gñis zho gñis | bsod btags gcig | Blo bzaṅ bkra śis dṅul sraṅ gñis lhag bcas | Dṅos grub dṅul sraṅ gcig lhag bcas | Dge sloṅ Bor dṅul sraṅ ñer bdun zhol | Rdo rje dṅul sraṅ bdun zho gcig | Gnas brtan bsruṅ dṅul sraṅ zho bdun | Don grub rdo rje dṅul zho bdun | Mgon po bsruṅ dṅul sraṅ lṅa bcu | Blo bzaṅ sbyin pa dṅul zho bdun | Brgya stoṅ pa dṅul sraṅ gñis bsod btags gcig | Dkaḥ bcu Bsam gtan dṅul sraṅ gcig zho lṅa | Rdo rje rnam dkar lṅa | Tshe riṅ sgrol ma dṅul zho bdun skar ma lṅa | Phun tshogs par gyi śog bu dgu bcu | Dge sloṅ Ṅag dbaṅ skyabs dṅul zho lhag | Dge sloṅ Dpal ldan rdo rje dṅul zho lhag | Rnam grol zho bzhi skar ma lṅa | Bzaṅ po rnam dkar lṅa | Tshe dbaṅ dṅul zho lhag | Yul ḥkhor bsruṅ zho gsum skar ma lṅa | Ḥphags skyes po dṅul zho lhag | Gzi legs ma dṅul zho lhag | Pa tha na saṅ dṅul zho lhag | Sri thar dṅul zho lhag | Tā ri skyabs dṅul zho lhag | Bde skyod ma dṅul zho lhag | Tshe riṅ bde skyid dṅul zho lhag | A yu śi dṅul zho lhag | Tshe riṅ bde skyid dṅul zho lhag | Sgrol ma dṅul zho lhag | Tshe ldan skyabs dṅul zho lhag | **[8 b]** Gsaṅ bdag dṅul zho lhag | Duṅ ma hu dṅul zho lhag | Dge sloṅ Blo bzaṅ ye śes dṅul zho lhag | Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims dṅul zho lhag | Blo bzaṅ rta mgrin dṅul zho lhag | Rta mgrin skyabs dṅul zho lhag | Tshe dpag rdo rje dṅul zho lhag | Rin chen dṅul zho lhag | Bsod nams bskyed dṅul zho lhag | Dbyaṅs can dṅul zho lhag | Dge sloṅ Blo bzaṅ bstan ḥphel bsod btags gcig | Bla ma skyabs bsod btags gcig | Blo bzaṅ sgrol ma bsod btags gcig | Dkon gñer Bkra śis ñi ma dṅul sraṅ gñis lhag bcas | Dkon gñer Tshe dpag med dṅul sraṅ gsum zho lṅa | phul lags so ||

sṅon bsgrubs paḥi par rnams ni | Thu śeḥi ye thu Rgyal po pu sti ka gcig giḥi par bzheṅs | Tas cheṅ cheṅ Vaṅ pu sti ka bzhiḥi par bzheṅs | Che tsheṅ Rgyal po po ti gcig giḥi par bzheṅs | Rgyal khaṅ rtse po ti gcig giḥi

par bzheṅs | Tas chen rtsun Vaṅ po ti gsum | Tshe tsheṅ co noṅ Dza sag po ti gcig | A has Guṅ po ti gcig | Yoga dzra bla ma po ti gcig | Bai se Lha dbaṅ po ti gcig | El kog saṅ hu thag thu po ti gcig | Dza sag Mgon po skyabs po ti gcig | Dza sag thu Rgyal po po ti gcig | Be śrel the Vaṅ po ti gcig | Tas chen Pai se po ti gcig | Guṅ Thu ge se po ti gcig | Tas chen Guṅ po ti gcig | Guṅ Si dhi po ti gcig | Guṅ A yur po ti gcig | Sar thu la Guṅ po ti gcig | Guṅ Tsa kra po ti gcig | Thu śe ye Guṅ Dgaḥ ston dpal po ti gcig | Saḥaṅ no yon po ti gcig | Dzaya pa ṇṭi ta po ti gcig | Tshe tsheṅ Vaṅ po ti gcig | Tā las pe li po ti gcig | Yel tiṅ pe li po ti gcig | Vaṅ Saṅghā śrī | Dza sag Tshe riṅ mgon po gñis [9 a] kyis po ti gcig | Guṅ Tshe ldan ḥphel rgyas | No yon hu thug thu gñis kyis po ti gcig | Tā las Guṅ po ti gcig | Guṅ Rab brtan rdo rje po ti gcig | Guṅ A pa ri mi ta po ti gcig | Mer gan Dza sag po ti gcig | Dza sag Ma ṇi bha tra po ti gcig | Guṅ Dbu rgyan po ti gcig | Erten ni paṇḍi ta po ti gcig | Tshe tsheṅ Pi li po ti gsum | Co noṅ Bai se po ti gñis | Har del Bai se po ti gñis | Tā las Bai se po ti gsum | Thu śe ye Guṅ Lcam sriṅ po ti gñis | Guṅ Yid bzhin nor bu po ti gcig | Tas chen Dza sag po ti gcig go(?) |

goṅ gi cha rkyen ḥdi dag gis mthun rkyen byas te sṅon bsgrubs paḥi par rnams las mdag śas che ba rnams bsal ba daṅ | ma tshaṅ ba gsar du bzheṅs pa sogs kyi skabs su zhus dag mdzad pa po | Mkhan po no mon haṅ gtso byas paḥi chos rje rnams daṅ | Rje ñid kyis dmigs kyis bkar nas bkaḥ ḥphebs mdzad pa Dar pa paṇḍi ta dkaḥ bcu Ṅag dbaṅ chos ḥbyor don grub | dkaḥ bcu Rta mgrin sruṅ | dkaḥ bcu Bsam gtan | sṅags rams pa Śes rab | dkaḥ bcu Bstan pa dar rgyas | dkaḥ bcu Bstan pa dar rgyas | dkaḥ bcu Yon tan | dkaḥ bcu Tshe riṅ rdo rje | dkaḥ bcu Bsam gtan | dkaḥ bcu Gsaṅ ḥdus skyabs | dkaḥ bcu Grags ldan | dkaḥ bcu Spyin pa | dkaḥ bcu Bstan pa dar rgyas | dkaḥ bcu Arya badzra sogs daṅ | gzhan yaṅ dkaḥ bcu dge bśes brgya phrag maṅ pos Sde dge par mar Rgya par ma gñis daṅ bstun te lo ṅo gsum gyi riṅ la ḥbad pa chen pos legs par zhus dag mdzad pa daṅ |

do dam byed pa po rnams ni | Dge bskos zhi dar Blo bzaṅ kun dgaḥ mthaḥ yas | [9 b] Dge bskos Khe che yeḥaṅ gi tshaṅs spyod | Dge bskos zhi dar Yon tan | Dge bskos dkaḥ bcu Phun tshogs | Dzaḥi saṅ Gñer pa Rdo rje | Gñer pa Ḥbyuṅ gnas | Gñer pa Don grub | Dar ga Blo bzaṅ don grub | Dar ga Bla ma skyabs | Dar ga Sri thar | Dar ga Ḥjam dbyaṅs | Dar ga Dam chos | Dar ga Sñiṅ po la sogs paḥi dge γyog pa rnams daṅ | Ja ma tshogs thu | śiṅ len pa chu len pa sogs daṅ |

par dpon Dge sloṅ Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan | Dge sloṅ Ratna | Dge sloṅ Grags pa | Dge sloṅ Ḥbum | Dge sloṅ Mgon po skyabs | Pa tha | Bla ma skyabs sogs daṅ |

par yig bris pa po | Khe che yeḥaṅ ge Dge sloṅ Bstan pa dar rgyas | Dge sloṅ Rnam sras | Dge sloṅ Kun dgaḥ rgya mtsho | Dge sloṅ Blo bzaṅ śes rab | Dge sloṅ Kun dgaḥ | Dge sloṅ Rta mgrin skyabs | Mkhas grub | Dge sloṅ Tshul khrims phun tshogs | Dge sloṅ Ḥod zer | Dge sloṅ Yi dam bsruṅ | Dge sloṅ Luṅ rigs | Dge sloṅ Dkon mchog | Dge sloṅ Mchog gsum rdo rje | Dge sloṅ Tshul khrims | Dge sloṅ Bkra śis don grub | Dge sloṅ Śes rab | Dpal ldan rdo rje | Ḥjam dbyaṅs | Rgyas grub | Spyin pa | Dge sloṅ Dge ḥphel | Dge sloṅ Mgon dkar skyabs | Dge sloṅ Blo bzaṅ tshe riṅ | Thun moṅ cer gal | Dge sloṅ Tshul khrims | Ṅag dbaṅ | Ḥphrin las | Dge sloṅ Brtson ḥgrus | Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan | Dge sloṅ Chos grags | Bde legs | Mkhas grub | Dkaḥ bcu Mgon po skyabs | Ḥchi med rdo rje | Dge sloṅ Mgon dkar | Brtan pa | Ba-yar | Dar rgyas | **[10 (1) a]** Chos ḥphel | Don grub | Zla ba | Chos ḥphel | Bstan ḥdzin | Chos mchog | Dge legs yon tan | Gur skyabs | Bkaḥ ḥgyur | Mgon po skyabs | Thabs mkhas | Dmag zor | Gsaṅ ḥdus | Ḥjam dpal | Don grub sogs daṅ |

par bkos pa po | Sri thar | Brtson ḥgrus | Rnam sras | Rta mgrin sruṅ | Ḥphel rgyas | Spyin pa | Dkon mchog | Blo bzaṅ | Dpal ldan ḥod zer | Muṅ khu rdo rje | Don grub rdo rje | Rta mgrin | Blo bzaṅ dge ḥdun | Rgyal sras | Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan | Rdo rje sruṅ | Dge sloṅ khu | Mchog gsum | Ñi ma ḥod zer | Blo bzaṅ tshul khrims | Rnam rgyal | Tshe riṅ don grub | Ṅag dbaṅ | Phun tshogs rdo rje | Bstan ḥdzin | Chos skyoṅ| Rnam sras | Dpal ldan | Tshe riṅ don grub | Blo bzaṅ mgon po | Rdo rje | Śes rab | Blo bzaṅ | Brtsegs pa | Ha sa | Don grub | Tshe mdo | Badzra skyabs | Tshul khrims | Ṅag dbaṅ | Rten ḥbrel | Don grub | Dkon mchog dam pa | Lha mo bsruṅ | Chos maṅ | Bstan bsruṅ | Dge sloṅ Brtan pa | Stobs | Mun khu tshog thu | Blo gsal | Sman bla skyabs | Pa tha sva ri | Ḥjigs byed | Grags pa rgya mtsho | Chos rgya mtsho | Dkon mchog | Bsod nams phun tshogs | Dpal gyi ñi ma | Bstan paḥi | Yi dam skyabs | Chos rgyal | So sor | Srid gsum | Pañtsa rakṣa | A yurdzñā na | **[10 (1) b]** Tshe riṅ rdo rje | Karma | Spen pa | Pa tha ḥor zhi hu | Bde mchog | Tshul khrims | Phyag rdor byams pa | Bla ma skyabs | Dge ḥdun | Bstan ḥdzin | Bstan paḥi | Ḥjigs med | Gdugs dkar | Thabs mkhas | Ye śes rgya mtsho | Śes rab rgya mtsho | Dkon mchog rgya mtsho | Bstan pa rin chen | Dge ḥdun | Bstan pa rab rgyas | Tshul khrims | Blo bzaṅ sbyin pa | Don grub rgya mtsho | Dge legs yon tan | Dge legs sbyin pa | Grags pa rdo rje | Ye śes rdo rje | Ye śes ḥjam dbyaṅs | Brtan pa rdo rje | Tshe riṅ skyabs | Tshe riṅ rdo rje | Ḥjam dpal | Bsod nams | Dam chos | Dri med | Kun dgaḥ don grub | Rgyal mtshan bzaṅ po | Bstan ḥphel | Śes rab mchog ldan | Śes rab mchog grub | Thu mvur | Bsam gtan | Bde mchog | Bden pa | Dam chos | Gsuṅ bur | Śū kra | Bstan ḥphel sogs so |

de ltar dam pa gaṅ gi dmigs med thugs rjeḥi rdzu ḥphrul gyi mthus tshaṅ mas ḥbad pa daṅ nan tan chen poḥi sgo nas rnam dkar rlabs po cheḥi bya ba ḥdi ni dpal gsaṅ paḥi bdag pohi ḥdul zhiṅ | chen po Hor yul gyi byaṅ ṅos mtho ris kyi dge mtshan mchog tu yaṅs paḥi me tog mandā ra ba nor ḥdzin gyi rgyan du mṅon par ḥphes (= ḥphos?) pa lta buḥi Khal khaḥi yul dbus | saḥi dge bcu rnams tshaṅ zhiṅ skye dgu rnams bag phebs pa daṅ | ḥgrogs na bde zhiṅ rgyud ḥjam pa | **[10 (2) a]** spro śugs che zhiṅ lus daṅ sems kyi rtsal che ba | dgaḥ skyid kyi rtse dgas rgyun du rol ba | blo khog yaṅs śiṅ gtoṅ la phod pa | dkon mchog la dad gus che zhiṅ pha ma sogs rgan pa rnams la sri zhu che ba | yul gzhan gyi skye bo rnams spro bas lhags te raṅ yul gtan du skyur ba | phyogs gzhan gyi skyes mchog du mas kyaṅ thugs spro zhiṅ bsṅags paḥi me tog mṅon par ḥthor ba | dkaḥ tshigs med par chos kyi gnad phigs paḥi blo gsal mkhas maṅ bye bas sde snod gsum daṅ rgyud sde bzhiḥi ḥchad ñan gyi sgra dbyaṅs brgyud mar sgrogs śiṅ | slab pa gsum daṅ gsaṅ ba rim gñis kyi ñams len rnams gaṅgaḥi rgyun ltar mṅon par ḥphel bzhin pa sogs chos daṅ srid kyi dpal ḥbyor ḥdod dgur ḥkhyil zhiṅ snod bcud kyi ḥbyor ba phun sum tshogs pa mthaḥ dag ma tshaṅ ba med par lhun gyis grub pa | dgaḥ skyid ḥdzom paḥi sñan paḥi ba dan phyogs bcur γyo ba |

byaṅ phyogs bstan paḥi chu ḥgo chos sde chen po Khu re ye chen mo ḥam | Ri bo dge rgyas dgaḥ ldan bśad sgrub gliṅ du | ḥjam dbyaṅs goṅ ma chen mo Śvaḥi thun gser khrir mṅaḥ gsol baḥi lo gñis pa | rab tshes naṅ gi bgraṅ bya zhe bzhi pa thun moṅ zhes pa lcags pho khyi lo | rab byuṅ khri phrag gis mtshams gcig tu dbyar gnas par khas blaṅs pa daṅ | Rje btsun paḥi yig chaḥi steṅ nas ḥchad ñan mdzad rgyuḥi grva tshaṅ Yid dgaḥ chos ḥdzin gliṅ gsar du **[10 (2) b]** tshugs pa sogs ṅo mtshar bkra śis dge mtshan ḥbum phrag mṅon par ḥkhyil baḥi lor mjug rdzogs par bsgrubs pa lags so |

ḥdir smras pa |

rgyal bstan spyi daṅ rgyal ba gñis pa yi |
bstan pa ḥdzin ciṅ dar baḥi smon lam mthus |
zhiṅ ḥdir yaṅ yaṅ byon nas bstan ḥgroḥi don |
rgya cher sgrub la blo ldan su mi dad || **[1]**

mgon deḥi mchog sprul naṅ nas cher ḥphags paḥi |
sku ḥphreṅ brgyad paḥi mdzad pa mthaḥ yas pa |
tshogs paḥi ḥdu byed phyogs bcuḥi mthaḥ blta bas |
dpag dkaḥ mdzad pa ḥdi ko ṅo mtshar che || **[2]**

thugs bskyed smon lam bsgrubs paḥi rnam dkar las |
so skye lta ci ḥphags pa phal cher gyi |

yul las ḥdas śiṅ mkhar śoṅ mi nus pas |
gzugs can min paḥi tshul du gnas sam sñam || [3]

ḥdi ni ḥdod don ḥbyuṅ baḥi ḥdod ḥjo ba |
rgyal bstan kunda rgyas paḥi ḥod dkar can |
ma rig mun pa sel byed ñi maḥaṅ yin |
rlabs chen mdzad la su yis ḥgran par nus || [4]

yaṅs paḥi rgyal khams Hor gyi yul gru ḥdir |
bstan rgyun mi ñams rgya cher ḥphel baḥi phyir |
chos sbyin mi zad gter gyi sgo phye nas |
phyogs mthar spel ba mgon po khyod min su || [5]

zhes bya ba ḥdi ni bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad paḥo ||

CONTENTS

*

ARTICLES

L. Alsdorf, Aśokas Schismen-Edikt und das Dritte Konzil . . . 161
Lokesh Chandra, A newly Discovered Urga Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur 175
——, Transcription of the Introductory Part of the Urga Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur 192

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Yūpayaṣṭi- (Divy. 244,11) (F. B. J. Kuiper) 204
Skt. *adṛśam:* Gr. *ἔδρακον*? (F. B. J. Kuiper) 205

REVIEWS

Paul Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (F. B. J. Kuiper) 207
Ugo Bianchi, *Zamān i Ōhrmazd, Lo Zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza* (F. B. J. Kuiper) 212
Nils Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* (J. W. de Jong) 216
Alfonsa Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (J. W. de Jong) 220
David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himālaya* (J. W. de Jong). 221
Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, or Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path (J. W. de Jong). 223
Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (J. W. de Jong). . . 225
Giuseppe Tucci, *Storia della filosofia indiana* (J. W. de Jong) . . 226
Yamada Ryūjō, *Bongo butten no bunkengaku josetsu* (J. W. de Jong) 227
Karl Eugen Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos* (J. W. de Jong) 229
Ludwik Sternbach, "Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the *Hitopadeśa*"; ——, *A New Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra Manuscript* (J. W. de Jong) 230
Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Edward Conze) 232
Śrautakośa, *Śrautayajñānuṣaṅgivacanasaṃkalpanarūpaḥ śrautasūtrānuvādarūpaś ca* (J. Gonda) 235

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

Publications Received. 238
Contributors to this Issue 240

MOUTON & CO., PUBLISHERS, The Hague (Holland)

Recent publications:

Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar
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With warm regards to
Mr. Gene Smith

Origin of the Avalokiteśvara of Potala

NĪLAKAṆṬHA LOKEŚVARA AS THE BUDDHIST APOTHEOSIS OF HARI-HARA

俱嚧俱嚧羯蒙 二十五

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1979

此是嗅摩醯首羅天

महेश्वर देव

Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi

NĪLAKAṆṬHA LOKEŚVARA AS THE BUDDHIST APOTHEOSIS OF HARI-HARA

Hsüan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara on the Potala in the following words (Beal 1884:2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Īśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogī (a Pāṁśupata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires".

Watters (1905:2.229) summarises the above passage as follows: "In the south of the country near the sea was the Mo-lo-ya (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To the east of this was Pu-ta-lo-ka (Potalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as Maheśvara, and consoles the

suppliant with this (*sic*) answer".

Hsüan-tsang must have read in the Avataṁsaka-sūtra about the earthly paradise of Avalokiteśvara: "Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhabhadra (A.D.420) calls Kuanyin's mountain Kuang-ming (光明) or 'Brilliance', which is usually given as the rendering for Malaya, but a later translator, Śikshānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka" (Watters 1905:2.231). Buddhabhadra's rendering of Potala is 'Brilliance'. It refers to its etymology: Tamil *pottu* (*potti-*) 'to light (as a fire)', Kota *pot-* (*poty-*) id., Kannada *pottu* n. 'flaming', *pottige* 'flaming, flame', Tulu *potta* 'hot, burning' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:298 no.3691). In Kannada analogous words are: *pŏttige* 'flaming, flame', *pŏttisu* 'to cause to burn with flame, to kindle, to light', *pŏttu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to be kindled, to catch fire, to flame', *pŏttu* '1.flaming, 2.the sun, 3.time' (Kittĕl 1894:1020). In ancient times the magnificence of the temple of Avalokiteśvara must have been resplendent and dazzling to the devotees who reached it after negotiating inaccessible cliffs and ravines: a transcendence beyond forbidding barriers.

In the above passage Avalokiteśvara at Potala sometimes take the form of Īśvara (Śiva) and sometimes that of a Pāśupata yogin. In fact Śiva was metamorphosed into Avalokiteśvara. This is corroborated by the Nīlakaṇṭhaka and Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī where Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is an apotheosis of Śiva and Viṣṇu (Hari-Hara). The Nīlakaṇṭhaka was translated into Chinese by three masters in the seventh and early eighth century: by Chih-t'ung twice during A.D.627-649 (T.1057a and T.1057b = Nj.318), by Bhagavaddharma during A.D.650-660 (T.1059 and T.1060 = Nj.320), and by Bodhiruci in A.D.709 (T.1058 = Nj.319).

The Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi (worked A.D.719-741, T.1112), twice by his disciple Amoghavajra (worked A.D.723-774, T.1111, 1113b), and in the fourteenth century by Dhyānabhadra (worked A.D.1326-1363, T.1113a).

Twelve scrolls of Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara texts in Chinese have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957:105-106). Manuscript 3793 of the Stein Collection of Chinese scrolls from Tun-huang adds a note at the end: 'Translated at Khotan by the śramaṇa Bhagavaddharma of Western India'. Here West means 'South India' as we have already pointed out in our article on Oḍḍiyāna (in print). It is notable that Bhagavaddharma accomplished the translation at Khotan. Nīlakandi for Nīlakaṇṭha in Amoghavajra's translation (T.1113b), is a Central Asian form: Uigur nominative singular ending in i.

AMOGHAVAJRA'S VERSION

The version of Amoghavajra (T.1113B) has been the most widespread ever since it was written in the eighth century. Its popularity has not waned to this day. Suzuki (1950:22-23) includes its English rendering as an essential part of the Zen repertoire of sūtras, "what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours" (ibid.11):

DHĀRAṆĪ OF THE GREAT COMPASSIONATE ONE

Adoration to the Triple Treasure!

Adoration to Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva who is the great compassionate one!

Om, to the one who performs a leap beyond all fears!

Having adored him, may I enter into the heart of the blue-necked one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara. It means the completing of all meaning, it is pure, it is that which makes all beings victorious and cleanses the path of existence.

Thus:

Om, the seer, the world-transcending one!
O Hari the Mahābodhisattva!
All, all!
Defilement, defilement!
The earth, the earth!
It is the heart!
Do, do the work!
Hold fast, hold fast!
O great victor!
Hold on, hold on!
I hold on!
To Indra the creator!
Move, move, my defilement-free seal!
Come, come!
Hear, hear!

A joy springs up in me!
Speak, speak! Directing!
Hulu, hulu, mala, hulu, hulu, hile!
Sara, sara! siri, siri! suru, suru!
Be awakened, be awakened!
Have awakened, have awakened!
O merciful one, blue-necked one!
Of daring ones, to the joyous, hail!
To the successful one, hail!
To the great successful one, hail!
To the one who has attained mastery in the discipline, hail!
To the blue-necked one, hail!
To the boar-faced one, hail!
To the one with a lion's head and face, hail!
To the one who holds a weapon in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a wheel in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a lotus in his hand, hail!
To the blue-necked far-causing one, hail!
To the beneficient one referred to in this Dhāranī beginning
with "Namaḥ", hail!
Adoration to the Triple Treasure!
Adoration to Avalokiteśvara!
Hail!
May these [prayers] be successful!
To this magical formula, hail!

Suzuki has used the Sanskrit text in Siddham script given alongside the Chinese trancription, as the basis for his translation. The Sanskrit is corrupt beyond recognition in certain cases: *dhava namo narakidhi herima*. Suzuki has taken 'O Hari' from another version. *sarva*^{2} 'all, all', is in fact *sarpa*^{2} 'descend^{2}'. *Mala*^{2} translated by Suzuki as 'defilement, defilement' should be *smara*^{2} 'bear in mind^{2}'. *dhiriṇi-rāya* is rendered as 'I hold on. To Indra the creator'. Its correct Sanskrit is *dhāriṇī-rāja* 'O Lord of the dhāraṇī (namely, Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara)'. *Vaṣa-vaṣaṁ praśaya* is done into English as 'Speak! speak! Directing'. Its Sanskrit reconstruction is *viṣaṁ*^{2} *praṇāśaya* 'destroy every poison (of the senses)'. *dhaṣiṇina paṣamana svāhā* is interpreted as 'of daring one, to the joyous, hail'. Its correct text would be *[dehi me] darśanaṁ/ praharamānāya svāhā* 'appear [unto me]. To the overlooking Lord, hail'. Suzuki has missed not only the words of the dhāraṇī, but also its structure. The dhāraṇī can be divided into five parts: 1. initial salutation, 2. name of the Avalokiteśvara, 3. śloka enunciating merits

of the hṛdaya-dhāraṇī, 4. dhāraṇī commencing with the classical phrase <u>tadyathā</u>, 5. final salutation. It escaped the attention of Suzuki that the third part is a śloka.

The text as written in Siddham script in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (T.1113B, 20.498-501) is transcribed below:

Namo Ratna-trayāya

1. Namo āryāvalokiteśvarāya, bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya.
2. Oṁ sarva-rabhya-śudhana dasya namoskṛta imo aryāvarukitesivaraṁ dhava namo narakidhi.
3. Herima vadhaṣame[1] sarva athādu śubhaṁ /
   ajeyaṁ sarva-bhūtanama vạ-gama-vadudu[2] //
4. Tadyathā /
   Oṁ / Avaloka[3] lokatekarate/ ehya mahābodhisatva sarva2/ mala2[4]
   mama hṛdayaṁ/ kuru2 karma/ dhuru2 vajayate mahavajayate/ dhara2
   dhiriṇi-rāya[5]/ cala-cala mama vamara-muktele[6], ehe-ehe/ cinda2/
   arṣaṁ pracali/ vaṣa-vaṣaṁ[7] praśaya/ huru2 mara huru2/ sara2
   siri2 suru2/ bodhiya2 bodhaya2/ maitriya Narakindi dhaṣiṇina[8]
   paṣamana svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddhāyogeśva-
   karaya svāhā/ Narakindi svāhā/
   maranara[9] svāhā/ sirasaṁha-[10]mukhāya svāhā/
   pamahāsiddhāya[11] svāhā/ cakrasiddhāya[12] svāhā/ padma-kastaya svāhā/
   Narakindi vagarayā[13] svāhā/ mabari śaṅkaya svāhā.
5. Namo raratna-trayāya/ Namo āryāvarokiteśvaraya bodhi svāhā//

The above text can be corrected by a camparison with the version of Chih-t'ung (worked A.D.627-649); which we find in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. All the Sanskrit texts occurring in the Ming Tripiṭaka were collected together by Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje and his assistants in 8+2 volumes of the quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs which bears the Chinese title: <u>Yü chih man han mêng-ku hsi-fan ho-pi ta-tsang ch'üan chou</u> (edited by the author in 22 volumes under the title <u>Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking</u>, abbreviated to STP). The prime objective of the redactors of the quadrilingual dhāraṇī-collection was to restore the Sanskrit text to its appropriate accuracy with the help of Tibetan texts. It proved

to be a remarkable effort at textual reconstruction undertaken as early as the first half of the 18th century.

Herebelow is the reconstituted Sanskrit text with variant readings from STP.5.1290-6.1304 which have been used for emendations:

/Namo Ratna-trayāya/

1. Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya/
2. Oṁ/sarva-bhaya-śodhanāya tasya namaskṛtvā imu Āryāvalokiteśvara tava namo Nīlakaṇṭha/
3. hṛdayaṁ vartayiṣyāmi[1] sarvārtha-sādhanaṁ śubham/ ajeyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ bhava-mārga-viśodhakam[2]//
4. Tadyathā/
   Oṁ/ Ālokādhipati[3] lokātikrānta/ ehy-[ehi] mahābodhisattva sarpa-sarpa/ smara-smara[4] mama hṛdayaṁ/ kuru-kuru karma/ dhuru-dhuru vijayate mahāvijayate/ dhara-dhara dhāriṇī-rāja[5]/ cala-cala mama vimala-mūrtte[6], ehi-ehi/ chinda-chinda/ arṣa pracali/ viṣaṁ-viṣaṁ[7] praṇāśaya/ hulu-hulu smara hulu-hulu/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru/ bodhiya-bodhiya bodhaya-bodhaya/ maitriya Nīlakaṇṭha [8][dehi me] darśanam[8]/
   praharāyamāṇāya svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ sidhayogīśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/ varāha-mukhāya[9] svāhā/ narasiṁha-mukhāya[10] svāhā/ gadā-hastāya[11] svāhā/ cakra-hastāya[12] svāhā/ padma-hastāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭha-pāṇḍarāya[13] svāhā/ Mahābali-Śaṅkarāya svāhā/
5. Namo ratna-trayāya/
   Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya svāhā/

[1]STP. hridayam vartayiśami.

[2]STP. has the correct text. dudu occurs elsewhere too as an expletive to slur over lacunae when words were forgotten.

[3]STP. Āloka-adhipati: this reminds us of Buddhabhadra (A.D.420) who renders Potalaka the mountain of Avalokiteśvara as Kuang-ming "Brilliance". The Avalokiteśvara of Potalaka was Ālokādhipati or the Lord of Effulgence, and this phrase points to the fact that

Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara and the Avalokiteśvara of Potala are identical.

[4]STP.1294 line 1 smrara hridayan.

[5]STP.1295 line 2 dharenadriśvara.

[6]STP.1295 line 3 vimalamūrte.

[7]STP.1298 line 1 dveṣa-viṣa-vināśanam moha-viṣa-vināśanam.

[8]STP.1300 line 2 daḍāhi mė darśana-kāmasa darśanāṁ / praharāyamāna svāhā /

[9]STP.1300 line 4 parāhamukhāya.

[10]STP.1301 line 1 narasihamukhāya.

[11]STP.1301 line 2 vajrahastāya. In the Siddham of the Chinese text it is pama which can equally well be gadā. The dhāraṇī refers to Varāha and Narasiṁha, the two incarnations of Viṣṇú. The attributes that follow should also pertain to Viṣṇu: mace (gadā), discus (cakra), lotus (padma) and conch (śaṅkha). In this light pama has to be emended to gadā and not to vajra.

[12]STP.1302 lines 3-4 cakrāyudharāya svāhā / śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā. The śaṁkha 'conch' is missing in our text.

[13]Hsüan-tsang says that the Avalokiteśvara at Potalaka sometimes appears as a yogin smeared with ashes. The word pāṇḍarāya is an allusion to this attribute.

Translation

Adoration the Triple Gem

1. Adoration the noble Avalokiteśvara, bodhisattva, mahāsattva, the Great Compassionate One.
2. Oṁ. Having paid adoration to One who Dispels all Fears, O noble Avalokiteśvara, to You adoration, O Nīlakaṇṭha.
3. I shall enunciate the 'heart' dhāraṇī which ensures all purposes, is pure and invincible for all beings, and which purifies the path of existence.
4. Thus:

Oṁ. Lord of Effulgence, the World-Transcending One. Come, come,

great bodhisattva, descend, descend. Bear in mind my heart-dhāraṇī. Do do the work. Hold fast, hold fast, oh Victor, oh Great Victor. Hold on, hold on, oh Lord of the Dhāraṇī. Move, move oh my immaculate Image, come, come. ... ... Destroy every poison. Quick, quick, bear in mind, quick, quick, Descend, descend, descend², descend². Being enlightened² enlighten me². Oh merciful Nīlakaṇṭha appear unto me. To You who eyes us, hail. To the Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha in Yoga hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha hail. To the Boar-faced One hail. To One with the Face of Narasiṁha hail. To One who bears the mace in His hand, hail. To the Holder of cakra in His hand, hail. To One who Sports a Lotus in His hand, hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha smeared [with ashes], hail. To the mighty Śaṅkara hail.

5. Adoration to the Triple Gem. Adoration to the noble Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, hail.

CHIH-T'UNG'S VERSION

Now we shall take up Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje's reconstruction (STP.5.1290-6.1304) of the Nīlakaṇṭhaka as transcribed by Chih-t'ung during A.D.627-649 (Nj.318, T.1057b). This version is different and longer than that of Amoghavajra. The words ehi hare (hare is the vocative of Hari) and ehi hara are of crucial importance, as they are certain indications that the Potala image was a syncretic icon of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). Hari-hara Lokeśvara is one of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara in the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu in Nepal (Bhattacharyya 1958:429 no.84). The following characteristics allude to Hari : padma-hasta, Vajra-hasta, cakrāyudhadhara, śaṅkha-śabda-nirghoṣana. These are the attributes held in the four hands of Viṣṇu, except vajra which replaces gadā. He has the faces of two incarnations of Viṣṇu: Varāha-mukha, MahāVarāha-mukha, Narasiṁha-mukha, MahāNarasiṁha-mukha. He has the prowess of Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇa-bala-rūpa). He is Hara-Hari (Hara-hare, vocative) and Mahāpadmanābha which is an epithet of Viṣṇu and also one of his 24 aspects (caturviṁśati-mūrti, Liebert 1976:204). He is standing

on a lotus (padma-sthita).

The very title of the dhāraṇī refers to Nīlakaṇṭha, which is an epithet of Śiva. He is invoked as Hara (ehi Hara). His diadem is his black matted locks (kṛṣṇa-jaṭā-mukuṭa). He is dark blue in complexion (kṛṣṇa-varṇa). He is the Immutable Lord (niścareśvara = Sthāṇu or Sthāṇvīśvara, an epithet of Śiva). He wears a black serpent as the sacred thread (kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta). He is the Destroyer of the three cities (Tripuradahana, an epithet of the violent manifestation of Śiva, Liebert 1976:304). He holds the dreadful poison (viṣadhara) that he swallowed on its emergence from the churning of the ocean of milk that threatened the world with destruction (mahā-halāhala-viṣa) and in consequence destroys the sinister poisons of passion (rāga), envy (dveṣa), and delusion (moha). The mahāṭṭahāsya of the dhāraṇī refers to the fury of His laughter, which is unique to Him. Siddha-yogīśvara is again an epithet of Śiva.

The full text of Chih-t'ung reads:

नमो रत्नत्रयाय।

नम आर्यवलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय।

तद्यथा—

ॐ सर्व-बन्धन-च्छेदनकराय सर्व-भव-समुद्रोच्छोषणकराय सर्व-व्याधि-प्रशमनकराय सर्व-ईत्युपद्र[व]-विनाशनकराय सर्व-भयो-त्तारणकराय तस्य नमस्कृत्वा इदं आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय तव नीलकण्ठ नाम वरम्।

हृदयं वर्तयिष्यामि सर्वार्थ-साधनं शुभम्।
अजेयं सर्व-भूतानां भव-मार्ग-विशोधकम्॥

तद्यथा—

आलोकाधिपति लोकातिक्रान्त एहि (ग्रु. °क्रान्ते रा) हरे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे प्रिय बोधिसत्त्व, हे कारुणिक, स्मर हृदयम्। एहि हर आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय। परम-मैत्री-चित्त कारुणिक कुरु कुरु कर्म। साधय साधय विद्यां। देहि देहि मे परमं। गमं गम विहंगम सिद्ध-योगीश्वर। धुरु धुरु। विजयन्ति महाविजयन्ति। धर धर धारणीन्द्रेश्वर (ग्रु. धरेनद्रिश्वर)। चल चल विमलमूर्त्ते आर्यावलोकितेश्वर जिन कृष्ण-जटा-मुकुट ए (ग्रु. °मुकुटे)। अलंकृत-शरीर लम्ब प्रलम्ब विलम्ब महासिद्धविद्याधर। बल बल महाबल। मल्ल (ग्रु. मल) मल्लमल्ल (ग्रु. मलमल) महामल्ल (ग्रु. °मल)। चल चल महाचल। कृष्ण-वर्ण कृष्ण-पक्ष कृष्ण-पाश। निर्गन्धन। हे पद्महस्त। चर चर निश्चरेश्वर। कृष्ण-सर्प-कृत-यज्ञोपवीत एहि हे। महावराहमुख त्रिपुरदहनेश्वर नारायण-बल-रू[प] विषधर ए (ग्रु. °धरि)। हे नीलकण्ठ एह्येहि महा-हलाहल-विष-निर्जित लोकस्य राग-विष-विनाशन द्वेष-विष-विनाशन मोह-विष-विनाशन निर्मोक्षन हुलु हुलु। राहुला राहुला। हर-रे (ग्रु. हलाहेरे) महापद्मनाभ। सर सर सिरि सिरि सुरु सुरु। बुद्ध बुद्ध बोधय बोधय। बोधयामि ते नीलकण्ठ। एह्येहि पद्म-स्थित (ग्रु. पाम°) नरसिंहमुख (ग्रु. मचा°)। हस हस। मुञ्च मुञ्च महाट्टहासं। एह्येहि भो भो महासिद्धयोगीश्वर। भण भण वाचं। साधय साधय सविद्यान्। स्मर स्मर तान्। भगवन्त लोक[ि]तलोका तान् तथागतानां। ददाहि मे दर्शनकामस्[य] दर्शनं। प्रहराधमाण स्वाहा। सिद्धाय स्वाहा। सिद्धयोगीश्वराय स्वाहा।

नीलकण्ठाय स्वाहा। वराहमुखाय स्वाहा। महावरा[हो]मुखाय स्वाहा। नरसिंहमुखाय स्वाहा। महानरसिंहमुखाय स्वाहा। वज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा। महावज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा। सिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा। महासिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा। पद्महस्ताय स्वाहा। महापद्महस्ताय स्वाहा। कृष्ण-सर्प-कृत-यज्ञोपवीताय स्वाहा। महामणि (mgl. °माल°) मुकुटधराय स्वाहा। चक्रायुध[धो]राय स्वाहा। शंख-शब्द-निबोधनाय स्वाहा। वाम-[स्]कन्ध-देश-स्थित-कृष्णाजिनाय स्वाहा। वाम-हस्त-व्याघ्र-चर्म-निवासनाय स्वाहा। लोकेश्वराय स्वाहा। महालोकेश्वराय स्वाहा। सर्व-सिद्धेश्वराय स्वाहा। रक्ष रक्ष मां स्वाहा।

नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय। सिध्यन्तु मे मन्त्रपदानि स्वाहा॥

Conclusions

1. Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara and Potalaka Avalokiteśvara are both an epiphany of Hari-Hara. In all probability the two are identical.

2. The epithet Ālokātikrānta 'He who transcends Effulgence' supports the hypothesis that Nīlakaṇṭha is the Lokeśvara at Potalaka. Potalaka is rendered into Chinese by Buddhabhadra as "Brilliance" (āloka).

3. Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara has the attributes of Śiva and at the end of the dhāraṇī he is lauded as one who holds the four implements carried by Viṣṇu in his four hands: śaṅkha, cakra, gadā and padma. It reminds of the syncretism of Hari-Hara images.

4. The Dalai Lamas, the Rulers of Tibet, are reincarnations of the Avalokiteśvara who resides on the Potala. The palace of the Dalai Lamas at Lhasa is in fact designated Potala. The aspect of Avalokiteśvara as the Sovereign Head of State, stems from Viṣṇu. A King on earth is an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

5. The image at Potalaka symbolised the syncretism of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and in its later development when Buddhism became dominant it became Avalokiteśvara. An important fact for the convergence of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. A spot once sanctified remained sacrosanct, while externals underwent change.

6. The text of the dhāraṇī in Chih-t'ung's version is longer and has crucial details: kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavītāya svāhā / ... vāma-kandha-deśa-sthita-kṛṣṇājināya svāhā / (STP.6.1302-3). So also other versions preserve variations of consequence. A detailed study of all the Chinese translations of the dhāraṇī alongwith their descriptive text in Chinese giving directions for its use, is essential to trace the impregnation of Buddhism by Śaiva/Vaiṣṇava elements and the emergence of syncretic trends in the Tantras. The dates of the Chinese translations can help to define the chronology of philosophical development in India.

7. Nīlakandi in Amoghavajra's version is an Uigur form, which he must have employed by force of habit. This tiny but subtle and crucial nuance is decisive in confirming the view that he hailed from Samarkand.

Lokesh Chandra

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AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION
from the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka
(it excludes the Chinese text)

No. 1113 B (cf. Nos 1111-1113A)

[1]大慈大悲救苦觀[2]世音自在王菩薩廣大圓滿無礙自在青頸大悲心[3]陀羅尼

大廣智不空譯

𑖡 𑖦𑖺 𑖨 𑖝𑖿𑖡 𑖝𑖿𑖨 𑖧𑖯 𑖧

南無 喝羅 怛那 哆羅 夜 耶一

𑖡 𑖦𑖺 𑖁 𑖨𑖿𑖧

南無 阿 唎耶二

是如意輪菩薩本身到此誦在心

𑖪 𑖩𑖺 𑖎𑖰 𑖝𑖸 𑖫𑖿𑖪 𑖨𑖯 𑖧

婆 盧 羯 帝 爍鉢 囉 耶三

𑖤𑖺 𑖠𑖰 𑖭 𑖝𑖿𑖪𑖯 𑖧

菩 提 薩 哆婆 耶四

摩訶薩埵婆耶五

摩訶迦嚧尼迦耶六

唵七

薩皤囉罰曳八

數怛那怛寫九

南無悉吉慄埵伊蒙阿唎耶十

婆嚧吉帝室佛楞馱婆十一

南無那囉謹墀十二

醯利摩皤哆沙咩十三

薩婆阿陀頭輸朋十四

阿逝孕十五

薩婆菩哆那摩縛伽十六

摩罰特豆十七

怛姪他十八唵

阿波盧醯盧迦帝十九

迦羅帝二十

夷醯唎 二十一

摩訶菩薩埵 二十二

薩婆薩婆 二十三

摩羅摩羅摩醯摩醯唎馱孕 二十四 同上

俱嚧俱嚧羯蒙 二十五

度嚧度嚧罰闍耶帝 二十六

摩訶罰闍耶帝 二十七 同上

陀羅陀羅 二十八

地利尼 二十九

囄耶 三十

遮囉遮囉 三十一

摩摩 弟子某甲受持

罰摩羅 三十二

穆帝囇 三十三

伊醯移醯 三十四

室那室那 三十五 同上

阿羅參佛羅舍利三十六

罰沙罰參佛羅舍耶三十七

呼嚧呼嚧麼囉三十八

呼嚧醯唎三十九同上

沙囉沙囉四十

悉唎悉唎四十一蘇嚧蘇嚧四十二

菩提唧菩提唧四十三

菩提耶菩提耶四十四

彌帝唎耶四十五

那囉謹墀四十六

他唎瑟尼那波夜摩那四十七

娑婆訶四十八同上悉陀夜四十九

娑婆訶五十法語摩訶悉陀夜娑婆訶

悉陀喻藝五十二

室皤伽羅耶　娑婆訶五十三

那囉謹墀五十五同上　娑婆訶五十六　摩囉那

囉五十七

娑婆訶五十八同上　悉囉僧阿穆佉耶五十九

娑婆訶六十同上　婆摩訶悉陀夜六十一同上

娑婆訶六十二同上者　吉囉阿悉陀夜六十三

娑婆訶六十四同上

婆摩羯悉哆夜六十五

娑婆訶六十六同上

那羅謹墀皤迦羅夜六十七同上　娑婆訶

六十八同上　摩婆唎勝羯夜六十九同上　娑婆訶

七十　南無喝囉怛那多囉夜耶七十一

南無阿唎耶七十二　婆嚧吉帝七十三　爍皤

囉耶七十四　菩提娑婆訶

青頸觀音陀羅尼一卷

青頸大悲心印

A NOTE ON THE GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS

by

LOKESH CHANDRA, New Delhi.

The discovery of Gilgit Manuscripts is a landmark in the history of Sanskrit, Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian studies. The events that lead to their exhumation have been described in details by Sylvain Lévi in *JA.* tome CCXX, 1932, pp. 13ff., and by Nalinaksha Dutt in Gilgit Manuscripts vol. 1 preface i-iv and 41-42. Inspite of their tremendous importance, no checklist has been published so far. A major part of this invaluable collection came to the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, which is now deposited in the National Archives of India, New Delhi preserved in five big boxes. A fragmentary leaf has been preserved at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay (*I HQ.*, vol. XIV, 1938, p. 409). Eleven leaves came into the possession of the British Museum, London. Leaves containing the Saṅgharakṣitā-vadāna of the Vinayavastu were with Sylvain Lévi, but they cannot be traced. For several years I had been trying to get about 1,500 leaves of the mss. which were in the possession of Capt. Agah Mohamed Ali Shah, M.A., of the Northern Command, Pakistan Signals, Rawalpindi. Due to various reasons the attempt to acquire them was not successful. I wrote to Prof. Dr. Joh. Nobel (cf. his *Udrāyaṇa König von Roruka*, Wiesbaden, 1950, *Vorwort*, note 1) and also to the British Museum to obtain these unique mss., but the plan did not mature. Ultimately I wrote to Prof. G. Tucci who with his characteristic zeal put in efforts to secure them, and finally succeeded. Now these leaves are on loan from the Pakistan Government with Prof. Tucci in Rome for proper scientific preservatory treatment and publication. During my visit to Rome in the winter of 1957, Prof. Tucci told me that they contain Tantric, Prajñāpāramitā and Vinaya texts besides a life of Buddha. So far nothing has been published about it. From an advertisement on the cover of the *East and West* we come to know that Dr. E. Conze is working on the Aṣṭādeśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.

In the present note I propose to give a rough list of those portions of the Gilgit mss. which are preserved in the National Archives of India and photographs or microfilms of which are found in Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira's collection.

In the accompanying list the titles are as tentatively given by a scholar when the collection was in the library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, when they are supported by a colophon it has been so indicated in the case of unpublished works. The numbers of leaves are revised after restoratory

treatment of the mss. The last column gives the page nos. of the handwritten catalogue of the photographs and microfilms of Gilgit mss. in Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira's collection. 'Ph.' refers to large-size readable photographs, and 'mf.' to 35 mm. negative microfilms.

Serial No.	*Title*	*No. of leaves*	*Page of the Catalogue*
1	Vinayavastu	182	
2	Prātimokṣasūtra	8	ph. 1
3	Prātimokṣa	38	ph. 17
4	Sūtravibhaṅga	29	ph. 18
5	Sūtravibhaṅga	3	ph. 19
6	Mahāvidyārājahṛdaya	50	mf. 26
7	Mahāsannipātadhrmaparyāyāḥ	66	ph. 2
8	Viśvantarāvadāna	9	ph. 3
9	Māndhātāvadāna(sic), and Dharmarucyavadāna	15	mf. 47
10	Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā and Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra, etc. (*cf.* serial nos. 31, 32, 34, 57).	27	ph. 4
11	Kūṭāgrāsūtra	3	ph. 5
12	Kāraṇḍavyūha	50	ph.157
13	Māndhātāvadāna (*cf.* no. 9), Mahāsudarśanāvadāna, Maitreyavyākaraṇa.	78	ph. 21
14	Mahāvidyādhāraṇī	9	ph. 22
15	Mahāvidyārājñīkavaca (cf. no. 17)	9	ph. 23
16	Avikalpapraveśaṁ nāma mahāyānasūtram	8	ph. 24
17	Mahāvidyārājñī (cf. no. 15)	12	ph. 25
18	Tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇasūtra	4	ph. 6
19	[Kālasūtra]	8	ph. 7
20	Annapānavidhi	3	ph. 8
21	Prasenajidgautamagāthā (cf. no. 59)	5	ph. 9
22	Maṇḍanavidhisādhana and Mudrāvidhāna	5	ph. 16
23	Vajradharma°	6	ph. 20
24	Prajñāpāramitā	152	mf. 36
25	"	45	mf. 38
26	"	20	mf. 39
27	"	43	mf. 40
28	"	54	mf. 41
29	Mahāsannipātamahāyānasūtra	17	mf. 42
30	Sarvatathāgata° (cf. no. 35)	35	mf. 61
31	Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra	14	mf. 48
32	"	1	

Serial No.	Title	No. of leaves	Page of the catalogue
33	Ekādaśamukhaṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ & Hayagrīvavidyā	22	mf. 43
34	Āryabhaiṣajyaguru nāma mahāyānasūtraṁ	41	mf. 44
35	Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna° (cf. no. 30)	22	mf. 45
36	Saṅghāṭamahādharmaparyāya	63	ph. 10
37	Saṅghāṭasūtra	91	ph. 12
38	Saṅghāṭadharma	23	ph. 14
39	Saṅghāṭadharma	15	ph. 15
40	Ajitasenavyākaraṇanirdeśaṁ nāma mahāyāna-sūtraṁ	41	mf. 27
41	Tantrasadbhāvasāra	1	mf. 28
42	[Bauddhadarśana]	1	mf. 29
43	Praṇāmastava	2	mf. 30
44	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	18	mf. 49
45	„	125	mf. 50
46	Samādhirājasūtra	162	mf. 31
47	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	34	mf. 62
48	„	41	mf. 55
49	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkadharmaparyāya	2	mf. 56
50	Prajñāpāramitā	10	mf. 57
51	Fragments from various mss.	28	mf. 58
52	„	22	mf. 59
53	Dārikagāthā	4	mf. 60
54	Mekhalavidyā	2	mf. 32
55	Rājadṛḍhanemigāthā	2	mf. 33
56	Fragments from different mss.	15	mf. 34
57	Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra (*cf.* nos. 10, 31, 32, 34)	1	mf. 52
58	Traidhātukīprāpti	1	mf. 35
59	Prasenajidgāthā (*cf.* no. 21)	6	mf. 53
60	Leaves of three different mss.	4	mf. 46
61	Fragmentary leaves of a mss.	4	mf. 54
62	Cūrṇa (" minute fragments ")		mf.

Hereafter follow notes on some of the titles.

Serial no. 1 (Vinayavastu).

1	Pravrajyāvastu	1-2	(missing)
		3-7	
		8-42	(missing)
		43-53	(in the British Museum, London. Photostat copy in Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira's collection.)

2	Poṣadhavastu	53		
		54	(missing)	(Dutt had 54)
		55-60		
		61-64	(missing)	(Dutt had 64)
		65-66		
3	Pravāraṇāvastu	71-74	(Dutt did not have 74)	
4	Varṣāvastu	75-80		
5	Carmavastu	80-91		
6	Bhaiṣajyavastu	91-93		
		94-128	(missing)	
		129-139		
7	Cīvaravastu	139-175		
8	Kaṭhinavastu	175-180		
9	Kośāmbakavastu	180-185		
10	Karmavastu	185-188		
11	Pāṇḍulohitakavastu	188-202		
12	Pudgalavastu	202-209		
13	Pārivāsikavastu	209-211		
14	Poṣadhasthāpanavastu	211-214		
15	Śayanāsanavastu	214-218		
		219-340	(missing) (Dutt had 300-309, 318, 319, 321-324, 326-328)	
16	Bhaiṣajyavastu	341-380	(Dutt had 381-399)	
		381-412	(missing)	
17	Saṅghabhedavastu	413-423		

Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt has given a list of the Vinayavastu leaves that came to his hands in Gilgit MSS. Vol. III, part 2, pp. i, ii. A number of them are not traceable now. These leaves have been shown above in brackets. It is very likely that the numbers of extant leaves given by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt are not correct (cf. N. P. Chakravarti in Minor Buddhist Texts part I. G. Tucci, p. 175).

The different vastus have been published in the Gilgit MSS. as follows: 1-5 in vol. III.4, 7-10 in vol. II.2, 11-15 in vol. III.3, 16 in vol. III.1, 17 in vol. III.4.

In his edition of Pravrajyāvastu, Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt has not utilised leaves 43-49a of the Gilgit manuscript which were in the British Museum. He has utilised leaves 49b 1.3 onwards as they had been published by Sylvain Lévi in the *JA*. CCXX, 1932, pp. 26-36. I am preparing a new critical edition of all the extant leaves duly recording the ms-readings, and also indicating the reconstructed portions which is not always clear in the edition of Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt.

The Bhaiṣajyavastu is printed in vol. III.1 of the Gilgit MSS. It corresponds to the actual mss. as follows :

Printed text	*ms. leaves*
beginning—p. 149 l.6	341-380
pp. 161-210	199-209
pp. 211-219	218-219
pp. 220-240	222-227
pp. 241-244 l.5	supplied from the Divyāvadāna
pp. 244 l.5-288	91-93 + 129-139

Leaves 341-380 of the Bhaiṣajyavastu as the 16th vastu belongs to the codex of the complete Vinayavastu. Leaves 91-93 and 129-139 either belong to a different codex or there has been a mistake on the part of the scribe who has copied from an original whose leaves were disarranged. Leaves 199-209, 218-19 and 222-227 certainly belong to a different codex. This is apparent from the scheme of the Vinayavastu codex given above where these leaf-numbers belong to other vastus. Thus, in the Bhaiṣajyavastu we have two codices, if not three.

Serial no. 2. Published by Anukul Chandra Banerjee : Prātimokṣasūtram (Mūlasarvāstivāda), Calcutta 1954.

Serial no. 3. Colophon : *III ⊙ III Pratimokṣas samāpta III* ⊙ III

Serial no. 7. cf. no. 29 Mahāsannipāta-mahāyānasūtra.

Serial no. 8. Ends : *Viśvantarāvadānaṁ samāptam* ॥ ⊙ ॥...

Serial no. 9. Māndhātāvadāna also occurs under serial no. 13.

Serial no. 10. Vajracchedikā leaves 5, 7-12 (published by N. P. Chakravarti in Minor Buddhist Texts, part I, G. Tucci,, Rome 1956, pp. 175 ff.). Leaf 12b line 3 : *Vajracchedikā nāma Prajñāpāramitā samāptaḥ.* On leaf 13 begins Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra (ms. ' C ' of Nalinaksha Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts. vol. I, p. 47). Leaves 14, 24-27 are missing. Bhaiṣajyaguru° must have ended on leaf 24. Leaves 28-34 unidentified. On leaf 35 begins the Sucandrāvadāna (*cf.* C. Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Skt. MSS., Add. 1400 p. 84).

Serial no. 11. Ends : ⊙ ॥ *Kūṭāgārasūtraṁ samāptam* ॥ ⊙.

Serial no. 16. Ends : ⊙ ॥ *Avikalpapraveśaṁ nāma mathānasūtra* ॥⊙॥

Serial no. 18. Ends : ⊙ ॥ *Tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇaṁ sūtraṁ samāpta* ॥ ⊙ ॥

Serial no. 20. Begins : *Oṁ svasti* ॥ *athātonnapānavidhim adhyāyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* ॥

Serial no. 22.	Colophon on leaf numbered 54 : ॥⊙॥ *Maṇḍanavidhisādhaṁ tritīyo paṭanavidhiḥ* ॥ ⊙ ॥ Colophon on leaf numbered 56 : ॥⊙॥ *Mudrāvidhāna catutho paṭanāvistaraḥ* ॥⊙॥.
Serial no. 29.	Cf. serial no. 7 Mahāsannipātadharmaparyāyāḥ. It is wrongly labelled Mekhalavidyā.
Serial no. 31.	Ms. 'A' of Gilgit MSS., vol. I, p. 47. Leaf 12 is missing. cf. serial nos. 10, 32, 34, 57.
Serial no. 33.	Ekādaśa° has been printed in Gilgit MSS., vol. I pp. 35 ff.
Serial no. 34.	Leaves 1-41 contain the complete text (MS. 'B' of Gilgit MSS., vol. I p. 47). Cf. serial nos, 10, 31, 32, 57.
Serial no. 35.	Published in Gilgit MSS., vol. I pp. 47-90.
Serial no. 36.	On leaf 54a line 1 the colophon reads: ॥⊙॥ *Saṅghāṭe mahādharmaparyāye Sarvaśūraparipṛcchā samāptā* ॥⊙॥
Serial no. 40.	Ends : ॥⊙॥ *Ajitasenavyākaraṇanirdeśaṁ nāma mahāyānasūtraṁ samāptam* ॥⊙॥. Published in Gilgit MSS., vol. I pp. 101-36.
Serial no. 46.	Published in Gilgit MSS., vol. II parts 1, 2.
Serial no. 48.	Fragmentary paper ms. nos. 48-52 are wrongly marked Jātaka. There is no Jātaka in the lot.
Serial no. 56.	Stray leaves from at least five different mss. Four or five these leaves seem to belong to the same ms. which has been published as Ekādaśamukha (no. 33). Some leaves are of dhāraṇīs. It is wrongly marked as Jātaka. A page contains a colophon which gives the name of Paṭoladeva Shāhi.
Serial no. 59.	Ends : ॥⊙ *Prasenajidgāthās samāptā* ॥⊙.
Serial no. 60, 61.	Wrongly marked as Śāriputra. The name Śāriputra does not occur in them.

NOTES ON CENTRAL ASIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

by

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The exhibition of the treasures of Central Asian art from the West Berlin State Museums held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York has awakened fresh interest in understanding this important phase of Buddhist art. Several items call for more precise identification.

1. Śiva

A head from Khocho, dated to the 7th century, evidences Indo-Iranian work. It is identified as 'the head of a devatā'. It has half-open eyes, with a 'dreamy look' : this is a yoga posture of intense meditation in which the eyes are concentrated on the tip of the nose. The shallow incision between the eyebrows represents the third eye. The hairdo has the centre parting "while the rest of the hair is swept up in tresses that disappear under a lozenge-patterned chaplet" (AASR 1982:158 no. 96). This hairstyle is associated with Śiva: "the hair parted in the center and then swept up on the sides into a topknot is found on other Śiva heads" of the eighth century from Afghanistan. A marble face from Afghanistan is illustrated in Deborah (1982:101 pl. 22). It is remarkably identical with the Khocho head, which in all probability represents Śiva.

Two painted clay heads from the Cave of the Statues, Kizil (AASR 1982:70-72 nos. 11, 12) are dated to the sixth century and have the third eye painted on the forehead. They were made from moulds. A great number of stucco moulds have survived and bear Sanskrit names of craftsmen on the reverse. Both have been identified as "head of a bodhisattva". The crown is similar to the aforesaid Khocho head. The style of the crown and the third eye confirm it as a representation of Śiva.

2. Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara

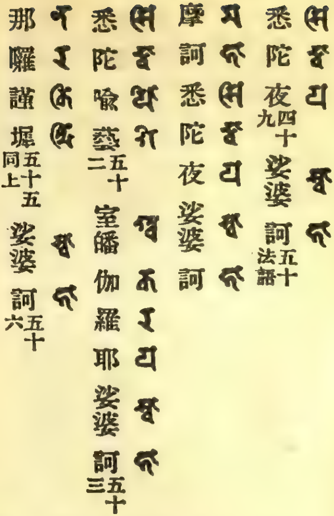
A fragment of a wall-painting was found in the rubble of Temple 9 at Bezeklik (lit. "place of paintings"). It has been identified as the head of a brahmin "with long strands of hair, apparently wind-blown, the thick beard ... This fragment, unlike most of the other paintings found at the site, shows the influence of the Indian school" (AASR 1982:147 no. 81). The identification follows

Le Coq (1913: pl. 39d). The third eye between the eyebrows raises new possibilities. The Bezeklik monastic complexes were situated on high cliffs on the right bank of the Sengim River. Winding paths lead to the top of the cliff where several hundred temples have been preserved. These geographic features recall the description of Mount Potalaka of Avalokiteśvara in Hsüan-tsang (Beal 1884: 2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain, forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Īśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogī (a Pāśupata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires". The hair of the Bezeklik head are in typical ascetic style, he wears the thick ear-rings of a yogin, and has the third eye on the forehead like Maheśvara. The trifoliate ornament around the ear-rings symbolises the trifoliate leaf of <u>bilva</u> or wood-apple tree, Aegle marmelos. This tree is sacred to Śiva: its leaves are dedicated to Śiva and its fruit is the <u>avyakta</u> form of Śiva (Liebert 1976: 43). The mural seems to represent the Potala Avalokiteśvara.

Avalokiteśvara appears as the metamorphosis of Śiva the great yogin in the Nīlakaṇṭha-sūtra. These are eight translations of this text into Chinese:

A.D.	translator	K	T	Nj
624-649	Chih-t'ung	K 292	T 1057b	Nj 318
650-661	Bhagavaddharma	K 294	T 1060	Nj 320
709	Bodhiruci	K 293	T 1058	Nj 319
731-736	Vajrabodhi	K 1270	T 1061	-
-	"	-	T 1112	-
723-	Amoghavajra	-	T 1111	-
723-	"	-	T 1113b	-
14th cent.	Dhyānabhadra	-	T 1113a	-

Bhagavaddharma translated the sūtra at Khotan, as we are informed by the colophon of its Chinese scroll from Tun-huang (Stein 3793 at the British Library). Thus the Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara was popular at Khotan in the first half of the seventh century. Twelve scrolls have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957: 105-106) which indicate his vogue at Tun-huang as well.



The version of Amoghavajra is most popular in China, Japan and Korea to this day. It is a Chinese transliteration of the lost Sanskrit text. It speaks of Nīlakaṇṭha as the ascetic (siddha), the great ascetic (mahā-siddha), the lord of ascetic yogins (siddha-yogīśvara): siddhāya svāhā/ mahā-siddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogīśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/ (Lokesh Chandra 1979). The Bezeklik head is a remarkable portrayal of a great ascetic yogin.

The version of Chih-t'ung is the earliest and fuller than the vulgate version of Amoghavajra. Chih-t'ung's version invokes Nīlakaṇṭha with additional epithets, like: krsna-jatā-mukuṭa e'oh one with a diadem of black matted locks', and as unique in the fury of his laughter (aṭṭahāsa). The Bezeklik head "seems agitated, as if taking part in a discussion. ... the slightly opened mouth in which a few teeth are visible all strengthen the impression of a heated argument". (AASR 1982:147·) This posture represents the aṭṭahāsa, or furious laughter of Nīlakaṇṭha. The Bezeklik head in all likelihood is Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara as the great ascetic yogin, the mahā-siddha-yogīśvara.

3. Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī

Fragment of a mural painting from the Second Domed Cave, Kumtura has been identified broadly as a brahmin. The painting belongs to the early Indian-influenced phase, dated around A.D. 500. He has the typical dress of an ascetic and holds a flask (kamaṇḍalu) in his right hand. Behind him is a devatā, to which a rosary of beads appears to have been added later (AASR 1982:80 no. 18). This seems to be a representation of Vasiṣṭha followed by Arundhatī. Vasiṣṭha is the owner of the wish-fulfilling cow Kāmadhenu and the leader of brahmarṣis: as such his attribute is the kamaṇḍalu, the gourd jar of ascetics with a narrow neck. Arundhatī is renowned for her faithfulness to her husband Vasiṣṭha. She is the inseparable consort of the Sage. When a ṛṣi is accompanied by his spouse, they

are most likely to be Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī. The question arises: does the couple occur in Buddhist art? Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī are in fact depicted in the Sino-Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. They are represented together (Esot. 206, 207) in the external quarter of vajras, wherein deities of the Hindu pantheon are shown. They head the deities on the East, followed by the Sun (Sūrya), Ketu, Mithuna, Vṛṣa, Meṣa and so on. Arundhatī is a personification of the morning star, which precedes sunrise, and thus she naturally comes before Sūrya in the maṇḍala. Their Sino-Japanese names are Basu-sen (Vasiṣṭha-ṛṣi) and Basusen-kō (the consort kō of Vasiṣṭha ṛṣi). Vasiṣṭha has a bloomed lotus in the right hand while his left turns a rosary. Arundhatī holds a leaf and bud of a lotus in her right and a lotus flower in the left hand. The Sino-Japanese maṇḍala can be dated to the eighth century. It is based on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, which was translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṁha and I-hsing in A.D. 725.

4. Tukhāra Melody

A divine musician was painted on the walls of the Prayer-Wheel Cave at Kizil, dated around A.D. 600-650 (AASR 1982: 93 no. 29). Chinese records mention the introduction of melodies and musical instruments from Kucha since 138 B.C. to the eighth century A.D. (Liu Mau-tsai 1969: 99-108). Among the instruments from Kucha was the four-stringed lute. It can be seen in the hands of Sarasvatī in the Sino-Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Esot. 331). Sujīva, a member of the royal house of Kucha, came to China in A.D. 568 and introduced the seven keys of Kucha music: sādhārita, kaiśika, ṣaḍja, ṣaḍja-grāma, ṣāḍava, pañcama, vṛṣabha.

Chang Ch'ien brought back musical instruments and melodies from Kucha to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an in 138 B.C. "Only the name of these melodies has come down to us: it is Mo-ho-tou-le. Mo-ho is clearly the Chinese transcription of mahā (great). As far as tou-le is concerned, the last word still remains to be spoken; it is perhaps a variant of Tou-k'u-le, or Tochara. The name of this melody

suggests an Indian origin. Possibly this originally Indian melody was first known at Kucha, where, as we know, Tocharian was spoken in later days. It was the center of Indian-influenced music in Central Asia, which later spread to China. At that early date Kucha must already have been under Indian cultural influence. In China, a son-in-law of Emperor Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) wrote twenty-eight new tunes based on the Mo-ho-tou-le melody, which were played as military music" (translation of Liu Mau-tsai 1969:100 in AASR 1982:93). We do not find any Tukhara melody in Sanskrit texts, except Turuṣka-Gauḍa rāga in Saṅgīta-ratnākara 3.383, or Turuṣka-Toḍī rāga in Rāga-vibodha of Somanātha 247. It is a strange coincidence of a historic leap that the Rāg Tukhārī should occur in the Guru Granth of the Sikks (pages 1107-17). In the Tukhārī rāg (or chant = Skt. chandas), the first piece is the Bārah māhā 'twelve months' by Guru Nanakdev, the second by the fourth Guru Ramdas (p. 1113), and the third and last piece by the fifth Guru Arjundev. This affirms that the Chinese transcription of the melody Mo-ho-tou-le is indeed Mahā-Tukhāra.

5. Diṅnāga

The silk-painting of an 'Angry Arhat' was found by the Third German Expedition at the lower end of the Cave of Eightyfour Siddhas on the foothills near Turfan. It has been dated to the 8-9th century. The figure represented is not an 'Angry Arhat' but Diṅnāga, the celebrated master of Buddhist logic. He is in a violent mudrā of disputation, vanquishing the heretics. A similar Tibetan painting can be seen in the Prof. RaghuVira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture. Diṅnāga is one of the Six Jewels (Tib. rgyan drug) of Mahāyāna in the Tibetan tradition. The 84 Siddhas as well as the Six Jewels are well-established in Tibetan iconography. The fact that the painting was recovered from the Cave of 84 Siddhas lends support to its identification as that of Diṅnāga. If so, it would be the earliest representation of Diṅnāga in a militant mudrā: at Nalanda he had defeated Brāhmaṇa Sudurjaya (lit. invincible) and other Tīrtha dialecticians. Since he refuted the Tīrthikas, he was called a 'Fighting Bull in Discussion'. "His whole life was passed in giving blows and receiving counterblows. ...Kālidāsa, the prince of poets, warns [in] his poem to avoid the 'rugged hand' (sthūla-hasta) of Dignāga. ...Mallinātha compares him with a 'rock' (adrī-kalpa)" (Vidyabhusana 1920:273). The Buddhists were conscious of the awe-inspiring power of their knowledge. Their belligerent attitude against the heretics was expressed in violent terms, for example, in the Ratu Boko inscription of A.D. 792/3: "I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics [strong like] bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who burns out all bondages" (Lokesh Chandra 1980:7).

6. Tiered Stūpa with Niches

A free-standing tiered stūpa, designated Temple Y, was found at Khocho (AASR 1982: 55 fig.II: 3). It rests on a square base, with three stepped tiers, topped by a structure now lost. Each tier contains niches for statues on four sides. A staircase led to the top to conduct services, where the main image must have been installed. The main image should have been facing the east, and so also the staircase. The three tiers can represent the cosmology of Triloka, the three worlds of kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu and arūpadhātu (Matsunaga 1969: 43-56). These three realms are represented on the original lotus pedestal of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji Monastery (Paine & Soper 1955: 23).

It is interesting that similar niched stūpa-like structures continued to be constructed by kings of Central Asian extraction centuries after they had been converted to Islam, when their meaning, function and symbolism had ceased to be relevant. In New Delhi, the Chor Minar has niches exactly like those of the Temple Y. It rests on a square platform, with one tier of niches topped by a tapering stele. There are three niches each in the south, west and north, on level to them there are two niches in the east, while the third niche of the east is on a higher storey, approached by a staircase. This upraised niche faces the rising sun. The morphology of the structure is strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist architecture of Central Asia. In its original function the twelve niches could have enshrined the Twelve Ādityas, in which the upraised first of them in the east could have had the main image, consecrated daily by the first rays of the Rising Sun. The Sun is the emblem of royalty and the cosmic symbol of its stability. The main niche could be reached by stairs, which were essential for the daily services of the Image.

Cunningham (1883: 149-150) says of the Chor Minar: "At 8 feet there is a belt of moulding all round, above which at regular intervals there are nine rows of round holes, about 9 or 10 inches in diameter. In each row there are twenty-five holes, so that there still remain 225 holes for the reception of as many human heads. Three more rows of holes would have raised the number to 300, and the height of the tower to 41 feet above the terrace. ...That the tower was intended for the reception of human heads, which was further confirmed by the discovery of something like human hair still sticking to the mortar in one of the holes. ...When thieves were executed, their heads were cut off and stuck into these holes, where they could be seen by all the people. The women also pointed to the Kos-Minar close to the roadside, and said that all the travellers along the road could see the heads".

"I have read the numerous executions of dakaits and robbers whose heads were thus exposed, but, as well as I can remember, the numbers never exceeded 30 or 40 in a single gang. On the other hand, the recorded numbers of heads of prisoners taken in war usually ran up to many thousands. ...Similar towers were erected by Firoz Tughlak

in Bengal amounting to the incredible number of 180,000 heads". Babar won a decisive victory over the Rajput clans in 1527: "As a final disgrace a tower of the rajas' severed heads was built on the hill and Babur became Ghazi, Avenger in the name of God" (Godden 1980:40, illus. on p. 41).

It seems that during its triumphant march across Buddhist Central Asia, Islam stuck the heads of Buddhist monks on the renowned and sacrosanct stūpas. Due to the height of the stūpas, these severed heads were visible from long distances and they struck terror in the hearts of the vanquished. They became the might of the new order, foreboding dread against transgression and preempting reversion. The historic Buddhist form survived with new political functions in the Islamic period which we witness, inter alia, in the Chor Minar.

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NYAI LARA KIDUL: GODDESS OF THE SOUTHERN SEAS

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The mystery of Nyai Lara Kidul has several elements of the intricate processes of acculturation and evolution of historical events. Incisive insights into the origin and development of her mystery are provided by Cambodian history. Nyai Lara Kidul is the mind's geometry of the kingdom of Mataram that was founded by Sañjaya, descendant of a local prince in about AD 732. The kingdom was so named in the tenth century, after it had been divided into many small principalities in the ninth century. The ancient kingdom, Mataram Pertama or Hindu, was reconstituted around 1582-1601 by Sultan Senāpati. Sultan Agung (1613-1643) transformed it into an empire with himself as Ruler or Susuhunan. There were two states of Surakarta and Yogyakarta with separate rulers. Both the states have had the cult of Nyai Lara Kidul. Matara is a town on the west coast, east of Galle in Sri Lanka and it gave the name to the town and post of Mataram on Lombok island. The founder of the Mataram Pertama in the eighth century, Sanjaya must have consecrated the wholeness of his state with the holiness of this Goddess of the Southern Seas alive with veins of sacred time.

Nyai Lara Kidul as Goddess of the Southern Seas (Jordaan 1984:99) reminds of South Indian migrations across the Seas. These Indians must have worshipped a Goddess for a safe and successful journey. In Cambodia, the Goddess of the Seas is Maṇi-mekhalā (Lévi 1937:371-91). Mekhalā and Kāñcī both mean a 'waist-girdle'. I venture to suggest that Maṇimekhalā must have been worshipped as the city-goddess (nagara-devatā) of Kāñcī. The migrants from Kanci and its state could have constituted a sizeable proportion, and worshipped Her on the high Seas. They must have consecrated landings by extensive rituals of the Goddess, on arrival at a sea coast after a long and exhausting voyage. They were faced by tribal people, not only inhospitable but hostile. As time went by they had to marry local women to adjust to the new space, they gained the respect of the local rulers by a higher civilisation. The enterprising among them could vanquish the local ruler and marry the queen of the tribe who was later on acculturised and divinised as a Nāgī. Nāga means not only 'a serpent' but also 'the best or most excellent of any kind (at the end of a compound), elephant! Kauṇḍinya married a nāgī, taught her to wear a sarong, and introduced cultivation of rice. When established in the New Domains, they must have sanctified their power through Her. The Goddess of the Seas assumed powers of conferring royal authority and Her rituals continually

strengthened the new state.

We can discern the following elements in the Maṇimekhalā cult:

1. From a city goddess of Kāñcī to the Great Goddess.
2. From the Great Goddess in general to the Goddess of the Seas in particular.
3. Legitimation of political power by marriage with the local queen, the autochthone Nāgī.
4. Validation of a new state by association with the Goddess as conferring a hallowed origin that recalls the mytho-historical ancestors: e.g. the brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya and Nāgī as the founders of the Funan state.
5. Stabilisation is a prime political issue for any state. This was effected by continuing sanctification of the kingdom by the nightly union of the king with the Goddess as a beautiful woman in the Temple of the State.

Nyai Lara Kidul is so to say a Javanese version of Maṇimekhalā in her multiple functions as Po Nagar "Goddess of the State"

Lara Kidul and the foundation of the state of Mataram. In 732, Sañjaya founded a kingdom in the centre of Java. Though it is not known for sure what was the name of Sanjaya's kingdom, today we refer to it as bearing the name of Mataram. To distinguish it from Senopati's kingdom, we call it Mataram Hindu or Mataram Pertama (Pertama = the first). During its existence for nearly two hundred years (until the year 928), it built many temples, of which the Prambanan is the most famous. As nothing is known in the history of Central Java from 928 to 1500, it cannot be said that the Mataram of Senopati is a continuation of the Mataram of the old days, the Mataram Hindu (M. Hoesodo's letter).

The story of Nyai Lara Kidul is connected with Panembahan Senapati, the founder of the Mataram dynasty. Senapati's father, Ki Ageng Pamanahan, having beaten and killed the governor of Jipan because of his recalcitrance, was granted the Mataram lands by the king of Pajang. After his father's death, Sutowijoyo (Senopati's youth name) stood up against the king. After the king's death in the war (1582), Mataram became the new kingdom, replacing Pajang. Sutowijoyo called himself Panembahan (= the Reverend) Senopati (= Commander-in-Chief). It was his grandson who adopted the title of Sultan (1613), and called himself Sultan Agung (the Great Sultan). As the governers were not willing to acknowledge Senopati as their new king, Senopati had to conquer them one by one. According to folk tales, in his conquests Senopati was always aided by the invisible army of Nyai Lara Kidul. (letter of M. Hoesodo)

Nyai Lara Kidul is said to be the consort of all Mataram Kings. After the division of Mataram in 1755, we have the state of Surakarta

(reigned by a Sunan) and the state of Yogyakarta (by a sultan). On the grounds of the krat on/ palace of Surakarta is a tower where the Sunan is said to hold a meeting with the goddess on certain nights of the year. At the anniversary of his coronation day the sacred Bedaya-dance is always held, performed by nine girls. But at certain moments the audience sees ten girls, then people say that one of then is the goddess herself.

Once a year, at the Labuhan ceremony (= ceremony of throwing offerings into the sea) - on the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne - a delegation of Krat on servants takes offerings to the village Parangkusumo at the South Coast. It was here that the founder of the kingdom of Mataram, Panembahan Senopati, first met Nyai Lara Kidul 400 years ago. His cut hair and clipped fingernails are buried at Parangkusumo, and his used clothes are given to the waves together with a large amount of various new clothes. At this highly official, sacred Krat on ceremony common people can only be spectators. They become active after the end of the ceremony. They fish pieces of clothes out of the sea, and sell them at high prices.

The close connection of Nyai Lara Kidul with water is a reminder of the people beyond the seas who heralded the dawn of a culture and rites that ; to inform the state structures of Indonesia for centuries. The Borobudur is situated in the village Bumi Samudra, where Indians from beyond the Seas had settled. A lead-bronze inscription discovered on the west plain of the Borobudur, speaks of Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India. Senapati meets Nyai Lara Kidul on the beach of the southern coast. "Not far from there is the underwater palace of Lara Kidul. When she was with the Sultan of Yogyakarta, she stayed in a special room in the tower of the Water Castle" (ibid. 106). Nyai Lara (maiden) Kidul (of the South) carries in her name itself memories of South [India].

1. The Javanese regard Nyai Lara Kidual as the Goddess of the Southern Seas, i.e. the Indian Ocean off the southern coast of Java.
2. She is the king-maker, as she tells Senapati the founder of the kingdom of Mataram that he and his descendants will rule Java.
3. The Babad Tanah Javi records that Sultan Agung, a descendant of Senapati, took her as his bride and often stayed with her in her underwater palace off the southern coast. The nightly rendezvous of the king with the Nyai Lara Kidul in a palace-tower reminds of the rati-pūjā rites in the innermost sanctum of the kūṭāgāra or palace-tower.
4. The superseding kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta maintain their alliance with her. The present Sultan of Yogyakarta has contacts with her.

5. The various elements of Nyai Lara Kidul as a fertility goddess, and her relationship with the rice-goddess Devī Sri are her extended functions as the Goddess of the State.

Legitimation of power. The association of the snake cult with Nyai Lara Kidul is a later accretion due to the semantics of the word nāgī. Nyai Lara Kidul as a serpent deity is a nāgī. Nāgī is a euphemism for a chthonian woman. Kauṇḍinya had married the local queen, the nāgī queen, to validate his political authority. The Kauṇḍinya complex is the fundamental pattern of the theory and practice of state in SE Asia. It is the social-political response to emerging ethno-cultural projections wherein the existing context and the new order find a harmonisation. The state is sanctified by Nyai Lara Kidul of the Javanese, Po Nagar of the Chams, Maṇimekhalā of the Khmers, and the Rati-goddesses in the innermost sanctum of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the kūṭāgāra the tower-palace.

"She is said to reside in an underwater palace. Members of the Kratons in Yogyakarta and Surakarta refer to her as Kanjeng Ratu Kidul. According to them she has two female patih (chief ministers), Nyai Lara (or Rara) Kidul, and Nyai Riya Kidul. (Many people prefer to spell Loro, Roro and Riyo instead of Lara, Rara and Riya). The common people, however, know only one figure, Nyai Lara (or Loro) Kidul. She rules over a kingdom that is structured like the Central Javanese Kingdom of Mataram. With the help of her spirit-army she protects Mataram and all the Sultans, who are regarded as her human spouses. The range of her power is said to be far: she can be malevolent, sending storms, inundations, plagues and epidemics; but she can be beneficient as well, protecting and fulfilling wishes, when asked for with the proper rituals." (M. Hoesodo).

The 'vacillating character' attributed by Hidding is not correct. As an omnipotent Supreme Goddess all emanates from her: both good and evil. It is she who gives the kingdom to Javanese rulers, protects them, and even deserts them when they go wrong. Her negative endowments strengthen her positive powers. They become punitive deterrants.

Stabilisation of power. "Lara Kidul is an ever-rejuvenating bride, who enters into marriage with successive Javanese rulers" (Jordaan 1984:104). The "yellow colour of her skin (lara kuniṅ) may also be explained by the customary practice of greasing the body with yellow powder on ceremonial occasions" (ibid. 105). In India a bride-to-be is massaged with turmeric to give her body a yellow complexion. Yellowing in fact means the ceremonies preliminary to marriage and by semantic extension it refers to marriage. The

devadasis are known as nityasumaṅgalī 'eternal brides'.

Jordaan (1984:113 n.8) states: "As far as Southeast Asia is concerned, we may point out the parallel between the stay of Lara Kidul at the Water Castle, and the nightly unions of Khmer kings in the Phimeanakas (a tower-shaped building of the Angkor Thom complex) with a 'serpent goddess' who appeared under the guise of a beautiful woman".

"Cambodian legends and legendary genealogies agree in having their kings descend from the union of a fabled ancestor (an Indian, of course, as the brahmans were from India) with a nāgī, daughter of the Nāgarāja, owner of the soil. As late as the end of the thirteenth century, a Chinese visitor to Cambodia relates that every night the King of Cambodia went high up into the tower of the royal temple of the Phimeanakas at Angkor, to spend the first watch with the nāga princess, daughter of the Nāgarāja, and that on this union depended the welfare, even the existence, of the Kingdom" (Briggs 1951:14). Kauṇḍinya became king of Funan in the fifth century, married Somā the nāgī of the Lunar dynasty (Briggs 1951:24). The Phimean-akas = Vimāna Ākāśa 'Celestial Palace' is a pyramid standing in the heart of the royal palace. On its cruciform foundation, in the centre of the upper platform there was a sanctuary built of light material covered with gold, for the Chinese pilgrim Ch'ou Ta-kuan saw it and called it the 'Tower of Gold'(Frédéric 1965:288 pl.319).

The Phimean-akas is clearly a great stone pyramid, called temple-mountain by European scholars. It is the Sumeru in a tantric maṇḍala, which is topped by a kūṭāgāra. Its kūṭāgāra or tower must have been a gilded wooden construction, as Ch'ou describes it. Inside the tower was the sanctum with all the deities. A gilt bronze image of Hevajra was found in the ruins of the royal palace of Jayavarman VII (1181-1220?) from Angkor Thom. Gilding of a statue is done for consecration. The gilded statue of Hevajra indicates that tantric practices were prevalent in Cambodia.

In the innermost shrine, in the sanctum sanctorum of a tantric maṇḍala, were located four goddesses in the corners. In the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala the four goddesses are in the very centre of the kūṭāgāra: Lāsyā (SE), Mālā (SW), Gītā (NW) and Nṛtyā (NE) (NSP. text 45-46). The deities clearly indicate the goddess in the form of a young beauty offering the garland as Mālā, singing as Gītā, dancing as Nṛtyā: all to induce tumescence and frenzy, and finally the ritual orgy with its indulgence or licence. "Dancing, revelry and amorous propensities were not only religious exaltation but a means of acquiring supernatural energy for the working of vegetation-magic" (ERE.9.,558)

These four goddesses are the inner pūjā-deities because they are in the intimacy of the corners of the innermost sanctum. They are found in three more maṇḍalas in the Niṣpannayogāvalī:

Maṇḍala of Dharmadhatu-vagisvara Majughosa, who is the acme of <u>srngara-rasa-rasi</u> (NSP text p.58).

Maṇḍala of Mahāvairocana of Durgati-pariśodhana (NSP text p.66).

Maṇḍala of Ratnaḍāka among the Pañca-ḍāka (NSP text p.76).

Two other mandalas have variations of these four goddesses:

Maṇḍala of Vajradhara according to the Sampuṭa-tantra: Hāsyā (E), Lāsyā (S), Gītā (W), Nṛtyā (N) (NSP text p.10).

Maṇḍala of Yogāmbara: Lāsyā, Vīṇa, Gītā, Nṛtyā (NSP text p.33).

The Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (Clark 1937:2.145 no. 4B55) has a statuette of Lāsyā where her hands hold two vajras which have a phallic form.

In the four maṇḍalas of the first abhisamaya of the Tattva-saṅgraha she is rati-pūjā, kāma-rati-pūjā, jñāna-rati, rati-ratā, lāsya-rati-pūjā. <u>Rati</u> means plesure of love, sexual passion or union, amorous enjoyment (often personified as one of the two wives of Kāmadeva, together with Prīti). These tantric rituals provide a precedent to the Cambodian practice in the Phimean-akas.

I.1.26 Vajralāsyā arises out of the samādhi of Vairocana that emanates from the symbolism of the rati-pūjā of all Tathāgatas. She says that no worship equals mine for all types of worship is intiated by kāma-rati-pūjā.

I.2.26 In the vajraguhya-vajra-maṇḍala, her dhāraṇī is: <u>Oṁ vajraguhya-ratipūjā-samaye sarva-pūjāṁ pravartaya svāhā</u> (STTs. p.35).

I.3.26 In the vajra-jñāna-dhāraṇī-maṇḍala, she is named Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-rati and her dhāraṇī is: <u>Oṁ jñāna-lāsye</u> (Gobushingan 246 no.97).

I.4.26 In the vajrakārya-karma-maṇḍala, her name is Sarva-tathāgata-rati-ratā, and her dhāraṇī is: <u>Oṁ sarva-tathāgata-lāsya-rati-pūjā-megha-samudra-āspharaṇa-samaye hūṁ</u> (Gobushingan 304 no. 126).

Her connection with skin disease reminds of the devadāsī cult, who came primarily from the lower strata of society. The Devadāsī is known as jogin (Skt. yoginī) in Andhra Pradesh, jogti in Rajasthan, Mātaṅgī in Kerala. The word mātaṅgī indicates that they came mostly from the śūdra caste. In the Belgaon district of Karnataka they are śūdra girls. The landlord of the village who spends the first night with her, commands special respect. When the marriage of the son or daughter is negotiated, it is a matter of status to relate the number of devadāsīs kept.

Nyai Lara Kidul creates and sustains the kingdom. She assures the prosperity of the realm as the rice goddess, with the addition of new attributes and functions derived from chthonian deities.

CEREMONY FOR NYAI LORO KIDUL

Ever heard of the ruler of the Indian Ocean? She is Nyai Loro Kidul, queen of all water-nymphs, who is fanatically fond of the green colour. For the people of Java, especially who live on the southern coastal area, Nyai Loro Kidul is a mysterious legendary figure. At Pelabuhan-ratu beach Hotel, Sukabumi (in West Java), for instance, a special room is dedicated to her, and never rented out. It is said that on certain nights the róom spreads a fragrant smell.

There is another story about the people along the coast of the Special Territory of Yogyakarta. For them the Ocean is the realm of Queen Nyai Loro Kidul, the beach is the demarcation line which has to be respected. It is a sacred line for them. It is so sacred that they taboo everything that is green-coloured on the beach, because it is the favourite colour of the Sea Goddess.

There are rumours about the probibition of wearing green clothes on the beach. Being rumours, they are difficult to believe. Once a visitor was mysteriously lost when he was strolling along the coast, because he wore a green coat. Just by wearing a green cap, one has the chance of being summoned by the Queen to appear in front of her at the palace. Having been summoned, he had to reach as soon as possible, he walked and walked to the centre of the ocean, and did not return. He is called kalap, which means 'taken away or summoned'.

But if he is not wearing a green coat, then he is said to be dikersakake, which means she wanted him. People say that lost persons are made subjects of the Sea Goddess. Whatever the cause of his death, that was his fate, which is interpreted by people as power of Nyai Loro Kidul. Anyhow, at last it is decided that people have to offer food (caos 'to offer' dahar 'food'), by burning incense, in order to evade disaster in the South Sea.

On the coast of Parangtritis south of Yogyakarta, it is a custom that one can let somebody else do the food offering by giving a trifle for his services. This belief spreads from the coast to the centre of the city along the Chode River, which splits the city in two halves.

Every year on a certain day, people who live along the river prepare a welcoming ceremony for Nyai Loro Kidul who is said to visit Mount Merapi by travelling along the river together with her escorts. They are afraid if they do not bid her welcome, then she will spread an epidemic among them. As the exact time of her visit is not known, people are vigilant for several nights, for the supposed D-Day.

Having waited long, all at once, they hear thundering sounds from the South, approaching the mountain. The sounds come nearer and nearer, and everyone is frightened. If the sounds are heard very closely,

everyone beats everything that gives a loud sound. They are winnows, tom-toms, rice-blocks etc which have been prepared for this purpose, while shouting Lampor ... lampor ...! People believe that at that moment the goddess and her army pass by along the river. The tumult lasts 15 to 20 minutes, and it stops if the thundering sounds are heard far in the North. The people are calm again as before.

At Gombong (approximately 150 km west of Yogyakarta) the welcoming of Nyai Loro Kidul is called Tundan, which means it is their turn to welcome her. (Written by M. Harjo in Kartini July 1985, the ladies' magazine, issued from Jakarta. Translated from the Indonesian language by M. Hoesodo).

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With kind regards
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OḌḌIYĀNA: A NEW INTERPRETATION

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PRELUDE

Oḍḍiyāna played a pivotal role in the development, redaction and dissemination of the Tantras. It was the centre whence the Tantras originated. According to Bu-ston it was at Oḍḍiyāna that Vajrapāṇi collected "endless revelations of Vajrayāna", and gave them to Indrabhūti. Guhyasamāja, the culmination of Tantric thought, was also revealed to Indrabhūti in Oḍḍiyāna. The Tattva-prabhāsa-karaṇḍa-dīpa (Toh.2643) and Jñāna-tilaka-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Toh.422) of the Guhyasamāja tradition point out that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, and it was he who knew and could explain the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja was commented upon by Candrakīrti who was a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kancī and whom the texts call Kancannara (sic, Tucci 1949:1.214). The explicit reference to Kanci holds the key to the identification of Oḍḍiyāna. It is significant that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, who was the presiding deity of Mahgakoṣṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāna, or modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanci.

It was from Oḍḍiyāna that Padmasambhava went to Tibet and firmly laid the foundations of Vajrayāna in the Land of Snows.

Hence the present multidimensional approach to a fresh consideration of the geographic location of Oḍḍiyāna, the heartland of Vajrayāna.

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OḌḌIYĀNA : A NEW INTERPRETATION

Introductory

1.1 The identification of Oḍḍiyāna has been clouded by the fact that it was sought to be equated with the Sanskrit toponyms Udyāna and Udra. The phonology of the term Oḍḍiyāna is so clear that it cannot be mixed up with Udyāna. The identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Udyāna/Ujjānaka in the NorthWest of India was enunciated in a period of the euphoria of discoveries of Buddhist antiquities from Gandhāra and other NorthWestern regions of India which seemed to be the prime locus of Buddhism. At that time, it was but natural that Udyāna came foremost to the minds of Buddhologists as the place to be equated with Oḍḍiyāna, inspite of the difficulties posed by phonological considerations.

1.2 The Chinese characters for Udyāna in Hsüan-tsang are Wu-chang-na 烏仗那 (Watters 1905:1.225) and represent the Mid-Indic form Ujjāna. The character chang cannot be forced to yield ḍ. The cerebral ḍ is transliterated by 荼 by Hsüan-tsang, who follows a consistent system for the transliteration of Sanskrit.

1.3 When Oḍḍiyāna was identified with Udyāna, South India had not come to occupy a place of relevance in the evolution of Buddhism, and as such how could it strike any investigator that Oḍḍiyāna could have a South Indian derivation. It was beyond speculation that it could be a Tamil word. As it will be clear in sequence, oḍḍiyāna in Tamil means 'girdle' like its Sanskrit counterpart kāñcī. In fact, Oḍḍiyāna is Kanci. Kanci was one of the seven great cultural metropolis' of India and the glorious capital of the Pallavas, who played a major role in the diffusion of Vajrayāna to lands beyond the seas. The South Indian places of Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka, Potalaka and Oḍḍiyāna were some of the foremost creative centres of Mantrayāna, especially, of systems centring around Vairocana, namely the (i) Avataṁsaka

sūtras (ii) caryā tantras, and (iii) yoga tantras--in all the three the Cosmic Buddha was Vairocana with varying iconographic attributes. It is not surprising that the land par excellence of Vajrayāna in the Tibetan tradition, should be Oḍḍiyāna = Kanci.

2. Forms of the word Oḍḍiyāna

2.1 The toponym Oḍḍiyāna occurs in the following eleven forms in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts:

(i) Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-Kurukullā occurs in sādhana 179 of the Sādhana-mālā, where the variant reading is Oḍiyāna. She is equivalent to Hevajra-Kurukullā, Hevajra-tantra-krameṇa Kurukullā (Niṣpannayogāvalī 6, HT 1.11.13, SM 179, 183, 186, 187--cited in Mallmann 1975:228).

(ii) Uḍḍiyānaka appears in the Mahāmāyūrī 97 (Lévi 1915:56, 105f.) as the place of residence of yakṣa Karāla.

(iii) The spelling U-ḍyan can be seen in two titles of the Tanjur dedicated to Oḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī and both translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava:

Toh. 3344 U-ḍyan-gyi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs : Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī-sādhana. Author: Lhan-cig-skyes-paḥi-rol-pa.

Toh. 3345 U-ḍyan-gyi rim-paḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-krama-mārīcī-sādhana.

(iv) Oḍiyāna is prefaced to Mārīcī : Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī (SM.138/1.283-4/, 139). In SM 140 Oḍiyāna-pīṭha has the variant reading Oḍḍiyāna-pīṭha in the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library dated N.S.285=A.D.1165. Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī is also termed Vajradhātvīśvarī Mārīcī (SM.136, Mallmann 1975:261). The replacement of Oḍiyāna by Vajradhātu may enshrine the secret of its identification with Kanci. It was

from Kanci that the Vajraśekhara-tantra and its Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was transmitted to China. Oḍiyāna was the vajrapīṭha. We find Oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha Vajravārāhī in SM.225(1.439): śrī-oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha-vinirgata ūrdhvapāda-vajravārāhī-sādhanam samāptam, colophon. Here the Nepalese manuscript of N.S.285 = A.D.1165 kept at the Cambridge University Library has the reading Oḍyāna.

The form O-ḍi-yā-na occurs in the Blue Annals 2.753, as well as in three titles of the Tanjur which were translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:

Toh. 3528, 3529 O-ḍi-yā-naḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs : Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (ms. Oḍi°).

Toh. 3566 O-ḍi-yā-na-las byuṅ-baḥi rigs-byed-maḥi sgrub-thabs : Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana (ms.Oḍi°).

It may be noted that while Ba-ri lotsva (A.D.1038-1109 ?) used the form U-ḍyan, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (A.D.1147-1216) employed O-ḍi-yā-na.

(v) We find O-ḍi-yān in the Tanjur title (Toh.3370): O-ḍi-yān-nas byuṅ-baḥi rigs-byed-maḥi sgrub-paḥi-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana, translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava.

(vi) Oḍiyānaka appears in a Mathura inscription dated Saṁ 77 (Lüders, Liste, no.62) commemorating the donation of a pillar to a vihāra of king Huviṣka by the monk 'Jīvaka Oḍiyānaka' (Lévi 1915:105, Naudou 1968:36).

(vii) Oḍḍiyāna is by the most common form. It occurs in the colophon of SM.35 (1.80) sarahapāda-kṛtam oḍḍiyāna (v.l.Od yana) krameṇa trailokyavaśaṁkara - lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam. The colophon in the next sādhana 36 (1.83) reads : iti sarahapādāvatārita-oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-trailokya vaśaṁkara-lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam (Mallmann 1975:108). In a Nepalese manuscript of the

ninth century Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna is mentioned (Foucher 1900:121, Ñaudou 1968:36). Maṅgakoṣṭha is an earlier name of Ekāmreśvara temple near the Kāmākṣī temple at Kanci : Tamil mankay = man 'mango-tree' + kay 'fruit', heard and recorded by the Portuguese as manga > English mango. The ancient name of the site where the present Ekāmreśvara temple stands, must have been intentionally changed to signal its new religious associations. The word Maṅgakoṣṭha may also conceal a double entendre to an emanation of goddess Tārā, for Tamil maṅkai means 'a girl between 12 and 13 years', Malayalam maṅka 'a young, playful woman'. Tārā was the presiding deity (pīṭhīśvarī) of holy Oḍḍiyāna, and today her apotheosis is significantly Kāmākṣī 'one of amorous eyes'. In the Hevajratantra 1.7.12 Oḍḍiyāna is specified as a pīṭha. Here the Tibetan text renders Oḍḍiyāna by U-ḍi which stems from the reading Uḍiyāna.

(viii) O-ḍyan is the form in the Tanjur title (Toh.3340): O-ḍyan-gyi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs : Oḍiyāṇa-mārīcyai sādhana (so in the xyl.), translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava. The toponym Oḍyāṇam is found in the Malayalam Lexicon 2.1246.

(ix) Au-ḍyan-nas byuṅ-baḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (Toh.3231) provides a variation of the previous form.

(x) U-rgyan, also Oḍiyana, often written in the abbreviated form ཨོྒྱན་ Jäschke 606b. George N. Roerich consistently adopts the spelling U-rgyan in his translation of the Blue Annals (index p.1264). In the Tanjur, the following titles have the spelling U-rgyan :

Toh. 1707 Dpal u-rgyan-gyi sgrol-maḥi mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rim-pa: Śrī-Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-'bhisamaya-krama (ms. Uḍiyāna). Trans. Saṅghaśrībhadra, Ḥjam-dpal-sgeg-paḥi-rdo-rje. In the Blue Annals

the title is shortened to Jo-mo U-rgyan-ma.

Toh. 1708 U-rgyan-gyi sgrol-maḥi rim-pa: Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-krama. Transl. as above in 1707.

Toh. 1711 U-rgyan-gyi rim-paḥi sgrol-maḥi sgrub-thabs : Uḍḍiyāna-krama-tārā-devī-sādhana. Transl. Parahita, Śes-rab-rgyal-mtshan.

Toh. 1744 Dpal u-rgyan-gyi rnal-ḥbyor daṅ rnal-ḥbyor-maḥi raṅ-byuṅ-gi loṅs-spyod dur-khrod-kyi rtog-pa : Uḍḍiyāna-śrī-yoga-yoginī-svabhūta-sambhoga-śmaśāna-kalpa. Author: Virūpa, transl. Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.

(xi) The abbreviated form of the name ཨོ་རྒྱན in Tibetan is an indication that once the most common spelling was O-rgyan. The iconographic xylograph Rin-lhan, the socalled Five Hundred Gods of Narthang, illustrates the O-rgyan sgrol-ma gnas-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug-ma = Pīṭhīśvarī Oḍḍiyāna Tārā on folio 45b. In the Padma-thaṅ-yig O-rgyan is used (Jäschke p.607a). Oḍḍiyāna was the pīṭha of Tārā. This is reflected in the popular belief that the Kāmākṣī temple was originally dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā later converted into that of a Hindu goddess at the time of Śaṅkarācārya's establishment of Kāmakoṭī pīṭha in the ninth century A.D. (Ramachandran 1954:10, Champaklakshmi 1978:116). It is significant that from among the four pīṭhas of Oḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarūpa and Śrīhaṭṭa mentioned in sādhana 234 of the Sādhanamālā (2.455), there was Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa and Kāmākṣī at Kanci (Oḍḍiyāna), both of them goddesses. In the Hindu tantric tradition too the four are Śākta pīṭhas devoted to the cult of the goddess Śakti.

2.2 Thus we have the following variants from Indian and Tibetan sources:

(a) Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyānaka, Uḍyan, Uḍi

(b) U-rgyan

(c) Oḍiyāna, Oḍiyān, Oḍiyānaka, Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyan, Auḍyan

(d) O-rgyan

The variations are in the initial vowel u~o, single or double ḍḍ, (ḍ)diy or ḍy(with the elision of i), dropping of the final a in Uḍyan/Oḍyan/Auḍyan, addition of the pleonastic ka in Uḍḍiyānaka and Oḍiyānaka.

2.3 The Tibetan terms U-rgyan and O-rgyan represent a transliteration of the initial syllable u~o of Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍḍiyāna and rgyan means 'an ornament'. The word U-rgyan ~ O-rgyan signifies 'the ornament termed U[ḍḍiyāna] or O[ḍḍiyāna]'. Thus in the Tibetan term U-(O-)rgyan, u-(o-) is the phonetic and rgyan is the semanteme.

2.4 In fact in Tamil and other South Indian languages oḍḍiyāṇam means a "gold or silver girdle or belt, an ornament worn by women round the waist" (Tamil Lexicon, Madras 1936, 1.585b). The Lexicon also gives the meaning "girdle worn by yogis while in a sitting posture, so as to bind the waist and the doubled up legs together", and translates it in Tamil as yogappaṭṭai. The Lexicon gives variant forms in Telegu oḍḍāṇamu, Kannada oḍḍyāṇa, Tulu oḍyāṇa.

2.5 Burrow and Emeneau (1961:71 no.810) give the following morphological variations of the lexeme in different South Indian languages: "810 Ta. Oṭṭiyāṇam gold or silver girdle or belt worn by women. Ma. uṭaññāṇ gold chain round the loins. Ka. oḍyāṇa, oḍḍyāṇa, oḍḍaṇa, oḍḍavāṇa, oḍḍivāṇa, oḍvāṇa belt of gold or silver chiefly worn by women. Tu. oḍyāne, oḍyāṇa belt or girdle made of gold and generally worn by a devil-dancer. Te. Oḍḍāṇamu belt of gold or silver worn by women".

2.6 All the morphological variations noted above from Indian and Tibetan sources, can be traced back to South Indian languages, thus proving that Oḍḍiyāna is the Tamil equivalent of Kanci, both meaning 'a girdle'. V.A. Devasenapathi(1975:3)says: "The meaning of the word Kāñcī in Sanskrit is Oḍḍiyāṇam (a belt worn as an ornament around the waist by women). This ornament

is worn only around the navel. Kanci is so-called because it is the naval position for the earth. Kāñcīmāhātmya 31.70 and Kāmākṣī-vilāsa speak of Kanci as the navel of the world: (i) ādhibhautikam aṁhoghnaṁ nābhisthānam bhuvaḥ param (Kāmākṣī-vilāsam 11.6), (ii) jagad-kāma-kalākāraṁ nābhisthānam bhuvaḥ param (ibid.13.73). Śivajñāna Munivar in his Kāñcīpurāṇa refers to Kanci as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her Garment and who shines as the Supreme ākāśa.

3. South Indian words in dhāraṇīs

3.1 The presence of Draviḍa expressions in the dhāraṇīs is explicitly pointed out by several Buddhist texts (Bernhard 1967:148-168), some of which were translated into Chinese as early as A.D.265-316 (T.310), A.D.383 (T.1547), and A.D.398-399 (T.212). In the three Chinese translations of the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā (T.1547, tr. A.D.383; T.1546, tr. A.D.437-439; T.1545, tr. Hsüan-tsang A.D.656-659) it is stated that Lord Buddha preached the Noble Truths (ārya-satyāni) to the lokapāla Virūpākṣa in the language of the South Indian borderlands, as he did not understand Sanskrit. The Northern Liang version (T.1546) employs the words : in the Draviḍa language. In the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, the Buddha preaches in the 'language of the borderlands' (Tib. mthaḥ-ḥkhob-paḥi tshig). In the Udānavarga it is the Damiḍa language (ib.154). In the Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī (ed. S. Oldenburg, p.250f.) it is stated: sidhyantu drāmiḍā mantrapadāḥ svāhā (ibid. p.162). Bernhard's in-depth study of a single South Indian expression īne mīne dapphe dadapphe employed by Lord Buddha to explain the Truths to Virūpākṣa, clearly manifests the urgent need of a comprehensive study of the language of dhāraṇīs, their South Indian vocabulary, the patterns of assonance developed in them to explain the jingling concatenation of words, the role of South India in the development of tantras, and other related problems. The dhāraṇīs

cannot be brushed aside as meaningless, for they conceal in their intentional camouflage frozen levels of cultural modulations in various geographic locales going back deep into two millenia or more. Such a study will reveal the beginnings of hidden archetypes which later on developed into the complex philosophical systems of the tantras, and the diverse streams that converged unto them.

3.2 Virūpākṣa is the lokapāla who guards the west and understands the Dramiḍa language. Thus the west here refers to the Dramiḍa land, and not the 'west of India' (Joshi 1967:329). This fact is very important for the interpretation of a crucial passage in the Blue Annals 2.753 which has often been misinterpreted. In this context 'the west' with reference to Oḍiyan is a clear proof that it was located in the Tamil area: "After that from the West Śrī Kambala and others discovered the yoginī-tantras in the country of O-ḍi-yan. They also spread towards Madhyadeśa". The directions mentioned in Buddhist texts pose a complex problem which has to be sorted out. It is significant that the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, which was discovered from the Manalikkara maṭha near Padmanabhapuram in South India, "refers to Vidiśā (modern Bhelsa, M.P.) as being situated 'between west and north' (paścimottarayor madhyam). Rahula Samkrtyayana (Purātattva-nibandhāvalī p.108) rightly suggested that the author wrote this from a place in south, probably from Dhānyakaṭaka" (Joshi 1967:325). The great Tibetan historian, Bu-ston speaks of the "southern country of Saurāṣṭra" (Obermiller 1932:2.161). The starting point of geographic reference has to be sought for. Tucci (1949:2.736) says: "But from this passage no definite conclusion can be drawn. Uḍḍiyāna being in the legend of Padmasambhava a great kingdom, it is imagined to extend to the extreme ends of India. In chapter XI, that same text [=Padma-thang-yig] locates Za hor to the South-east of Bodhgaya while Kāmarūpa (Assam) is placed to the North-East, in this case Za hor would roughly correspond to Orissa. But this division of India has no great geographical value: India is

for this text a maṇḍala whose center is Bodhgaya; it is a kind of miraculous lotus, four leaves corresponding to the four cardinal points (Uḍḍiyāna = West, Bengal = East, Kashmir = North, Baiddha = Vaideha = South) and four other leaves to the intermediate points".

3.3 The presence of South Indian words in dhāraṇīs, which were precursors of Mantrayāna, is borne out by the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra which speaks of Drāmiḍa-mantra-pada (39:1,3) and by the Sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī: iyaṁ Drāviḍa-mantra-padā sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī (16.1), and Draviḍa-mantra-padāḥ (19.8, Mantri 1977: 88-89). In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra chap.21 (ed. Kern/Nanjio 1912:401) rākṣasīs expound the dhāraṇī iti me5/nime5/ ...... The first expression is conjoined as itime by Watanabe (1975:158, 284) and also by Mantri (1977:88) who says: "In the text the words 'iti' and 'me' are separated, but taking into consideration the whole structure of the Dhāraṇī-mantras, I would like to suggest that two words should be connected and read as 'itime'. It may then mean -- 'O Itimā'. This can be conjectured from the Dhāraṇī that follows - 'Nime, nime, nime, nime, nime', which means 'O Nimā'".

3.4 The above dhāraṇī can be explained in the general background of the world-view of the siddhas. In song number 10 of the Caryāgītikoṣa "Kānhu says: 'Oh Ḍombī, you live outside the city; but how is it that you have now dared to touch the son of a brahmana? But, Oh Ḍombī, I will live with you because I am only a naked yogin, who uses the skull (for drinking) and is hated by all. The lotus is one but it has 64 petals and the Ḍombī is now dancing on it. She is now eating the lotus stalk in the lake. I shall now get hold of her and reach the other shore'" (Sastri 1977:687).

3.5 Furthermore, the interpretation of the dhāraṇī cited above is possible as a Tamil expression. In Tamil i is a demonstrative base expressing the nearer or proximate person or thing; prefaced to nouns, expressing nearness (Burrow/Emeneau

1961:30 no.351a). It is i before a consonant and ivv before a vowel. The second word timi-timi is explained by Burrow and Emeneau (1961:209, no.2644) as 'syllables sung to keep time in dancing', Kannada dimi 'sound produced by the quick motion of the feet in dancing', Tulu dimidimi 'dancing nimbly, agility'. In the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Nanjio 1956:260) we find the spelling dime-dime. i time[2] refers to the nimble dancer who is near the heart of the yogin. The third word nime-nime is a jingling assonance of time-time. The variation t~n reflects the sound sequence of the Tamil alphabet. In the Laṅkāvatāra there is another assonance dime-dime hime-hime, which echoes the sequence of t/d and p~h, that is, the dentals are followed by the labials. Regarding the p~h phenomenon, Caldwell (1961:147) says: "Tamil and Malayalam are destitute of the sound of h..... In Modern Canarese h is regularly used as a substitute for p, as in sometimes the case in Marathi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil". Thus the jingling sequence of dime[2] hime[2] is a feature that could have arisen only in the Tamil-speaking area.

3.6 Traces of Tamil words underlie cryptic expressions in the tantras, which await research. The anuttara-yoga tantras are classified (Wayman 1973:235) into (i) neither father nor mother tantras, (ii) mother tantras, and (iii) father tantras. The mother tantras are divided into seven groupings. The second group of Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya) is subdivided into five classes. The fifth class pertains to Ārali which has two texts: Vajra-Ārali-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.426) and Rigi-Ārali-tantra-rāja (Toh.427), both translated by Kāyasthāpagayādhara and Śakya-yeśes. A sādhana to Rigi-Ārali in the Tanjur was translated by Rin-chen-grub: Rigi-Ārali-sādhana (Toh.1658). Rigi corresponds to Telugu rēku 'petal', Kolami (W) rekka 'leaf' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no.4245). Tamil arali, alari 'oleander, Nerium odorum', Malayalam araḷi 'Nerium; Plumeria acuminata'(Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no.174). Tamil ari is 'beauty', arivai 'woman between the

age of 20 and 25, woman, lady', Malayalam aruva 'fine woman' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no,180), Tamil ari 'fermented liquor, toddy'(Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no.182). Thus Rigi-ārali means the petals of the Nerium odorum, alluding to the 64 petals of the lotus on which the Ḍombī dances. The word ārali veils an allusion to ari 'beauty' and arivai 'the charming lady'. It may also conceal an allusion to ari 'toddy', for the Caryā-gīti-kośa says: "The customer who comes on seeing the signs of wine, seems to be the antarābhava citta, who now enters the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, without leaving any sign behind, and drinks the nectar from the lotus of great bliss" (Sastri 1977:688). The use of Tamil words in Sanskrit dhāraṇīs was a deliberate effort at charging the language with esoteric effects, as a special terminology or sandhā-bhāṣā 'union of two meanings, the ordinary as well as the symbolic', the union of two divergent vocabularies by the insertion of Tamil words in Sanskrit mantras to render them more thaumaturgic in their unfathomable obscurity: the gods love the cryptic (parokṣa-priyāḥ devāḥ). The special tantric terminology is also termed sandhyā-bhāṣā 'the language intentionally vague, hidden and enigmatic as the twilight', for it points--without regrets--to the symbolism of the dusk or eventide (sandhyā) which is joyfully ingrained in the vocabulary of the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, and the "vāruṇī or wine stands for the sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta or the semen virile. According to a particular belief of the yogins, when the śakti marches upwards through the nāḍīs, the śukra or the sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta also proceeds upwards to the head. The aim of the yogin is to see that is proceeds quietly through the middle nāḍī after leaving the nāḍīs on either side and gets accumulated in the vajramaṇi in the head and loses its restless character" (Sastri 1977:688). The nocturnal intensities of mahāmudrā and mahāsukha are clothed in the rapture and enigma of the mediative glory and depth of the sandhyā-bhāṣā, accentuated by the use of exotic Tamil vocables, wherein saṁsāra and nirvāṇa

become one.

4. South India as a cradle of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna

Śrīparvata

4.1 The cradle of Pāramitā-yāna, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna was in South India, around Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka, Potalaka and Oḍḍiyāna which are in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, and in the 8th century this area became an important centre for the transmission of tantras to Indonesia and China. Joshi (1967:329) opines: "It is therefore clearly established that the earliest seats of Tantrika Buddhism were not in Bengal, Orissa and Assam, but in Uḍḍiyāna and Āndhradeśa". From early centuries Southern India played a leading role in the development of Buddhism. Nāgārjuna the founder of Mahāyāna (Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, BST.118) was a South Indian Brāhmaṇa, who rescued the prajñā-pāramitā from the nāgas, from his hermitage at Śrīparvata:
"Dakṣiṇāpatha-vedalyāṁ bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāy aśāḥ/
Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadasat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ//
Prakāśya loke madyānam mahāyānamanuttaram/".

4.2 Hsüan-tsang inform us that the Mahāsāṅghikas had a dhāraṇī-piṭaka (Beal 1884:2.165) and inscriptions prove that they were widely disseminated in Andhradesa (Joshi 1967:325).

4.3 The Nikāyasaṅgraha mentions the Vajraparvata and many Vajrayāna works are attributed to the vajraparvata-vāsi-nikāya. The Vajraparvata may be another name of Śrīparvata because of its close association with Vajrayāna (Joshi 1967:327). Sanskrit works, like the Harṣacarita (Chowkhamba ed. p.9), Kādambarī (ed. Peterson p.224-8), Mālatī-mādhava (1,8,10), and Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa 3.267, 4.390 testify to the repute of Śrīparvata as a centre for attaining siddhi. The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (p.88) says that in Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka one realises the mantras

quickly:

"Śrīparvate Mahāśaile dakṣiṇāpatha-saṁjñike/
Śrīdhānyakaṭake caitye jinadhātudhare bhuvi//
sidhyante tatra mantrā vai kṣipraṁ sarvārthakarmasu/".

4.4 Avataṁsaka and South India. In the Avataṁsaka-sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha Buddha resides at Jetavana amidst an array of śrāvakas and Lokendras, who find it impossible to comprehend the great spiritual power of the Tathāgata. In accordance with the wish of the assembly, Buddha enters the siṁha-vijṛmbhita samādhi and as a result miracles follow. "After this finale of miracles Mañjuśrī departs for Dakṣiṇāpatha, followed by Bodhisattvas, Lokendras and a host of six thousand bhikṣus led by Śāriputra. Upon his arrival at the caitya of Vicitraśāladhvaja near Dhanyākara inhabitants of this town turn out in large numbers to hear him" (Fontein 1967:6). From among the thousands who flock to the caitya, Mañjuśrī singles out Sudhana to receive instruction in Supreme Knowledge. Mañjuśrī advises and sends Sudhana off to the south and other regions to receive instruction in the conduct of the bodhisattva. In his pilgrimage Sudhana visits over 50 teachers. Among them are: Sāgaramegha who had spent twelve years in meditation on the seashore at Sāgaramukha, Supratiṣṭhita of Sāgaratīra on the way to Laṅkā, the dramiḍa Megha of Vajrapura in Dramiḍapattana, Queen Āśā who lives in the Samantavyūha forest at Samudravelatī, sage Bhīṣmottara-nirghoṣa of Nālayur, and finally he reaches Maitreya who resides at the Mahāvyūha kūṭāgāra in the country of Samudrakatīha. It is interesting to observe that the journey of Sudhana takes him to the South Indian city of Nālayur and to a number of places associated with the sea, which renders it likely that the composition of the Gaṇḍavyūha be associated with Southern India. The fact that Mañjuśrī witnesses the marvels of the Buddha and returns to Dakṣiṇāpatha corroborates the aforesaid contention. Behind the right shoulder of Mañjuśrī appears a crescent-shaped ornament--an attribute often associated with Mañjuśrī. This crescent is

used to denote boys of supernatural descent, thus it came to be associated with gods or bodhisattvas of youthful appearance (kumārabhūta, Fontein 1971:145fig.6). Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta bears affinity with Kumāra or Murugan of Tamil. Avatamsaka was the first step in the evolution to the tantras connected with Vairocana and we cannot rule out the evolution of the Vairocana systems in the Tamil area, culminating in the caryā, yoga and anuttara tantras. In the Abhidhānottara and Samvarodaya tantras the 24 heroes and ḍākinīs are supposed to reside in different regions called Pullīrmalaya, Jalandhara, Oḍiyāna, etc. (Kalff 1978:158). Pullīrmalaya is a South Indian toponym. There are several South Indian cities beginning with Puli(y)°: Puliyur, Pullur, Pulluru (List of Indian Post and Telegraph Offices, 1954, p.567-568). This becomes more relevant when we remember that the Abhidhānottara and Samvarodaya tantras belong to the Prajñā Tantra division which is also called the Ḍākinī Tantra division (Kalff 1978:149). The very word ḍāka may be akin to Tamil ṭākku < T. ḍāka 1.strength, robustness. 2. petulancy, pride (Tamil Lexicon 3.1696).

4.5 In Japanese Vajrayāna or Shingon, the ritual of the Mahākaruṇā-garbhadhātu maṇḍala of the Mahāvairocana-tantra and the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the Vajraśekhara-tantra has in between the ritual of Acala. Acala (Jap. Fudō) is the main deity (Jap. honzon) of homa (Toki 1899:142). Acala is an emanation of Śiva in Japan, and in the Tibetan tradition he is Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa. In the Tamil Lexicon (suppl.314a) Caṇḍeśa is Śiva's seneschal. The role of Acala in the Japanese tradition and his Tibetan name indicate his evolution from Caṇḍeśa in the predominantly Śaiva area of Tamil. In the legend of the Avalokiteśvara on the Potalaka mountain, Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:229) says : "to the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the Bodhisattva, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika or as Maheśvara". An instance of this syncretism is the Nīlakaṇṭha-Lokeśvara-dhāraṇī which represents Śiva as the Thousand-eyed

Thousand-armed Lokeśvara Bodhisattva. It has been a very popular work in China since the later Sung dynasty (A.D.960-1127). It was translated into Chinese four times : by Chê-t'ung of Loyang (w.627-649, Nj.318, T.1057b), by Bhagavaddharma (w.650-660, Nj.320, T.1059,1060), and by Bodhiruci in A.D.701 (Nj.319, T.1058). The acculturation of Śaiva into Buddhist tradition may have taken place in South India and thence it was transmitted to Indonesia where Śiva-Buddha syncretism was deeply entrenced.

Mantrayāna proclaimed at Dhānyakaṭaka/Śrīdhānya

4.6 The Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā (pp.3-4) by the great Vajrayāna teacher Nāropā says that Śrīdhanya is the place where Mantranaya was proclaimed: Śrīdhānye niyata-mantranaya-deśanā-sthāne; the following is quoted from the mūlatantra:
Gṛdhrakūṭe yathāśāstaḥ prajñāpārami tānaye/
Tathā mantranaye proktā Śrīdhānye dharmadeśanā//

4.7 Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:2.215, Joshi 1967:325) confirms that Dhānyakaṭaka was famed for its shrine to Vajrapāṇi. Avalokiteśvara had directed Bhāvaviveka to this shrine in the mountain to the south of the capital so that he would gain his desire on reciting the Vajrapāṇi-dhāraṇī. A note added to Hsüan-tsang's text tells us that another name for the country was "Great Andhra" (Beal 1884:2.220 n.97).

4.8 According to the Tibetan tradition, it was at the Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka that Buddha gave initiation into the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala and the mūla-tantra of the Kālacakra: "Before this last deed, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the Iron-dragon year of the Nam-non cycle, at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in South India, Buddha arose in the bodily form of the main deity of the Kālacakra maṇḍala before King Sucandra (Zla-ba-bzaṅ-po) and a host of countless gods, nāgas and men of such places as the ninety-six districts of Śambhala ... Further, he gave there the initiation into the great maṇḍala of Vajradhātu

and the root text of the Kālacakra Tantra. King Sucandra recorded all this in writing and upon returning to Śambhala, constructed a three-dimensional Kālacakra maṇḍala and composed 12,000 commentaries to the mūla tantra" (adapted from Gar-je K'am-trul Rinpoche, A geography and history of Shambala, The Tibet Journal 3.3[1978]:6).

4.9 Tāranātha (Chimpa/Chattopadhyaya 1970:209) says that Candragomin went from Nālandā to Dhānyakaṭaka caitya to worship Tārā and Avalokiteśvara and thence to the Potala hill. Hsüan-tsang's journey took him to Kancipura the capital of the Draviḍa country (Beal 1884:2.228), and 3000 li south from this he came to the Malakūṭa country in which was situated Mount Potalaka the abode of Avalokiteśvara.

5. Kanci as a fountainhead of Buddhism

5.1 From very early times Kanci had become a cradle of Buddhism. In the excavations at Kancipura, a Buddhist shrine has been uncovered, and there has also come to light a greyware sherd with Brāhmī letters of the first-second century A.D. which have been read as Pu ta li ti sa (Champaklakshmi 1978:116).

Kāñcīpura as a centre of Pali Buddhism

5.2 The Gandhavaṁsa says that Kāñcīpura, Avanti and Arimaddana were the three renowned centres of Theravāda. Buddhaghosa confirms this in his Manorathapūraṇī, and further points out that he wrote this work on the request of Jotipāla while both were residing at Kancipura. Buddhaghosa refers to Srinivāsa or Siripāla as the king of Kancipura in his Samantapāsādikā.

5.3 The Tamil Thera Buddhadatta, who lived in the fifth century under the patronage of the Coḷa king Kalabhra Accutavikkanta, was the abbot of several Buddhist monasteries, including those at Anurādhapura in SriLanka and at Kancipura.

5.4 The Gandhavamsa names ten South Indian Theras who wrote Pali works: Buddhadatta, Ānanda, Dhammapāla, two unnamed, Mahā-vajirabuddhi, Culla-vajirabuddhi, Dīpaṅkara alias Buddhapriya, Culla-dhammapāla, and Kassapa. This work also refers to twenty other Theravāda teachers who wrote in Pali at Kancipura. Among the ten Theras, Dhammapāla (5-6th century A.D.) headed the Bhaṭārāditta Vihāra at Kancipura and Dīpaṅkara Thera (1100 A.D.) became the head of the Bālādicca Vihāra at Kancipura.

5.5 Anuruddha (12th century) of the Pandya land, whose Pali works were popular in Ceylon and Burma, headed the Mūlasoma Vihāra at Kancipura. For the last eight centuries his Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha has served as a textbook for abhidhamma philosophy in the Pali countries till our times.

5.6 "South India continued to be the centre of Pali Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D. The Kalyāṇi stone inscriptions of King Dhammadazedi (Dhammaceti 1472-1492 A.D.) and the Sāsanavaṁsa of Paññasāmi (A.D.1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma during the reign of King Anawratha (10th century A.D.), taking with him to Arimaddananagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants well-versed in the Pali lore, two of whom, namely, Ānanda Thera and Rāhula Thera, were residents of Kancipura. Ānanda Thera (died 1245 A.D.) was a native of Kancipuram, who was taken to Arimarddanapura in Burma by Saddharma Jyoti Pāla, where the Burmese king Jayāsūra received him with great honours and loaded him with presents including an elephant which he sent to his relatives at Kanci. Ānanda was the head of the Burmese Buddhist Church for about fifty years and died in 1245 A.D." (Ramachandran 1954:7).

5.7 It may be remembered that Diṅnāga was a native of Kanci, lived there for a long time in the early part of his life, went to Ayodhyā to learn from Vasubandhu and ultimately settled down at Kanci.

5.8 Prior to the third century A.D., Kanci played a prominent role as one of the four capitals of the Tamil area, the

other three being Puhār, Madura and Vanji. These four capitals are mentioned in the Tamil work Maṇimekhalai. Alongwith the Śilappadhikāram, the two are outstanding Tamil classics of the Śangam period and constitute a twin epic: "the subject-matter of the two is one continuous story, and describes what befell a householder and his wife of the city of Puhār, and, as a consequence, the renunciation of the daughter of the hero of her life as the first courtezan of the Chola capital".

5.9 The author of the Manimekhalai Sāttan (from Skt. <u>śāstā</u> = Buddha), figures among the traditional Fortynine of the Third Tamil Śangam (according to Champaklakshmi 1976:116 the Maṇimekhalai is a post-Sangam work of about the fifth century A.D.). His only important work is the Manimekhalai, whose main purpose is the exhaltation of Buddhism as a religion and philosophy. The Silappadhikaram contributes to this end in a general way. It is remarkable that two of the greatest Tamil classics are Buddhist works, for Buddhism held sway in the Tamil area.

5.10 Maṇimekhalai found enough to learn of Buddhism in the initial stages at Puhār. She also learnt all that the heretical teachers had to teach at Vanji. She happened to see her grandfather there in the Buddhist vihāra outside the fortress. The grandfather requested her to proceed to Kanci which was suffering from a severe famine and to relieve the acute distress by her inexhaustible alms bowl that she carried in her hand. Her grandfather also advised her that at Kanci alone could she get the most authoritative teaching of Buddhism from Aṛavaṇa Aḍigaḷ. At the direction of her grandfather Maṇimekhalā flew through air to Kanci. She was received by the viceroy, Iḷaṁ Kiḷḷi and was alloted accommodation in the southwestern corner of the city in a grove called Dharmadavana, wherefrom she fed the suffering people from her inexhaustible bowl much to the relief of all. The grateful viceroy provided for her a big new vihāra with all necessary appurtenances for her residence in the city and did all else she wanted. She got a Buddha seat erected and a special caitya for

holding the footprints of the Buddha, and received the teaching of Aravaṇa Adigaḷ, as she was not satisfied with all that she had learnt earlier. Chapter 19 of the poem details Buddhist logic that Adigaḷ teaches to Maṇimekhalā, and he is introduced as a Buddhist saint of the highest reputation in Tamil area at the time. The epic gives an elaborate description of the town of Kanci where Maṇimekhalā ultimately attained enlightenment. So during the period to which the story of Maṇimekhalai refers, Kanci was still a Cola viceroyalty, and the viceroy at the time was a younger brother of the reigning Cola (Aiyangar 1928:20-21). "No princely viceroy of the Cola was possible in Kanci after A.D.300, from which period we have a continuous succession of Pallava rulers holding sway in the region" (Aiyangar 1928:xxviii).

5.11 The Dhyāna school (Jap. Zen-shu) of Buddhism is associated intimately with Kanci. It was introduced into China by the Indian teacher Bodhidharma, who was the third son of a king of Kanci. He reached China in A.D.520 or 527. He had transmitted a copy of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra to his disciple Hui-k'o (traditional dates A.D.487-593, Fontein and Hickman 1970:xv,2). The title of Laṅkāvatāra indicates the likelihood of this text having been written at Kanci which was "situated on the mouth of the southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Siṁhala" (Beal 1911:139). It was the port for sailing to Laṅkā : the Laṅkā-avatāra. Tantric commentators "quote the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra for their Yogācāra-type vocabulary, and this sūtra was first translated into Chinese in 443 A.D. and in the fifth century had become so popular among Indian Buddhists that it was the chief text of Bodhidharma when he came to China in either 520 A.D. or 527 A.D. (the alternate dates of the Sino-Japanese tradition)" (Wayman 1977:97). The Vajraśekhara-tantra which took form in the South is closely related to yogācāra (Malalasekera 1973:379b). This relationship may conceal in it the history of the development from yogācāra to the yoga-tantras (of which Vajraśekhara-tantra is the second fundamental text) in the Kanci region itself. It requires further investigation.

5.12 Dharmapāla (A.D.528-560) the head of the Nālandā monastery was the eldest son of a minister of Kanci (Raghavan 1976:8). His disciple was the famous Śīlabhadra of Nālandā, under whom Hsüan-tsang studied.

5.13 Mahendravarman in his Mattavilāsa-prahasana gives additional proof of the existence of a Buddhist vihāra in Kanci in the early part of the seventh century A.D. (Champaklakshmi 1978:116).

5.14 In A.D.640 Hsüan-tsang stayed at Kanci (Watters 1905:2.335) where he halted for some time in the hope of visiting Srilanka (Beal 1911:139). Shaman Hwui-li in his biography of Hsüan-tsang makes some important observations (Beal 1911:138,139) that Kancipura was the capital of the Draviḍa Kingdom and it "is situated on the mouth (bay) of the southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Siṁhala, distant from it three days' voyage". Hsüan-tsang had come to Kanci for going to Srilanka, but prior to his departure the king of Siṁhala died and the country was in disorder, so much so that Bodhimegheśvara and Abhayadaṁṣṭra with three hundred priests left the country and arrived at Kancipura. Hwui-li continues:

"The Master of the Law, having obtained an interview with them, asked them as follows: "It is reported that the chief priests of your kingdom are able to explain the Tripiṭaka according to the Sthavira school, and also the Yoga-śāstra. I am anxious to go there and study these books. May I ask why you have come to this place?" In reply, they said: "The king of our country is dead: and the people are suffering from famine,without any resource for help"...

"Moreover, among the members of our school who know the Law there are none who excel ourselves as to age and position; if you have any doubts therefore, let us, according to your will, speak together about these things".

"The Master of the Law [i.e. Hsüan-tsang] then gave examples of choice passages of the Yoga-śāstra, both long and short sections,

but they were not able to explain any of them as Śīlabhadra did".

In the above passage we find the expression: "are able to explain the Tripiṭaka according to the Sthavira school, and also the Yoga-śāstra", which refers to the wide-ranging dimension of the knowledge of the Srilanka monks who were well-versed in the most ancient Theravāda tradition as well as the latest system of yü-ch'ieh-lun. Beal translates yü-ch'ieh-lun as yoga-śāstra. In fact yü-ch'ieh-lun means the yoga-tantras. At the end, in "choice passages of the yoga-śāstra" the Chinese text has the term yu-ch'ieh which is a transcription of yoga. In fact, the term yü-ch'ieh 'yoga' is employed by Vajrabodhi (who arrived in China in A.D.719 and died there in A.D.732), to denote the yoga-tantras, and he is the great teacher who introduced this genre of tantra in China by translating the Vajraśekhara-tantra into Chinese. An abridged version of the Vajraśekhara translated for recitation (Nj.534) in A.D.723 has yü-ch'ieh for yoga-tantra. An extract from the Vajraśekhara on the rites of Cintāmaṇicakra--Avalokiteśvara (Nj.538) was translated by Vajrabodhi in A.D.730. Its Chinese title is Kuan-tzŭ-tsai ju-i-lun p'u-sa yü-ch'ieh fa-yao, whose word-to-word equivalence would be: Avalokiteśvara cintāmaṇicakra bodhisattva yoga vidhi. It has been mis-translated by Nanjio as "The importance of the law of Yoga of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-cintācakra (or -maṇi?). The correct translation is: "Rites of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara according to the yoga-tantras". Here yoga connotes the system of yoga-tantras. Similarly, in other works translated by Vajrabodhi during A.D.723-730, namely in Nj.1033, 1427, 1430, yü-ch'ieh 'yoga' stands for yoga-tantras.

5.15 Vajrabodhi was assisted, and later followed, by his disciple Amoghavajra (in China from 719 to 741 and again from 746 to 774) in the translation of yoga-tantras from Sanskrit into Chinese. Amoghavajra employed the term yü-ch'ieh ta-chiao-wang (Nj.1022) = yoga mahā-tantra-rāja, where tantra was translated as chiao. Elsewhere yü-ch'ieh, the transcription of yoga, serves as

a technical equivalent of yoga-tantra: Nj.1036, 1044, 1052, 1319, 1383, 1389, 1390, 1400, 1411, 1428, 1433, 1443, 1447, 1448, 1453. This serves to confirm that Hsüan-tsang was referring to the yoga-tantras, and thus Hwui-li's biography of his master preserves an important evidence of the presence of teachers of yoga-tantras at Kanci in the seventh century.

5.16 Hsüan-tsang in his Si-yu-ki (Beal 1884:2.229) points out that Kanci had 'some hundred of' monasteries, ten thousand monks, and there was a stūpa about 100 feet high which was built by king Aśoka.

5.17 The South Indian śramaṇa, Bodhiruci (Nj. p.442 no.150) worked in China during A.D.693-713 and translated 53 works into Chinese. Among them are tantric texts like the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā (Nj.18, T.240) and the Ekākṣara-Uṣṇīṣacakravarti-sūtra (I-tzu fo-ting-lun-wang ching, Nj.532, T.951) which was translated in A.D.709. Prof. Seigai Omura has explained the maṇḍalas expounded in these sūtras translated by Bodhiruci in the second volume of his History of the Development of Esoteric Buddhism (Lokesh Chandra 1972:34). Another nexus between tantras and South India.

5.18 The Eight Patriarchs of Shingon or Japanese Vajrayāna who transmitted the doctrine and rites are (Saunders 1964:149): Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi (A.D.670-741), Śubhakarasiṁha (A.D.637-735), Amoghavajra (A.D.705-774), I-hsing (A.D.683-727), Hui-kuo (A.D.746-805), Kōbō Daishi (A.D.774-835).

Tantric Buddhism was carried to East Asia by Vajrabodhi of Kanci who "according to his biography, travelled to southern India at the age of 31 and began a seven-year period of study under Nāgabodhi, a disciple of Nāgārjuna. At this time, it is recorded, he studied the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra...According to a Chinese source Vajrabodhi's birthdate is conjectured as 671 A.D., and so his thirty-first year would correspond to the year 701 A.D." (Matsunaga 1977:178). Nāgārjuna is an eminent authority on the

Tantras in the Tibetan tradition as well. In the Blue Annals 2.753 it is clear that the yoga and anuttara yoga tantras spread from the south: "the ācārya Nāgārjuna and his disciples obtained the yoga-tantras, including the Guhyasamāja and others (the anuttara-yoga-tantras, were also called mahāyoga-tantras...), and preached them. They spread from the South. After that Kambala and others discovered the yoginī-tantras in the country of O-ḍi-yan. They also spread towards Madhyadeśa". Nāgārjuna is associated with the construction of an Iron Stūpa in South India, which is illustrated in the Kakuzen-shō 'collection of Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about A.D.1183-1213, reproduced in the Iconographic Section of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vol.5 no.103.392. The term 'iron' is a translation of loha which in Tamil means 'metal'. As a holy monument the stūpa could not have been overlaid with iron only, but with seven or nine metals including precious metals as is usual in sacred architecture. Thus the phrase 'iron stūpa' in its mistranslation conceals a Tamil nuance.

5.19 The third Patriarch Vajrabodhi was the son of the royal preceptor of the Pallava kings of Kanci. Thus the Chinese and Japanese sources provide positive evidence of the vogue of tantras in South India and even at Kanci itself which to them was the original home for the dissemination of tantric learning.

5.20 For seven years Vajrabodhi studied the Vajraśekhara-tantra and other tantric texts under Nāgabodhi in South India (Takakusu 1956:151). Amoghavajra "first received the transmission from Vajrabodhi, the Tripiṭaka Master, and moreover visited the Acharya Nāgabodhi in Southern India and acquired completely the Vajraśekhara Sūtra comprising eighteen divisions" (Hakeda 1972:143).

5.21 In the 8-9th century A.D. when the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār Tirumaṅgai of Tiruvali-Tirunagari came upon the scene, the vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam was so flourishing that it had a Buddha image of solid gold, as narrated in the Guru-paramparai (Ārāyirappaḍi) of the twelfth century, which is one of the hagiologies of Tamil

Vaiṣṇavism (Ramachandran 1954:15).

5.22 The biographies (Bagchi 1938:2.583) of Prājña of Kapiśā (worked in China A.D.785-810) point out that at the age of 23 years he entered Nālandā and studied the sūtras and śāstras which included the Vajraśekhara (Bagchi: Kin kang king). He went to the country of Chen-li where he stayed for 18 years. He learnt the speech of South India where they persue the guhya-piṭaka or vidyādhara-piṭaka and practise strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South were he studied the yoga tantra, maṇḍala and mūdrā of the 'five families' in more than 3000 gāthās. Here South India should refer to Kanci, for in the life of Hsüan-tsang (Nanking woodprint, chapter 4 folio 6b line 9) Drāviḍa has the gloss nan-yin 'South India' in miniscule letters, and the capital of Drāviḍa was Kancipura.

5.23 Thereafter, Prājña studied the language of Cīna or China. He embarked on a boat destined for Kuang-chou, but the outbreak of a tempest took it to the island of Srilanka. Thence by the route of the Southern Sea he arrived at Kuang-fu in A.D.781. He took residence at Ch'ang-an, worked there till A.D.810, and translated eight Sanskrit works into Chinese.

5.24 The biography of Prājña is a clear indication that South India was a renowned centre of Tantric philosophy, art and ritual. Prājña studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port. This goes to show that South India in this context refers to Kanci, which is described by Hwui-li as: "'The town of Kin-chi is the opening (mouth) of the southern sea of India, and in the direction of Sinhala the water journey is three days'. It seems to imply that Conjiveram was the central town from which the traffic to Ceylon was conducted" (Beal 1884:2.228). As a major port and capital of the Drāviḍa kingdom, Kanci must have been frequented by rich Chinese merchants and it is from them that Prājña could acquire a knowledge of Chinese.

5.25 In China, Prājña taught Sanskrit to Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon or Vajrayāna in Japan (Hakeda 1972:33). He gave Sanskrit manuscripts to Kōbō Daishi: "With the pledge to transmit the torch of the Dharma, I came to China. I wish to sail for Japan, but circumstances do not allow me to fulfil my intention. Take with you the new Avataṁsaka Sūtra and the Ṣaṭ-Pāramitā Sūtra, both of which I have translated, and these Sanskrit manuscripts. I sincerely hope that these will help create conditions [in which to propogate Buddhism] so that people will be saved" (Hakeda 1972:149). In the years A.D.796-798 Prājña translated anew the Avataṁsaka-sūtra in 40 fasciculi. It is important to note that at the end there is a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor from the King of Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) in South India, who presented his own copy of the Sanskrit text to the Chinese Emperor in A.D.795 (Nj.89). Here Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) is explicity stated to be situated in South India, and it can be none other than Uḍḍiyāna/Kanci. The search for authentic Sanskrit manuscripts preceded the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. A century earlier, the Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka in 80 fasciculi was completed by Śikṣānanda in A.D.695-699 after the Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien had sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of this sūtra (Nj.88). It was perfectly natural that when Prājña wanted to procure an authentic manuscript of the Avataṁsaka, he must have requested the Chinese Emperor to get it from Oḍḍiyāna. The year A.D.795 when the Avataṁsaka manuscript reached China is significant. It was prior to the years A.D.796-798 during which Prājña was engaged in its translation.

6. Transmission from South India to the East and Northwest

The oldest of the texts of its genre the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed.BST.112) clearly states that the Pāramitānaya (Joshi 1967:345) originated in the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha) and spread to the east and later flourished in Uttarāpatha i.e. the

North-west of India: ime khalu punaḥ śāriputra ṣaṭpāramitā-pratisaṁyuktāḥ sūtrāntāstathāgatasyātyayena dakṣiṇāpathe pracariṣyanti, dakṣiṇāpathāt punareva vartanyām pracariṣyanti, vartanyāḥ punar uttarapathe pracariṣyanti. Haribhadra in his Ālokā (ed. BST:427). Vartanyām iti pūrvadeśe. The Pāramitāyāna developed into Mantrayāna (Lessing/Wayman 1968:21), and this confirms that the route of transmission of Mantrayāna was from the South to the Northwest. The South Indian monks were great wanderers who roamed far and wide disseminating Buddhism. An inscription in one of the apsidal temples at Nagarjunikonda (EI.20.22-23) actually records a donation for nuns and monks who in their journeys to faraway lands had visited Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Aparānta, Yavana (?), and Tāmraparṇī (SriLanka) (Weiner 1977:34).

7. Conclusion

The evidence of different Buddhist traditions points to the origin of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna in the South and its spread thence to other regions of India. The linguistic evidence of the word Oḍḍiyāna itself, the presence of South Indian vocables in dhāraṇīs, the unanimous traditions about the origination of tantras in various places of Southern India, and the fact that Kanci was a cradle of Buddhism as well as a centre for the dissemination of Vajrayāna to East Asia: all converge to the conclusion that Oḍḍiyāna is Kanci.

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1. Introductory
2. Forms of the word Oḍḍiyāna
3. South Indian words in dhāraṇīs
4. South India as the cradle of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna
5. Kanci as a fountainhead of Buddhism
6. Transmission from South India to the East and NorthWest
7. Conclusion
8. Literature cited

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THE ORIGIN OF AVALOKITA-SVARA/AVALOKIT-EŚVARA

Complex systems of thought lie embedded in the silent enigmas of Avalokita-svara ~ Avalokit-eśvara ~ Lokeśvara. From an attendant acolyte of Amitābha in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, A. gained independence as a separate deity in his own right, while the worship of his prototype Brahmā ceased, until the great Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya resurrected Brahmā (masc.) as the abstract Brahman (neut.). The Potala Lokeśvara holds the mysteries of Harihara, the Devarāja cult and a key to the enigmatic faces at Angkor. From hymns he has incarnated into statues to become Things of our earth, to celebrate the cosmos in the surety of living, to carry eternal depths to the eyes of the faithful of the earth: beauté (fem.) or beauty sculpted in the round, to give birth to a state of open symbolism. These psychotrophic images open meditative worlds of well-being, happiness and bliss so that the human possesses all becomings. Common men exalt their being in the vision of these images of Avalokita–svara sublimed by words (*svara*) of transcendance.

The etymology and theogony of Avalokita-svara/Avalokit-eśvara has been discussed by several scholars, like Burnouf (1844), Grünwedel (1900), Zimmer (1922), Mironov (1927), Vallée Poussin (1909), Takakusu (1914), Staël-Holstein (1936), Mallmann (1948), Yutaka (1982), and several others. These views have been detailed *in extenso* by Mallmann (1948: 59-82 le nom d'Avalokiteçvara) and hence we shall not repeat all the observations. All of them have missed

the origin of A. and thus the etymology and variants of the name have remained obscure.

NOMENCLATURE

Three forms of the Sanskrit name are found: (i) Avalokita, (ii) Avalokita-svara, (iii) Avalokit-eśvara.

Avalokita. The name Avalokita occurs in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 2.51 (7th cent.): *taṁ cĀvalokitaṁ nātham.* Prajñākaramati's commentary (edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin, 1901:66) on this stanza: *sa bhagavān Avalokitaḥ.* The great Sanskrit-German dictionary *PW* cites Avalokita = Avalokiteśvara from the three dictionaries: *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Anekārthasaṅgraha,* and *Medinī. Avalokito nā Lokanāthe, tṛṣu nirīkṣite* (*Medinī-kośa* 1940:71.230). The *Anekārtha-saṅgraha* of Hemacandra 5.20 says *Avalokitas tu Buddhe, apy avalokitam īkṣite.* The Tibetan name *Spyan-ras-gzigs* is an honorific literary translation of Avalokita.

Staël-Holstein (1936:357) cites « Lord Avalokita » from Kern's English version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (SBE 21.406-407), which is wrong. The Sanskrit text clearly has the word Avalokiteśvara throughout. He cites Avalokita-lokeśvara from Cordier 2.154 (21) which is a reconstruction by Cordier, whereas the original Tibetan xylograph has the transliteration Avalokiteśvara. He quotes Avalokita from Cordier 2.308 (63), 2.316 (128, 129, 130)). All these four titles are reconstructions and are without value. Bhattacharyya (1958:411 fig. 44) illustrates Avalokita Lokeśvara, which is Avalokiteśvara Lokeśvara in the drawings of Siddhimuni Sakya (Lokesh Chandra 1981:44 fig. 64). Even this entry is doubtful. I (1981) have shown that the names of the 108 Lokeśvaras (not Avalokiteśvaras) in Bhattacharyya are misread in several places, and are unreliable. Staël-Holstein (1936:352) cites the Chinese *Kuan-shih-tzŭ-tsai* 觀世自在 from Hsi-yü Chi (T. 51.883b) and Eitel's *Handbook* 25. Though the Chinese can be literally rendered as Avalokita-lokeśvara, this compound is not attested anywhere in Sanskrit. In fact, *loka* was deemed to be implicit in Avalokita. Avalokita was early understood as including *loka.* So the Chinese *Kuan-shih-tzŭ-tsai* cannot be taken for certain as standing for Avalokita-lok-eśvara.

Avalokit-eśvara. This name occurs in the Sanskrit version of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* for the first time. The *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* was translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman in A. D. 252 (Nj 27, K 26). Saṅghavarman translated A. as Kuan-shih-yin 觀世音 (lit. * Avalokita-loka-svara, a compound not met with in any Sanskrit text). Kuan-shih-yin stands for Avalokita-svara. Mallmann (1948:71) discusses the Chinese term at length. The translation of Saṅghavarman raises a doubt whether the original reading in the third-century Sanskrit manuscript was not Avalokita-svara. The name Avalokiteśvara seems to be later, influenced by Īśvara = Śiva, which shows the interaction of Śaivism and the worship of Avalokiteśvara. This name had crystallized by the time when Hsüan-tsang completed his Travels/Hsi-yü Chi in A.D. 646. In the third chapter of his Travels (T. 51.883b) Hsüan-tsang opines that Kuan-tzŭ-tsai = Avalokiteśvara is the correct name. By his time Avalokiteśvara must have been the prevalent name (Staël-Holstein 1936:354).

Avalokita-svara occurs five times on one incomplete leaf of an ancient Sanskrit manuscript of the fifth century written in Indian characters which has been found in Eastern Turkestan. It is a fragment of the 24th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, brought back by Count K. Otani's expedition. « As the name occurs five times on an incomplete leaf, the possibility of a clerical error is hardly admissible. The circumstance is especially important, as the Petrovsky ms. of *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* from Kashgar has the usual form Avalokiteśvara. Thus a hereto missing link between the Indian and Chinese traditions seems to have been found. It cannot be doubted that Avalokitasvara was the original form, later supplanted by Avalokiteśvara » (Mironov 1927:243). That this is not a scribal error is clear from the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of Fa-yün compiled in A. D. 1151, Fan-i Ming-i Chi 翻譯名義集 (T 2131, 54.1062a, Nj 1640) which admits that sūtras written north of the Himalayas have *svara* meaning « sound » (instead of śvara) (Staël-Holstein 1936:353). Ch'ang-kuan the fourth patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school states in his commentary on the Avataṁsaka-vaipulya-sūtra written during A. D. 784-787 (KS 1, Nj 1589, T 1735): « In the Sanskrit originals themselves two different names of the Bodhisattva occur. It is due to this difference in the Sanskrit origi-

nals that the Chinese translators of these same originals differ as to the names of the Bodhisattva » (Staël-Holstein 1936:353-354).

Chih Ch'ien, in his translation of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (T 474, Nj 147) done in the years A. D. 223-228 (K 120), translates Avalokita-svara 闚音 (T 14.519b, Staël-Holstein 1936:354 n. 9). Kumārajīva who translated the same *sūtra* 178 years later in A. D. 406 (K. 119) rendered A. by the earlier and popular name Kuan-shih-yin (T 475:14.537b, Nj 146) wherein the final element is *svara*.

The name Kuan-yin 觀音 = Avalokita-svara occurs in the title of two commentaries (T 1726 = Nj 1555, T 1728 = 1557) of Chisha daishi the founder of the Tendai sect who lived from A. D. 538 to 598 (Hobogirin 1978:238-239).

From the above we come to the following conclusions:

(1) The Chinese sources clearly indicate that there were two forms of the Sanskrit name: Avalokita-svara and Avalokit-eśvara.

(2) The earliest Sanskrit name was Avalokita-svara.

(3) With the seeping in of Śaiva influence the name became Avalokit-eśvara (Īśvara = Śiva). This process can be seen clearly in the Nīlakaṇṭha or Potala Lokeśvara/Avalokiteśvara (Lokesh Chandra 1979).

(4) During the indeterminate phase when it was not clear as to which of the two names Avalokita-svara or Avalokit-eśvara should be used, the abbreviated form Avalokita must have become popular, as in evidenced by Sanskrit texts and the widely prevalent Tibetan Spyan-ras-gzigs = Avalokita.

(5) The reconstructed forms * Avalokita-lokeśvara and * Avalokita-loka-svara used by Poussin, Staël-Holstein and others without any indication that they are artificial creations and continued by Mallmann, lead to confusion. They should be avoided.

Chinese names. Chinese has the following six names:

K'o-lou-hsüan, Jap. Ko-rō-kō 廅樓亘 (used once by the author)
K'uei-yin, Jap. Kion 闚音 (used once by the author)
Kuan-shih-yin, Jap. Kanzeon 觀 世 音
Kuang-shih-yin, Jap. Kōzeon 光 世 音 (used once by the author)
Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon 觀 音
Kuang-tzŭ-tsai, Jap. Kanjizai 觀 自 在

The chronology of these names is shown below:

A. D.

147-186 K'o-lou-hsüan = Skt. a-lo-śva?, Lokakṣema: *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (Nj 25, T 361, K 24)

223-228 K'uei-yin, Chih Ch'ien: *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (Nj 147, T 474, K 120)

252 Kuan-shih-yin, Saṅghavarman: *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (T 360, K 26)

252 Kuan-shih-yin, Saṅghavarman: *Gṛhapati-Ugra-paripṛcchā* (T 310/19, K 22/19)

286 Kuang-shih-yin 光世音 « Light on the world's voice », Dharmarakṣa: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T 263, K 117, Yutaka 1982:28)

374-426 Kuan-shih-yin, Fu-liang: *Kuan-shih-yin-ying-yen-chi* « Record of Miraculous Efficacy of A. » (Yutaka 1982:28)

399-414 Kuan-shih-yin, Fa-hsien: Travels (Legge 1886:14, Giles 1923: 123). Fa-hsien says that followers of Mahāyāna revere A. On his way back home he himself prayed to Him during a gale (Legge 1886:112-113)

406 Kuan-shih-yin, Kumārajīva: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T 262, K 116)

414-421 Kuan-shih-yin, Dharmakṣema: *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T 157, K 126)

418-422 Kuan-shih-yin, Buddhabhadra: *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* (T 278, K 79)

501 Kuan-shih-yin, Lu Kao: *Hsi Kuan-shih-yin-ying-yen-chi* « A Collected Record of the Miracles of A. » (Yutaka 1982: 28-29)

538-598 Kuan-yin, Chisha daishi (T 1726 = Nj 1555, T 1728 = Nj 1557)

593-628 In the reign of Empress Sui-ko, Prince Shōtoku built the Yume-dono or Hall of Dreams in the Horyuji to meditate on A. (Takakusu 1914:763)

601 Kuan-shih-yin, Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T 264, K 118)

646 Kuan-tzŭ-tsai, Hsüan-tsang: *Hsi-yü Chi* (Nj 1503, T 2087, K 1065)

660-663 Kuan-tzŭ-tsai, Hsüan-tsang: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (T 220, K 1)

695-699 Kuan-tzŭ-tsai, Śikṣānanda: *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* (T 279, K 80)

784-787 Kuan-tzŭ-tsai & Kuan-shih-yin (two names), *Ch'êng-kuan*, commentary on the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* (Nj 1589, T 1735, KS 1)

828 Wên-tsung ordered that an image be set up and worshipped in 44,600 monasteries of the empire (Takakusu 1914:763)

From the above chronological synopsis of Chinese names, six points are clear:

(1) The earliest name was Avalokita-svara, as evidenced by Chih Ch'ien's translation K'uei-yin.

(2) When the original meaning got dimmed, the Chinese translators took the term *loka* « world » (Chin. 世 shih) implied in avalokita (Yutaka 1982:14) and translated A. as Kuan-shih-yin « He who listens to the cries of the world ». This was part of the developing bhakti trend in Buddhism wherein the prime function of A. came to be to hearken to the needs of his devotees in the world. Kumārajīva popularized this term by his use in the Lotus Sūtra in A. D. 406.

(3) I have not been able to ascertain the earliest use of the name Kuan-yin. It was employed in the sixth century by Chisha Daishi the founder of the Tendai sect in his commentary on Kumārajīva's separate translation of the chapter on Avalokiteśvara (Nj 137). Hence onwards the worship of Avalokita was adopted by all sects, and the name Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon became popular.

(4) Till the time of Hsüan-tsang all the Chinese translations invariably end in 音 *yin « svara »*.

(5) In A. D. 646, Hsüan-tsang translated Avalokit-eśvara as Kuan-tzŭ-tsai, where tzŭ-tsai = Īśvara. For the first time he discarded the form ending in *svara* and adopted the form with *īśvara*, namely Avalokit-eśvara. This must have been the prevalent usage in India during his time. Fifty years later Śikṣānanda followed his usage.

(6) The alteration of *svara* and *īśvara* was explained by the fact that Svara = Īśvara, Śabda is Brahman, just as « the seminal Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of a single Power, is God Himself as the organic principle of the cosmic process... » (ERE.8.134b).

THEOGONY OF A.

Fundamental cosmology of Heaven and Earth. The substantive origin and correct appellation of A. become intelligible when we go back to the very foundations. Both the Indic and Indo-European traditions have Father Heaven (*dyauṣ pitar*) and Mother Earth (*pṛthivī mātar*). *Dyāvā-pṛthivī* « Heaven and Earth » are indissolubly connected in nature. Heaven and Earth as a divine pair are the source of all things. They occur as a pair in six hymns of the Ṛigveda (Macdonell 126). The two are called *rodasī*, the two worlds, an expression occurring over a hundred times in the RV. The word *rodasī* continues to exist in the Russian language and it became the inspiring battle-cry of the Russians in the Second World War: *zhivyat rodina mat* = Sanskrit *jīvyāt rodasī mātā*: Long live Mother Earth. The heaven was represented by *Śakra* and the earth (*sahā*) by Brahmā: *Śakro devānām Indro Brahmā ca sahāṁpatiḥ* (*Kāraṇḍavyūha*, ed. P. L. Vaidya 258.20). Heaven and Earth represent the totality of space, for supreme awareness takes place and is sanctified in spatial symbolism (Tucci 1949:1.263 n. 279). Lord Buddha as the Supreme Cakravartin of all space and time, is naturally attended upon by Śakra the king (*indra*) of gods or heaven and by Brahmā the lord of the earth (*sahā*). When Lord Buddha was born, Śakra and Brahmā attended upon him: « it was accepted as absolute fact that only divine hands could be worthy of receiving the

Bodhisattva when he came from his mother's body. ...Indra and Brahmā officiated as midwives... On the early monuments with figures, Indra is closer at hand while Brahmā is pushed further back because of the perspective, or even to the other side of the panel... When Hsüan-Tsang visited the park of Lumbinī, he was shown the two places side by side: one where Indra had received and swaddled the miraculous infant and the other where the " Four Celestial Kings " had done the same with the same divine cloths » (Foucher 1963:33). When Lord Buddha attained Enlightenment, Brahmā held a white parasol over His head (*Buddhavaṁsa* commentary, PTS.287), and offered a chain of jewels (*ratna-dāma*) as large as Sumeru (*Khuddakapāṭha* comm. PTS.171, *Vinayapiṭaka* comm. PTS.1.115, *Visuddhimagga* PTS.1.201). Brahmā appeared to Lord Śākyamuni and said that if the World-honoured One, failed to teach the truth, the world would become darker than it already was. « As an outcome of the pleading of Brahmā, Śākyamuni decided to teach the truth to which he had been enlightened. And when he had arrived at a method of making his message as easy to understand as possible, he concluded his weeks of meditation and began his teaching » (Mizuno 1980:30). In the Pāli tradition Brahmā recited a verse exhorting the Buddha to preach as there were those who would understand (*Saṁyutta-nikāya* PTS.1.137f., 233), and he uttered a verse immediately after the nirvāṇa of Lord Buddha (*Saṁyutta-nikāya* 158, *Dīgha-nikāya* 2.157). Brahmā Sahāṁpati was the seniormost of all Brahmās (*jeṭṭha-mahā Brahmā*, Dīgha-nikāya 2.36f., Dīgh. comm. 2.467, *Dialogues of the Buddha* 2.30 n.4).

Buddha the cakravartin attended by the Kings of Heaven and Earth Indra and Brahmā. Lord Buddha was and acted like a *cakravartin.* He turned the *dharmacakra*: the term *dharmacakra-pravartana* has been borrowed from the terminology of royalty. When Lord Buddha was to attain *nirvāṇa*, Ānanda « asked how the ceremony should be carried out. Shakyamuni replied that it should be the kind of funeral afforded to a cakravartin king and then explained in detail » (Mizuno 1980:186). The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* says the birth of a *cakravartin* is attended by the same miracles as that of a Buddha and likewise his youth. Both have the attributes of a *mahāpuruṣa.* A *cakravartin* deserves a *stūpa* like a Buddha (*Dīgha-*

nikāya 2.143). « With the appearance of a Cakkavatti there appear seven treasures in the world; similarly, with the appearance of a Tathāgata there appear the seven treasures of wisdom-mindfulness, searching of the Dhamma, energy, zest, tranquillity, concentration, equanimity » (*Cakkavatti-sutta* of *Saṁyutta-nikāya* 5.99, Malalasekera 1937:1.833). As the supreme cakravartin Lord Buddha was attended on by the Lords of both Heaven and Earth, namely, Indra and Brahmā. Sharma (1978:37-39) has collected references to them from *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Avadāna-śataka*, and *Jātaka-mālā*. As acolytes of the Buddha, the two divine kings became symbolized as *brahma ca kṣtraṁ ca* of the Ṛgveda, namely, knowledge and power, widsom and impirium. They thus entered a world of creativity and of new mythopoetics: now they could be transformed and transcreated.

Indra and Brahmā flank Lord Buddha in sculpture. Brahmā and Indra attend on Lord Buddha as adorants in the oldest sculptures from Gandhara and Mathura. They stand to His left and right. Their position to the left or right is not fixed in the early images. Brahmā has the hairdo of an ascetic and Indra wears a turban. Images from Gandhara, Butkara I and Swat show Brahmā and Indra entreating the Buddha to preach (Leeuw 1979:fig. 11, 12, 13, 32, 33, 34, 35). So does a relief in the Peshawar Museum (Leeuw 1949:176 fig. 25). The Kaniṣka reliquary found in the great *stūpa* at Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī of the reign of Kaniṣka I shows Indra and Brahmā with hands folded in *añjali* flanking the Buddha (Dobbins 1971:25, Leeuw 1949:99). The two divine kings flank the seated Buddha of the kapardin type found at Kaṭrā (Mathura Museum, Leeuw 1949: fig. 31), another broken image of a seated Buddha of the kapardin type now at Boston (Leeuw 1949:fig. 32), a relief found in the Jail Mound at Mathura (Lucknow Museum, Leeuw 1949:fig. 33). Brahmā and Indra formed a « permanent couple » on either side of the Master. This tradition goes back to very ancient aniconic times when we find the two great gods in adoration of an empty seat under the Bodhi tree on a railing pillar from Mahaban (Mathura Museum no.2663, Leeuw 1949:176 n. 111). In the Gupta and Pala sculptures, Brahmā can be recognized by his four heads and Indra by his *vajra*.

Transcendance of Buddha, Indra and Brahmā. With the rise of transcendental tendencies in Buddhism, Śākyamuni the Man was replaced by Amitābha. His historic Enlightenment was transcended into Supreme Enlightenment whose illumination became the new dynamized centre reflected in the new Tathāgata Amitābha. A deliberate effort was made to change the morphology and nomenclature of an emerging form of Buddhism, and to emphasize its unceasing development. The Larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* is set forth by Śākyamuni to a question by Ānanda. The Buddha relates that there was a line of 81 Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja. In the period of Lokeśvararāja, Dharmākara a king turned monk resolves to become a Buddha. Dharmākara meditates and reappears before Lokeśvararāja. He describes at length the land of bliss or Sukhāvatī in his 48 vows. All the details are related by Śākyamuni to Ānanda who thereupon asks the present whereabouts of Dharmākara. Śākyamuni replies that he is reigning in Sukhāvatī as Buddha Amitābha. ... Dharmākara may be an actual monk of this tradition who systematized and wrote down the cult and doctrine of Amitābha.

Transcendence leads to change of nomenclature. Śākyamuni was flanked by Brahmā and Śakra. But when Śākyamuni became Amitābha, the attendant acolytes changed names: Brahmā became Avalokita-svara and Śakra became Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Brahmā envisions the mantras and as the upholder of the vision enshrined in mantras He holds the Four Vedas in His hands. He is the supreme symbol of brahma-ghoṣa, the revealed Word of mantras. In the new terminology He was *Avalokita* « seer » + of *svara* « Word, Logos ». We have already noted that the form Avalokita-svara is actually found in Central Asian manuscripts. The Chinese Kuan-yin and Japanese Kannon is *Kuan/kan* « see » + *yin/on* « sound », a translation of Avalokita-svara. Śakra means « The Powerful One » from the root *śak* « to be powerful », and so does *mahā* « great » + *sthāma* « power, stamina » + *prāpta* « attained ».

Śakra/Indra becomes Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The metamorphosis of Śakra/Indra to Mahāsthāmaprāpta goes back to his earliest characterization in the *Ṛgveda*. Śakra is from the root *śak*, from which is derived *śakti* « power ». Both Śakra and Mahāsthāmaprāpta sym-

bolize might. Indra wields the *vajra* and it exhilerates him to carry out his warlike deeds (Macdonell 56). The gigantic size and fierce might of Indra is dwelt upon in many passages of the *Ṛgveda*: « When Indra grasped the two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to him (RV.3.30.5). ...His greatness and power are lauded in the most unstinted terms. ...No one, god or man, either surpasses or equals him (RV.6.30.4). Neither former, later, nor recent beings have attained to his valour (RV.5.42.6). Neither gods nor men nor waters have attained to the limit of his might (RV.1.100.15). ...All the gods yield to him in might and strength (RV.8.51.7). Even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (RV.7.21.7). All the gods are unable to frustrate his deeds and counsels (RV.2.32.4) » (Macdonell 57-58). « Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, who destroys the aerial demons in battle, is constantly invoked by warriors » (Macdonell 62). « Regarded as a whole the attributes of Indra are chiefly those of physical superiority and of dominion over the physical world. Energetic action is characteristic of him, while passive sway is distinctive of Varuṇa. Indra is a universal monarch, not as the applier of the eternal laws of the universe nor as a moral ruler, but as an irresistible warrior whose mighty arm wins victory » (Macdonell 64). In continuation of the Vedic tradition, he was rightly termed one who has attained (*prāpta*) mighty (*mahā*) prowess (*sthāma*). The new name celebrated the main attribute of Indra, namely, dominating superiority and energetic action.

The Pāli *Dhammapad-aṭṭhakathā* 4.105f. mentions Indra as a giver of punishment to guilty people with his thunderbolt (*Inda-vajira*, Haldar 1977:84). « In the fourteenth Sutta of Saṁyutta-nikāya, Sakka explains how new gods, who outshine the old ones, do so because they observe the Buddha's teachings » (Haldar 1977: 85). He is spoken of as the lord of victors in *Jātakas* 5.322 (*jayataṁ pati*), and he is the embodiment of the greatest valour (*Mahāvaṁsa* 30.10). He is called Vajira-hattha in the *Dīgha-nikāya* 2.259. The sound of Indra's thunderbolt striking its victim, surpasses all other sounds by its intensity, its volume and its fearfulness no obstruction can stop the progress of Indra's Vajira and it never misses its mark (Malalasekera 1937:1.309-310). Mahāsthāmaprāpta con-

tinues to hold the *vajra* in his hand. Later on he developed into Vajrapāṇi and Ākāśagarbha. Buddhaghoṣa tells us that Vajrapāṇi is the same as Sakka (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p. 30).

Brahmā becomes A. Brahmā, the other adorant of the pair, was renamed Avalokita-svara and he held a lotus in his hand. Brahmā represents *brahman* the sacred word. He is Vāgīśvara (Liebert 1976:46). He envisions the mantras (*mantra-draṣṭā*). In the Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra A. is the great *vidyādhipati*, and he is in possession of hundreds of mantras: *aneka-mantra-śatā-'vakīrṇa* (E.B.2.259b). *Svara*, the second member of the compound of Avalokita-svara rightly characterizes him. The association of Brahmā with *brahmaghoṣa* or the *Vedas* needs no detailing. The *Vedas*, envisaged as the Eternal-Law (*Dharma*), the scheme of the universe, spring from Brahmā and return into him. Brahmā is also the Great Lord of Speech (*Bṛhas-pati*), the First-Seer (*Ādi-kavi*) (Daniélou 1964:234, 235). In his four hands he can hold the four *Vedas*. Brahma-svara is the name of a former Buddha in the *Mahāvastu* 3.231.11f. In *Samādhirāja* 57.7f. the names of two former Buddhas are Brahmeśvara.

Just as Brahmā is *Caturānana* or *Caturmukha* « Four-faced » (*Amarakośa* 1.1.16-18) so is Avalokita-svara. The 24th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* calls him Samantamukha or facing all the four directions. The *Rūpa-maṇḍana* says that the four faces of Brahmā represent the four *Vedas*: *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* (*Ṛgvedādi-prabhedena...catur-vaktraṁ caturbhujam*).

Brahmā is born of the lotus: he is Abja-ja, Abja-yoni, Kamalayoni, Kañ-ja, Kañja-ja, Sarojin (Liebert 1976:46). Avalokita-svara prominently sports the lotus in his hand, in keeping with his originator Brahmā.

Brahmā holds a water-gourd (*Brahmā kamaṇḍalu-dharaḥ kartavyaḥ sa caturmukhaḥ, Matsya-purāṇa* 259.40). Avalokita-svara with a vase abounds in Japanese iconography, for example, the A. at Dōmyōji monastery at Osaka (Yoshiaki 1969:fig.80). The earliest wooden sculptures of A. with vase are the Kudara Kannon and Kumen Kannon in the Daihōzōden Repository of the Hōryūji monastery (Kuno 1966: fig. 57, 58 and 60).

Brahmā Sahāṁpati is the lord of the earth (*sahā*). He is Lokeśa in the Amarakośa 1.1.16. Avalokita-svara too is Loka-nātha and Lokeśvara. The ideograph *shih* 世 « world, *loka* » in the Chinese translations reflects this fundamental characteristic of A.

It is clear that Brahmā was transcreated into Avalokita-svara. In the earliest periods, the Chinese renderings of the term show *yin* 音 = *svara*. The original and correct term therefore is Avalokita-svara, preserved in Chinese Kuan-[shih-]yin = Japanese Kan-[ze-]on to this day. Avalokiteśvara was a later hyper-Sanskritization, when the underlying meaning of the term had been lost.

The earliest and superb masterpiece painting of Amitābha with Mahāsthāmaprāpta to the right and A. to the left is the mural done on Wall 6 of the Golden Hall (Kondō) of the Hōryūji monastery in the seventh century.

Preeminence of A. The Bodhisattvas are not equal among themselves. In the « heaven of Amitābha there are two, Avalokita and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, almost as great and luminous as Buddha, who sit on thrones equal to his. Avalokita is the more majestic; this is due to his vow to bring all beings, without exception, into the « happy land ». And while his glorious body illumines a great many worlds, he traverses them all in different forms, sometimes real and sometimes magical; like Amitābha himself, he has parts of himself incarnated here and there; he never forgets for a moment his role as provider of the Sukhāvatī » (Poussin 1909:ERE.2.258b). Avalokita-svara is called Sukhāvatīśvara in the lexicon *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa*. The predominance of Avalokita-svara over Mahāsthāmaprāpta can also be explained by his antecedent deity. Like Avalokita-svara, his origin Brahmā Sahāṁpati was a mighty and powerful Mahābrahmā (*Saṁyutta-nikāya* 5.410 quoted in Malalasekera 1960:338). A. became an independent deity and gained perennial popularity that has continued to our day. His wide vogue led to the incorporation of a number of other deities into His many forms, like Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara with or without a thousand arms.

Further transformations. The transformation of Indra into Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and of Brahmā into Avalokita-svara, continued to evolve into new deities. Two new pairs developed:

Indra	Brahmā
Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Avalokita-svara
Vajrapāṇi	Padmapāṇi
Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha

The pair of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi symbolize the attributes held in the hands, while Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha stress the spatial dominions of Heaven (*ākāśa*) and Earth (*kṣiti*) of the pair. In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of the eighth century Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi flank Vairocana. So do they stand to the right and left of Vairocana the central deity of the eighth century Caṇḍi Mendut at Yogyakarta (Indonesia). The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan (10th cent.) speaks of Śākyamuni flanked by Lokeśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left. Lokeśvara is of red colour and in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Vajrapāṇi is blue and in *bhūḥsparśa-mudrā* (p. 60). The trinity is equated as follows:

	tattva (p. 63)	*triratna* (p. 64)
Śākyamuni	*artha*	Buddha
Lokeśvara	*kāma*	*dharma*
Vajrapāṇi	*śabda*	*saṅgha*

In the Lha-khaṅ of the Lotsava, attributed by tradition to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (A. D. 958-1055), remain great stucco statues of Śākyamuni seated in the middle, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi standing at his two sides (Tucci & Ghersi 1935:183). These go back to the early times of the Buddhist revival in the land of Guge. Thus we can discern several transformations of the original pair of Indra and Brahmā flanking Lord Buddha.

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THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF DR. LOKESH CHANDRA

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March 1980

The epic of man's march over the centuries, in remote grasslands, lands of ice, expanses of sand and vales of magic charm — is chronicled in 284 large and learned volumes of the published work of Dr. Lokesh Chandra. His researches make us alive to the immensity of ideas in the vastness of time, and at the same moment they betoken a vibrant hope of a dynamic future in an ever-evolving time-space continuum.

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the fantastic flowering of the jungle. The shrines seem to have been transported by divine magic straight from India. By moonlight these buildings take on an appearance of solid majesty which is awe-inspiring. In the twilight gloom of these jungles a nāga slithers over the sensuous limbs of an apsarā petrified in a seductive pose of her dance in honor of a Devarāja of lost Angkor.

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A LIST OF WORKS BY DR. LOKESH CHANDRA

1949

1. The Cyavana-Vidanvat Legend in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, Journal of the American Oriental Society 69:84-86. The text published by E.W.Hopkins in JAOS. 26 has been revised and re-edited with notes.

1950

2. Gavāmayana of the Jaiminīyas, being Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa II.1-80 containing the year-long sacrifice Gavāmayana, critically edited with a long introduction and copious notes.

1953

3. Khanij Abhijñān, a handbook in Hindi on the identification of common minerals of India by their lustre, streak, hardness and specific gravity, with an elaborate introduction explaining the principles of the formation of scientific names of minerals; in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira, Prof. N.L.Sharma, and Dr. S.D.Limaye.

4. Dictionary of Indian Mammals, giving the Indian names of all the supragenerie, generic, specific, and sub-specific names of the mammals of India; in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira and K.N.Dave.

5. Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, English translation by the late Prof. W. Caland, edited by Lokesh Chandra with a detailed introduction. The first English translation of a Vedic śrauta text.

1954

6. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, complete text reconstituted for the first time, in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira. This Brāhmaṇa had already attracted great attention towards the end of the last century. Professors Oertel and Caland had even published extensive extracts, but it was not found possible to edit the text as a whole. With the discovery of new manuscripts after a long and arduous search in Jaiminīya families, it has been possible to bring out a complete text. In importance it rivals the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

1955

7. Comprehensive English-Hindi Dictionary, in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira.
8. Studies in Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, Book I, in collaboration with Prof. RaghuVira. Acta Orientalia 22:55-74, Copenhagen. Contains new emendations, corrections, parallels to other Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts, and references to previously published extracts.
9. Brāhmaṇica. Discusses textual problems connected with the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.

1958

10. The Authors of Sumbums, Indo-Iranian Journal 2:110-127. The sumbums are a very important genre of Tibetan literature, comprising the collected works of eminent polymaths.

1959

11. A newly discovered Urga edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, accompanied

by a transcription of the introductory part of the Urga Kanjur, Indo-Iranian Journal 3:175-204.

12. A new Indonesian episode of the Mahābhārata-cyclus, Archiv Orientalni, Prague 27:565-571 with 4 plates.

13. Tibetan works printed by the Shöparkhang of the Potala, in Jñānamuktāvalī, Commemoration Volume in honor of Johannes Nobel, pp.120-132.

14-22. Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary Parts 1-9. For it, the author has drawn upon the vast canonical literature of Tibet and an unsurpassed abundance of material has been collected. Every entry is followed by exact references to texts. Terms of specialized subjects like astronomy, medicine, iconography, metrics prosody, philosophy have also been included. It is the first comprehensive lexicographical referencework for the understanding of Tibetan literature and culture whose sway extended into the remotest inhabitations of Higher Asia. It is unique in including more than a thousand illustrations from original xylographed iconographic manuals.

23. Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ of Sumpa mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-ḥbyor, containing a history of Buddhism in China and Mongolia, preceded by the chronological tables or reḥu mig, a "fundamental basis for Tibetan chronology" (G.Tucci).

24. Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston, Part 1, the chronicle of Buddhism by Dpaḥ-bo-gtsuglag, an incarnate Lama of the Karma-pa sect. The unique value of the work may best the illustrated by reference to the rgyal-rabs, vol.ja. It contains a verbatim quotation of the

9th century inscription on the rdo-riṅ at Bsam-yas, the only such example seen in any Tibetan historical work. It draws extensively on the old records of the most ancient of Tibetan monasteries and sometimes quotes from them word-by-word.

25,26. Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition). Parts 1,2 in collaboration with Prof. RaghuVira. It will give a reliable base for the critical study of Buddhist literature.

27. Vaiḍūrya-ser-po Parts 1,2. Besides being a chronicle of the leading Tibetan monasteries, it is an inexhaustible mine of information about the religion, culture, history and geography of Tibet.

1960

28. Bhoṭ Śikṣak (in Hindi): a grammar of modern Tibetan (pages 1-121), with conversation (pp. 122-238) and selections of modern prose (pp. 239-346).

29. Buddhism in Mongolia, Indo-Asian Culture, New Delhi 8:266-275.

30. Unpublished Gilgit fragments of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sud-und Ost-asiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie 4:1-13.

1961

31-33. Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, Parts 10,11,12.

34. Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston, Part 2. It contains chapters on the history of Kadampa (p. 278), Kargyupa (p. 347) and Karmapa (p. 425) sects. The chapter on the Karmapas is naturally the longest and most detailed, as the author was an Incarnate lama of the Karmapas.

35. Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston, Part 3. It completes the chapter on Karmapas, and chronicles the Ḥbri-khuṅ bkaḥ-rgyud and other sects. The chapters on Khotan, China, Mi-ñag and Mongolia, and on the development of sciences are of special interest.

36. Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston, Part 4. The chapter JA is reproduced photomechanically. The accuracy of details and the authenticity of its quotations have been attested by originals. It is a most reliable source for a better comprehension of the vital Council of Samye, which laid the foundation of Tibetan Buddhism.

37. The Samye Monastery. Samye is known as one of the most ancient temples of Tibet, where the edict of King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan establishing Buddhism as the state religion was promulgated. Samye is the earliest monastic complex of Tibet, built as a great maṇḍala symbolizing her entry into a new cosmic order. The present text is a reproduction of a historic guide to this great monastery. It sheds most welcome light on the various historical aspects of the Land of Snows. It has foreword by Prof. G. Tucci.

38. Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia. It is based on the Gñen-ḥbrel-dran-gsoḥi-me-loṅ of Ye-śes-thabs-mkhas. It contains a detailed English résumé, the original Tibetan text and an alphabetic index of works written by the great polymaths. After outlining the three periods of the propagation of Buddhism in Mongolia, it records short biographies of 19 polymaths followed by complete lists of their collected works. Never has such a Tibetan history of Buddhist literature been published. Though it deals with a specific area it opens before us a new genre of

Tibetan literature.

39. A conspectus of the Mongolian Tanjur, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 33: 36-40.

40. Les impriméries tibetaines de Drepung, Derge et Pepung, Journal Asiatique 1961: 503-517.

41. The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ, Oriens Extremus 8: 188-207.

1962

42-48. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts 1-7 in collaboration with Prof. Dr. RaghuVira. It reproduces Buddhist divinities from unpublished lamaist wood-cut albums. It provides a wealth of information on the unexplored aspects of Buddhist and expecially lamaist iconography and fills gaps in our understanding of the great art which arose in Tibet and whose sway expanded far and wide to the Siberian and Volga regions.

49. The life and works of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa, Central Asiatic Journal 7: 264-269.

1963

50. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 8, depicts the pantheon of 500 deities based on the Rin-lhan of the Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. The entire collection is divided into 23 sections, followed by two appendices delineating the Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa and the Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta. The first 13 sections are covered in Part 8, and the rest in Part 9.

51-53. Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Parts 1-3. The titles of 17,478 texts have been incorporated in three parts:

all new to research. They are only non-canonical works, that is, those texts which are outside the Kanjur and Tanjur. Raria from Tibet proper, Kham, Amdo, Inner and Outer Mongolia, have been utilised. The third part includes the outstanding Tibetan bibliographical work Dpe-rgun-dkon-pa-ḥgaḥ-zhig-gi-tho-yig of Akhu Rimpoche Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1803-1875), which is very valuable for its classified and extensive list of rare works.

54. Lcaṅ-skya Khutukhtu Lalitavajra's Commentary on the Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna-rāja, edited with an introduction. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim).

1964

55. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 9. See Part 8 for description.

56. The Golden Annals of Lamaism, being the original Tibetan text of the Hor chos-ḥbyuṅ of Blo-bzaṅ-rta-mgrin (1867-1937). The golden age of Mongolian chronicles of dharma closes with the Golden Annals in the twenties of our 20th century. It narrates the Early, the Middle, and the Later Propagation of the Dharma in Mongolia. The final chapter is devoted in particular to the Khalkha country. On folio 190 the author gives his source-materials, some of which have been lost.

57. Tibetan Buddhist texts printed by the Mdzod-dge-sgar-gsar Monastery, Indo-Iranian Journal 7:298-306.

58. Contents of two classical hippological treatises. Analysis of the Śālihotrīya Aśvāyurveda-saṁhitā as preserved in Tibetan, and of the Rgya-gar-paḥi lugs bstun Rta-dpyad dpal-gyaṅ by Sum-pa-mkhan-po.

59. The Three Hundred Icons of Tibet. Reproduction of a Peking xylograph which is referred to as sku-brñan brgya-phrag-gsum (f.2b) and sku-brñan sum-brgya (f.8b) in the preface. The preface was written by the famous Lcaṅ-skya Incarnate Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje or Lalitavajra who was the Imperial Preceptor to Emperor Ch'ien-lung. Lalitavajra lived from 1717 to 1786 A.D., and so this Pantheon is to be dated in the 18th century.

1965

60-61. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts 10,11 reproduce 340 remarkable rubbings of Arhats from the Lung-ch'uan ssu or "Dragon-spring Monastery" obtained from a monastery in Mukden (Manchuria). Its simple strong lines marking the folds of garments are in contrast to the powerful rendition of the visage against a void background.

62. The Amarakośa in Tibet, being a new Tibetan version by the great grammarian of Situ in the 17th century. It is far superior to the canonical translation of Yar-luṅs lotsava. The facsimile edition is preceded by a detailed introduction of 56 pages. Amarakośa and other Sanskrit lexicons inspired a sizeable genre of Tibetan lexicons. The Mṅon-brjod Mkhas-paḥi rna-rgyan is one of the most widely used. It is also reproduced in facsimile in this edition.

63. Sanskrit Bījas and Mantras in Japan, reproduces the rich heritage of bījas, varṇapāṭha, and entire mantras written in Siddham script in the perfection of their calligraphic art by eminences of Japan's cultural evolution, like Kōbō daishi (774-835 A.D.),

Chisho daishi (814-891), Hui-kuo (746-805), Denkyō daishi (767-822), and several others. In the preface all the Siddham graffiti are transcribed and dated.

64-67. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Parts 1-4. Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) is of the greatest representatives of Tibetan thought; there is scarcely a branch of the sacred disciplines that he did not cultivate, and the entire spiritual tradition which was transmitted to Tibet was systematically arranged, discussed and sifted by him. He covered the entire field of Buddhism, from tantrism to logic, from dogmatics proper to grammar and rhetoric. Some of his works are important for the history of Lamaist art and iconography : the same is true of him in every other field.

1966

68-69. The Kālacakra-tantra and other Texts, Parts 1,2. It comprises, interalia, the fundamental Kālacakra-tantra in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. The Sanskrit text is based on two Napalese manuscripts, one of which is dated 1446 A.D. It is in grand format of 28 cm. x 30 cm. It is the basic text of the vast Kālacakra literature in Tibetan and Mongolian.

70-73. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, Parts 1-4. It is an encyclopaedic quadrilingual collection of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras in four languages in an intentional sequence of: Manchu the language of the Emperor, Chinese the language of the Empire, Mongol the language of the Imperial Preceptor and editor of the work, and Tibetan the language of Dharma.

The mantras are in transcription. The collection was compiled by the Imperial Preceptor Lalitavajra during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1759 A.D., and xylographed in 1773 on the 80th birthday of the Emperor's Mother. This collection of dhāraṇī-mantras reproduced here points to a fascinating investigation into the role of the Emperor's Mother, during the long reign of her great son Ch'ien-lung, in the efflorescence of the cultural trinity of art, literature, and architecture, emanating the three planes of kāya, vāk and citta.

74. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 5. It brings to a close the fundamental works of Bu-ston on Kālacakra literature. It comprises studies on the stotra, maṇḍala, sādhana, homa and other rites which were described in the Larger Mūla Kālacakra, which is not extant now.

75. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 6. It contains the exegesis of the Laghu Saṁvara-tantra in 700 granthas, derived from the now-lost stupendous Mūla-tantra in 300,000 granthas.

1967

76. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 7, with a Foreword by H.H. the Dalai Lama. It continues to deal with the Saṁvara cycle: its sādhana, maṇḍala, homa, technical terms, abhiṣeka, pūjā, abhisamaya, etc.

77. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 12. It depicts the 26 maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī as detailed in the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta, a teacher at the Nalanda University. These are supplemented by eight more maṇḍalas. The Preface (pages

1-80) identifies each and every deity in the maṇḍalas with the help of charts. The structural analysis and index afford a key to the unravelling of the deigraphic complexes in art and architecture.

78-80. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts 13-15 illustrate 132 maṇḍalas pertaining to all the classes of tantras, namely the kriyā, caryā, yoga, anuttarayoga, advaya, and āmnāta tantras. The original thaṅkas come from the Monastery of Ṅor, a subsect of the Sakyapas. It is the first time that this rare series has been illustrated completely, providing an abundance of iconographic data, leading to a deeper appreciation of the art heritage of India, Tibet, and Mongolia.

81. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 16 illustrates new icons from the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, ending with the Eight Great Caityas. From the Aṣṭasāhasrikā pantheon are illustrated the Twelve Buddhas, Mahāsiddhas, Eight Vidyādharas, Teachers of the Lam-rim tradition, and eminent gurus.

82. A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 17 depicts the lines of transmission of tantric texts. It begins with the Guhyasamāja which stands at the head of the anuttara tantras. The presiding deities and teachers of the Saṁvara, Bhairava, Cakrasaṁvara Heruka, Bhaiṣajyaguru traditions appear in print for the first time.

83. Hymn to Tārā, a trilingual edition in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit of the Namastāraikaviṁśati-stotra, with two illustrations

at the beginning and end.

84. In Search of Buddhist Manuscripts in Eastern Siberia. A short report of the first Indian Cultural Delegation to the Buryat ASSR., presented on the occasion of the XXVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

85. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 8 begins with a sub-commentary on the scholium of Hevajra-tantra by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan of the Sa-skya-pa sect. It is followed by a short analysis and detailed commentary on the Sampuṭa-tantra and three shorter treatises connected therewith.

86. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 9 comprises four exegetical works on the Guhyasamāja, which represents the Mahāyoga upāya class of tantras.

87. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 10 continues the exegesis of the Guhyasamāja-tantra. Maṇḍala, stotra, homa, sādhana, adhiṣṭhāna, mystic dance, pañcakrama and balividhi of Guhyasamāja form a rich contribution to its literature. From p. 349 onwards we find works on the Vajrapāṇi group of Anuttara yoga tantras. It is followed by texts on various rites of the Yamāri group of tantras — its abhisamaya, maṇḍala, bali, homa, yantra and pūjā.

1968

88. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, Part 5. Rituals of Amoghapāśa, and a dhāraṇī of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.

89. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, Part 6. A

collection of dhāraṇīs to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, Cintāmaṇi-cakra, Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Ṣaḍakṣara, Saptakoṭi-Buddha-mātṛ kā Cundī, etc. and chapters 1-3 of the Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha.

90. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, Part 7. Chapters 4-12 of the Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha.

91. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, Part 8. Dhāraṇī-saṁgraha ends and there are several dhāraṇīs to Saptabuddha, Sumukha, Mahāmāya, Mahādharma-dīpa-dhāraṇī-sūtra, etc.

92. Yuthok's Treatise on Tibetan Medicine. It reproduces the Cha-lag bco-brgyad in 18 chapters by gYu-thog the Younger who lived in the 11th century. It ranks as a premier work of Tibetan medicine. Its first chapter gives the history of Āyurveda.

93. History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-yoga, with the collaboration of Lopon Tenzin Namdak. Fundamental Bonpo texts on the transmission, teaching, rites and deities of Bonpo Rdzogs-chen are reproduced. The first text is a series of important biographies of Bon-po lamas of the Rdzogs-pa-chen-po Zhang-zhung.

94. Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po. It is a history of the Ḥbrug-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect, written by Padma-dkar-po in 1575. It contains material that is not found in any of the available chojung, esp. information on the special esoteric teaching of the Kargyupa sects. It will throw light on the development of the Gorakhnāth tradition.

95. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 11, deals with the yoga class of tantras. The first work is a comprehensive introduction to the teachings of the yoga tantras. The second work is a detailed (pp.185-832) subcommentary on the Vajrodaya scholium on the Tattva-saṁgraha. It details the rites of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

96. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 12, continues to elucidate the yoga tantras, whose basic tantra is the Tattva-saṁgraha. It summarises the Tattvālokakarī, has a number of works on the rites and delineation of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, stotras, pūjā-vidhi, and different types of Vajradhātu homas, etc.

97. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 13, deals with the explanatory tantras of the yoga class. The fundamantal text is the Vajraśekhara-tantra. Besides, there are texts dealing with the Paramādya-tantra, and the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana and its Sarvavid maṇḍala.

1969

98. Prof. RaghuVira's Expedition to China, in collaboration with Mrs. S.D. Singhal. Travel diary and photographs of Prof. RaghuVira's expedition to China and Chinese Central Asia. It is the first of a long series to present the important materials of his expedition.

99. The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Pan-chen. It is one of the most important sources for the intellectual history of the 18th century Lamaist world. Situ's life-long interest was śilpaśāstra, the techniques of painting and casting, grammatic

sciences, history, astronomy and astrology. Situ's careful scholarship is attested by the enormous task of editing and correcting the Derge edition of the Kanjur in 1731-33. His work throws light on the history of Nepal, where he was received by king Jagajjayamalla of Kathmandu (1722-1736). It is an unusual Tibetan historical document.

100. A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge. It outlines the physical world, sentient creatures, royal lineages, tribal structure of the world, eighteen lands of Jambudvīpa, the geographical divisions of Tibet, the myriarchies of Central Tibet, the languages and physical types of man, the origins and concepts of Buddhism, astrology, Bon religion, medicine, esoteric practises of Mantrayāna, philology and linguistics, importance of rhetoric and public speaking, types of songs, etc.

101. The Life of the Saint of Gtsaṅ. Gtsaṅ-smyon (1452-1507) is the most significant of the well known smyon-pa, a phenomenon in reform and innovation. His 12-volume collection of Sñan-brgyud is a signal contribution to Tibetan literature. His biography in the present volume is reproduced from 16th century blocks (1547 A.D.)

102. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 14 describes vidhis of the maṇḍalas of Navoṣṇīṣa, Mṛtyuñjaya, Vajrapāṇi, Akṣobhya, Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara, Vairocanā bhisambodhi, Raśmi-vimala, Amoghapāśa, etc; and summarises Mañjuśrīkīrti's commentary on the Nāmasaṅgīti. It is basic for the understanding of maṇḍalas. At the end (pp.843-1013) is a treatise on the classification of tantras.

103. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 15 elaborates the characteristics of the four-fold classification of the tantras and their further subdivisions. In fact, the whole volume is devoted to this very topic and comprises only two titles, one of extensive (pp.1-610) and the other of medium length (pp.611-913).

104. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 16 gives the genealogies of the transmission of various schools of tantras besides mantras to 355 divinities, culled from different tantras. All the mantras are in Sanskrit and thus they constitute interesting Sanskrit texts from Tibet.

105. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 17 is a rich source of information on the mural art of Tibet. It describes at length the paintings that adorned the walls of different buildings at the Zha-lu monastery in Western Tibet where Bu-ston lived and which was the seat of his life work. The descriptions of maṇḍalas of different classes of tantras (namely, yoga, caryā and kriyā) add to better comprehension of the cosmics of Indo-Tibetan expression.

1970

106. Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture. Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros-mthaḥ-yas (1813-1899) produced during his lifetime an astonishing literary output of more than 90 volumes in the Dpal-spuṅs edition of his collected works. He represents the most important development in the new movement in the 19th century Lamaist world. The three volumes of the Ses-by a-

kun-khyab reproduced herein compress the totality of Lamaist scholastic knowledge. The concise and authoritative statements of this Encyclopaedia must now become the starting point for all future research, whether it be Tibetan painting or medicine, the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar in the Land of Snows, of obscure points of esoteric Buddhism. A detailed introduction of 87 pages is followed by a photographic reproduction of the three original xylographed volumes comprising 604 + 785 + 763 pages.

1971

107. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 18 is an extensive sub-commentary on Haribhadra's vṛtti on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Tanjur 3793) popularly known as Bu-ston phar-phyin. It was a textbook in the monastic universities of Tibet, Mongolia and Transbaikalian Siberia.

108. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 19 continues the exegesis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and its relationship to Prajñāpāramitā literature. The major work in this volume is a detailed commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

109. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 20 contains a study of the Tathāgata-garbha theory, commentary on the Abhidharma-samuccaya (pp. 79-748) and an exposition of Pratītya-samutpāda or Conditioned Origination.

110. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 21 is mainly devoted to the general exposition of the Vinaya and a detailed commentary on the Vinaya-sūtra of Guṇaprabha (Tanjur 4117), as also a

commentary of the Ekottara-karma-śataka of the same author.

111. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 22 continues treatises on the Vinaya: practical rules for novices, discipline for the laity and the nuns. The fourth and last is an extensive (p.211-662) life of Lord Śākyamuni compiled from can onical texts.

112. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 23 relates anecdotes about the behaviour of monks (pp.1-838) and nuns (pp.839-955), culled from the Vinayapiṭaka.

113. An Illustrated Japanese Manuscript on Mudrās and Mantras. It pertains to the Mahākaruṇā-citta-dhāraṇī (Daihishin da-ra-ni) translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705-774) during the T'ang dynasty. It is a eulogy to Avalokiteśvara, the great Lord of Compassion. The hands are unique in their depiction, followed by mantras written in the Siddham script.

114. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 24 comprises commentaries on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-viniścaya, Yogaśataka, and Bu-ston's famous history of Buddhism in India and Tibet.

115. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 25 is Bu-ston's extensive treatise of 1086 pages on Durgasiṁha's commentary on the Kalāpa system of Sanskrit grammar.

116. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 26 has the epistles of Bu-ston and his fundamental catalogue of the Zhalu Tanjur and also of the Rgyud-ḥbum.

117. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 27 has the works of Sgra-tshad-pa, especially his sub-commentary on Bu-ston's exegesis of the Kālacakra-tantra.

118. The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 28 contains the minor writings of Bu-ston's dicciple Sgra-tshad-pa. The major works herein are the explanation of the Tathāgata-garbha theory, and the Tanjur catalogue. This part brings to a close the Collected Works of the polymath Bu-ston and his disciple Sgra-tshad-pa.

119. Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet. A facsimile edition of two Sanskrit manuscripts from the Narthang monastery, namely Kālacakra-tantra and an unidentified prose text. This Kālacakra manuscript is the earliest known.

120. An Illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian Materia Medica of Āyurveda, edited from a xylograph in the collection of the Buddhist Patriach of the Soviet Union. The author Ḥjam-dpal-rdo-rje belongs to the early 19th century. The illustrations are invaluable for the identification of herbs. The depiction of various surgical instruments used in Āyurveda is unique.

121. The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas, reproduces the woodcuts of the cosmograms of the Mahākaruṇā and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, which go back to Ken-i's monochrome copy done in 1035 A.D. A long introduction deals with various facets of the history of the Esoteric Art of Japan.

1972

122-123. Sanskrit Manuscripts from Japan, vols. 1,2. Facsimile edition of 55 Sanskrit manuscripts written in the Siddham script. These manuscripts belong to the Shingon tradition of Mantrayāna which was introduced into Japan in 806 by Kōbō Daishi.

In the last century Prof. Max Müller had obtained and published a few Sanskrit texts from Japan. Thereafter no scholar undertook to search out Sanskrit manuscripts in Japan; hence the historic significance of the present discovery.

1973

124. Buryat Annotations on the Lam-rim, is a rare exegesis on the system of 'Graduated Path' of Buddhist insight, experience and realisation introduced into Tibet by Atīśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna in the 11th century. The work of Atīśa was restructured by Tsoṅkhapa in his Lam-rim chen-mo which is profoundly abstruse. It was commented upon by the first Panchen Lama (1567?-1662). The present work is a collection of notes on it made by Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho in 1908 in a Siberian monastery.

125. Buddha in Chinese Woodcuts reproduces the woodprinted Shih-chia ju-lai ying-hua shih-chi, a Chinese biography of Lord Buddha. The meaning of the title is: 'Deeds of Śākyamuni the transformation-body of Tathāgata'. The illustrated biography was xylographed in 1787-1793 under the patronage of the Manchu Prince Yung-shan, a great grand-child of Emperor K'ang-hsi who ruled from A.D. 1661 to 1722. It was based on an earlier work of the Ming Period (A.D. 1368-1664). The biography comprises quotations and illustrations on opposite pages. It runs into 200 pages; with 100 pages of full-size woodcut illustrations of important episodes in the life of Lord Buddha and the spread of his Dharma.

126. Collected Works of Longdol Lama. Longdol Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ

lived in the 18th century and dealt with a variety of disciplines. The information or elucidations given by him are not available anywhere. His collected works form a thesaurus of the richesse of Buddhist philosophy, technical terms of mantrayāna, Kālacakra, architecture (of the Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa), transcendental philosophy of the Prajñāpāramitā, logic, grammar, kāvya, metrics, lexicography, explanations of scientific terms in technological, medical, astrological and astronomical works. The thob-yig provides invaluable materials for the development of art and philosophy. On pages 1150-1214 are given the genealogies of eminent scholars of India and Tibet. Pages 1458-1463 deal with methods to test jewels.

127-136. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 1-10. The 108 volumes of the Mongolian Kanjur symbolise the cultural symphony of India and Mongolia over the centuries, embodying the Mongolian versions of 1161 Sanskrit works, most of which have perished in India. "There are more than six thousand Sanskrit texts preserved in the Mongolian language, ranging from Paṇini's grammar, Amarakośa, Kālidāsa's works, Āyurvedic treatises, to Bodhicaryāvatāra. The Mongolian people regard these Sanskrit works as the 'pearl of their literature'." The American Mongolist Dr. Stanley Frye wrote: "I wish to congratulate you on the wonderful work you have done. As I wrote you previously, this edition of the Kanjur now being made available to scholars all over the world is certainly the greatest contribution to Buddhist studies of this century. Buddhist scholars will be grateful to you for

centuries to come."

1974

137-141. Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts, vols. 6-10 reproduce the lost Sanskrit texts of the Vinayavastu, Mahāpratisarā, Ratnaketu-sūtra, Avadāna texts which are a mine for the evolution of Sanskrit prose, Bhaiṣajya-guru-sūtra, Samādhi-rāja, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (or Lotus Sūtra) and several other works which became the foundation of the vast Buddhist literary heritage of the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Indonesian peoples. Their relevance for Asian culture is unique.

142,143. Sādhanamālā of the Panchen Lama, vols. 1,2. Reproduction of the Rin-lhan of the Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1781-1852). This voluminous work is a source for Transhimalayan pantheonic albums. It puts their apparent amorphousness into a well-knit structure, inspiring their delineations with life. It affords a deeper understanding of the meditational contexts which gave rise to the scintillating world of Vajrayāna art.

144. The Blue Annals (Deb-ther-sṅon-po) were completed by Ḥgos lotsava Gzhon-nu-dpal in A.D. 1478. Ever since, it has been a fundamental work on the history of Buddhism in Tibet, extensively cited by Tibetan historians and modern European scholars. Its English translation by George Roerich published in 1949 and 1953 has further rendered it indispensable for several Asian disciplines.

145-158. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 11-24 Comprise texts nos. 130-744.

1975

159-167. Collected Works of Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-hbyor (1704-1788) include his well-known history of Buddhism in India, Tibet, China and Mongolia. "Sum-pa-mkhan-po was one of the outstanding scholars of the Lamaist world, a man of great learning and one with a critical mind. The study of his works is indispensable for a better knowledge of Lamaist scholarship in the eighteenth century". (J.W.de Jong). Reproduced from xylographs obtained from the Üsütü-yin sume monastery of Koke-khota the capital of Inner Mongolia. The present edition will help to understand history, geography, philosophy, scapulomancy, medicine and other disciplines of 18th century Transhimalaya.

168. Sudhana's Way to Enlightenment. It reproduces two Chinese works on the pilgrimage of Sudhana throughout India, to 52 teachers in search of Supreme Enlightenment. The depiction of this spiritual journey of Sudhana was the prime expression of the Avataṁsaka School and enjoyed wide-spread popularity from Indonesia to Khotan in Central Asia, China and Japan. The earliest representations are the Indonesian reliefs on the Borobudur (about A.D.800). The present work reproduces Fo-kuo's work entitled Wên-shu chih-nan t'u-tsan "pictures and eulogies of (Sudhana's journey) in accordance with the guidance of Mañjuśrī". He wrote this work around A.D. 1101. It is the earliest surviving illustrated Chinese work on the Gaṇḍa-vyūha and an outstanding specimen of the developed technique of

printing during the Sung dynasty.

Another text reproduced here is the Kañon dai-shi ji-yo gojusan gensho, comprising 53 illustrations of Avalokiteśvara in graceful lāsya (ji) style (yo). It is a late attempt at syncretism of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra and Avalokiteśvara. Lovely apparitions of supernatural radiance.

169. Dharmatāla's Annals of Buddhism.

170-172. The Ocean Annals of Amdo, vols. 1-3. The Deb-ther rgya-mtsho or Amdo chojung reproduced from the original xylographs obtained in Siberia. It was written by the Zhabs-druṅ of the Labrang monastery in 1833, enlarged in 1849 and supplemented in 1865. It is a general history of Buddhism in Amdo from the earliest times and comprises detailed annals of monasteries on northern and southern sides of the Rma-chu river.

173. Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti, Sanskrit text in Soyombo and Tibetan transcription and Tibetan translation. Reproduced from a Siberian xylograph. It is the only known instance of a Sanskrit text in Soyombo script which was created on the basis of Devanāgarī in the 17th century by the Jibcundampa of the Mongols.

174-180. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 25-31 comprise texts nos. 745-751.

1976

181-194. Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, vols. 9-22: a quadri-lingual encyclopaedia of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras compiled by Lcaṅ-skya qutuγ-tu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje (1717-1786) the illustrious preceptor of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung. The mantras are transcribed in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and

Tibetan. This collection provides a mine of information to evaluate and verify the reconstruction of early Chinese phonology worked out from other sources. It can afford an approximate phonetic value of ideographs in various periods of Chinese speech, in the context of their correct Sanskrit pronunciation being known.

The Dhāraṇī-collection can be worked into a corpus of fragments of lost Sanskrit texts, which will aid critical editions of Sanskrit citations in Central-Asian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Sino-Japanese, Indonesian and other literatures of Asia.

195. Kashgar Manuscript of the Sadharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra, is one of the earliest complete Sanskrit texts to be discovered from the sands of Central Asia. Prof. Heinz Bechert hails it in the following words: "The publication of a facsimile edition of the famous Kashgar manuscript of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is a most important event in the history of Buddhist studies as well as of Indology. Professor Lokesh Chandra deserves high praise for his continuous efforts which have resulted in the publication of this book. The Lotus Sutra i.e. the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka needs no introduction. It is, together with the Bhagavad Gītā, the New Testament and the Koran, one of the greatest books of the religious history of mankind."

196. Bodhicaryāvatāra (i) pre-Canonical Mongolian text and (ii) Tibeto-Mongolian commentary by Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan. It is the earliest known complete text of the great didactic work of Śāntideva. It is very close to the 16th century fragments

excavated from a ruined stupa at Olon sume-yin toor in Inner Mongolia.

197-203. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 32-38, include inter alia, the Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā in Mongolian.

1977

204. Buddhist Philosophical Systems. It is a reproduction of the Grub-mthaḥ by the Second Lcaṅ-skya qutuγtu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje, who lived from 1717 to 1786. He was a close confidant of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1735-1796) with whom he had studied. In 1745 Lcaṅ-skya bestowed upon the Emperor the tantric initiation of Cakrasaṁvara. During the period between 1736 and 1746 Lcaṅ-skya began writing his philosophical masterpiece, the present Grub-mthaḥi rnam-par-bzhag-pa gsal-bar bśad-pa thub-bstan lhun-poḥi mdzes-rgyan. The initial stimulus was perhaps his interest in vijñānavāda philosophical traditions preserved by the Chinese Buddhist schools. The present reproduction is of inestimable value for the understanding of Buddhist philosophy.

205. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, original Sanskrit text. It is the fundamental text of Zen Buddhism which was given by Bodhidharma to his chief Chinese disciple Hui-k'e as containing the essential teachings of Zen.

206. Kriyā-samuccaya by Jagaddarpaṇa alias Darpaṇācārya is a major compendium on Tantric ritual. It is important for monastic architecture, the drawing technique of maṇḍalas, and various Tantric initiations. It has extensively influenced the Tibetan exegetical tradition. The Samuccaya was translated into Tibetan

by Mahāpaṇḍita Mañjuśrī of the Vikramaśīla university and lo - tsava Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. The facsimile edition has initiated new studies on art and architecture.

207. Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, edited by Lokesh Chandra. It contains articles by Penti Aalto (Finland), Damdinsüren (Mongolia), Milena Hübschmannova (Czechoslovakia), Leon N. Hurvitz (Canada), Yukei Matsunaga (Japan), Lokesh Chandra (India), A.D.T.E. Perera (Śrīlaṅkā), Rinchen (Mongolia), Valentina Stache-Rosen (Germany), Mark Tatz (Canada), Gy. Wojtilla (Hungary), Kamala Ratnam (India), and Eleanor Moron (USA).

208. Vajrāvalī, facsimile edition. It was written by Abhayākara-gupta in the twelfth century. He was the abbot of Vikramaśīla during the reign of Pāla king Rāmapāla (1084-1130). Tibetan scholars risked the hazards of perilous journeys to study under him. The Vajrāvalī was translated into Tibetan by Ḥkhor-lo-grags under the guidance of the author himself. It is a prime text in Tibet and Mongolia for the ritual and painting of maṇḍalas on scrolls.

209-218. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 39-48. Comprises texts bearing the consecutive numbers 759-796. Some of the texts are very long, for instance, the Pañca-viṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā extends into four volumes (38-41) and runs into 2700 pages.

1978

219. Mudrās in Japan, symbolic hand-postures in Japanese mantrayāna or the esoteric Buddhism of the Shingon denomination, in

collaboration with Sharada Rani. It is a manual of mudrās for the 18-step rite, Vajradhātu and Karuṇāgarbha maṇḍalas, Acala homa, and its other half illustrates mudrās to various deities as well dhāraṇīs and sūtras. It opens up a new field of comparative studies in ritual, Tantric Art and the Performing Arts.

220-248. Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 49-77, comprise texts nos.797-956.

1979

249-250. Multilingual Buddhist Texts, vols. 1,2 in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu. These manuscripts and xylographs have remained hidden away in the Imperial Palace at Peking. Their publication opens up a new vista in the study of cross-cultural literary developments.

251-281. Mongolian Kanjur, vols.78-108 comprise texts numbered consecutively from 957-1161. It completes the Mongolian Buddhist Tripiṭaka. These works are implicit with deep meaning for India and many other countries, supplying historic evidence of shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart. It will usher in a new order in the academic world wherein precision will replace over-generalisation.

1980

282-284. Multilingual Buddhist Texts, vols. 3,4,5. The international journal Manjurica has welcomed the project: "This unique material will fill the gap in our knowledge of Manchu Buddhist-literature".

L. Chandra

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INHALT

Herbert Franke:	Zur Textkritik des Shen-i ching . . .	131—135
Arthur E. Link:	Cheng-wu lun: The Rectification of Unjustified Criticism	136—165
Werner Eichhorn:	Bemerkungen über einige nicht amnestierbare Verbrechen im Sung-Rechtswesen	166—176
Heinz Friese:	Das Tao-yü-lu des Yao Kuang-hsiao .	177—187
Lokesh Chandra:	The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ	188—207
Peter H. Lee:	Notes Towards A History of Korean Fiction	208—222
Inge-Lore Kluge:	Die Denkschrift in drei Artikeln des Sugawara Fumitoki aus dem Jahre 958	223—232
Lydia Brüll:	Chikamatsu Monzaemon in seinen Äußerungen zum Puppenspiel . . .	233—246
Beatrix von Ragué:	Zur Quellenkunde koreanischer Lacke mit Perlmutt-Einlagen	247—251
James R. Hightower:	Franz Kuhn and his Translation of Jou P'u t'uan	252—257

Besprechungen ostasiatischer Neuerscheinungen

	Tseng-shih chia-ch'eng und Tseng-shih chia-hsün (Familienchronik und Familienlehren der Familie Tseng), (H. Friese)	258—262

Oriens Extremus erscheint zweimal jährlich im Umfange von je acht Bogen pro Heft. Der Bezugspreis beträgt 32,— DM für den Jahrgang.

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und unermeßlichen Nutzen dadurch gewonnen. Wie kann man nur den Göttern dienen mit dieser Gesinnung[33]!"

T'ao Hsü bemerkt dazu:

Die Hua-yen-Schule spricht äußerst viel von der Natur und von den wichtigsten Grundsätzen der Mahāyāna-Schule: Die drei Einsichten strahlen aus bis ins Unendliche, die zehn philosophischen Grundgedanken sind vollständig enthalten in jeder Haarspitze, und jedes Staubkorn enthält die Dharma-Elemente. Es gibt keine Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Größe. Die Weitsicht des Buddha und die zehntausend verschiedenen Formelemente des Universums sind in dem kleinsten Lichtpunkt enthalten. Das ist die unfaßbare große Wahrheit Buddhas. Die wesenhaften Prinzipien durchdringen alles vollständig. Warum sollten sich die Buddhisten vor allem absperren? I-ch'uan weiß, daß die zehntausend Prinzipien sich auf ein Prinzip zurückführen lassen. Aber er weiß nicht, daß ein Prinzip sich ausdehnt auf Zehntausende von Dingen, sich bis ins Unendliche wiederholend. Das eigene Selbst und das Andere sind ungetrennt im kleinsten Staubkörnchen, immer sind sie beieinander auch im kleinsten Bruchteil des Gedankens. Bis zu den verborgensten Feinheiten stößt die Lehre vor. Ein Laienpriester des Hīnayāna kann davon nichts wissen. Dabei sind die Fähigkeiten der buddhistischen Philosophen vollkommen. Nur alle jene Häretiker und Himmelsteufel (Māras) wollen das Nirvāṇa unterschlagen. Die ewige Wiederkehr von Leben und Tod ist lediglich eine leere Vorstellung. Himmel und Hölle sind beide geheiligtes Land. Wenn gesagt wird, die Buddhisten seien selbstsüchtig aus Furcht vor der ewigen Wiederkehr von Leben und Tod, so ist das ein großer Irrtum. Die Bodhisattvas des Mahāyāna scheuen keine barmherzigen Taten für die anderen. Sie wollen alle ins Leben zurücktreten und wieder in den Tod gehen, um die anderen Lebewesen zur Erleuchtung zu führen. Obwohl sie sich in der bösen Welt von Leben und Tod befinden, benehmen sie sich, als gingen sie in einem Garten spazieren. Außerdem wurde gesagt: Die Buddhisten sind geschickt darin, Ausflüchte zu machen. Wenn sie aber Ausflüchte machen wollen, warum sollen sie sie dann noch in Bücher schreiben? Sie machen absolut keine Ausflüchte. Dann zieht I-ch'uan noch eine so oberflächliche und kleinliche Sache wie das Anstecken einer Räucherkerze heran, um die buddhistischen Heiligen zu verunglimpfen. Wenn er von der Bedeutung der drei Einsichten der Hua-yen-Schule hörte, dann würde er auf keinen Fall so etwas sagen. Wenn er von der Einsicht ausginge, daß jedes Ding das andere ohne Widerstand durchdringt, so könnte er kaum behaupten, daß man nur eine Weihrauchkerze anzuzünden brauche, um unermeßliches Glück und unermeßlichen Vorteil zu erlangen. (Das Verhältnis zwischen Kerze und unermeßlichem Glück ist zu ungleich.) Sogar ein kleines Staubkörnchen kann im Lichte der Buddha-Wahrheit unermeßliche Verdienste haben. Davon hat I-ch'uan aber vielleicht nie gehört. Man braucht sich deshalb nicht zu wundern. —

Soweit geht die Auseinandersetzung mit Ch'eng I. Erst im dritten Teil wendet sich T'ao Hsü gegen Chu Hsi selbst. (Schluß folgt)

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[33] *Ho-nan Ch'eng-shih i-shu* 18, 16a.

The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ

To the Memory of Professor F. D. Lessing,

By **Lokesh Chandra**

(New Delhi)

An iconographie compendium, shortly referred to as (R) by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz in his *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, The Hague 1956, (in the following abbreviated as *NW)* was extensively used by him. Its full title is *Yi-dam-rgya-mtshoḥi sgrub-thabs rin-chen-ḥbyuṅ-gnas-kyi lhan-thabs rin-ḥbyuṅ don gsal*. It runs into two volumes with 519 and 470 folios respectively. Since the publication of the work of Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the author has been searching this xylograph. It was only last year (1960) that the author got access to it through the courtesy of Ta Lama Rnam-rgyal. It has proved to be of great interest for iconographic studies. The author has great pleasure in presenting a few introductory remarks about this fascinating work, as an humble tribute to Professor Dr. F. D. Lessing whose outstanding contributions to lamaistic iconography and ritual are well-known.

At the very outset it would be helpful to clarify the nomenclature of its title. Nebesky-Wojkowitz has called it *Rin-ḥbyuṅ*. It is not only confusing, but also misleading. The margin of the xylograph has the short signature *Rin-lhan*. It is most appropriate as it distinguishes this work from its complement, the *Rin-ḥbyuṅ Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa Rdor-ḥphreṅ bcas-nas gsuṅs-paḥi bris sku-mthoṅ-ba don-ldan* commonly referred to as the *Five Hundred Gods of Narthang*, which according to its marginal signature is the *Rin-ḥbyuṅ*[1]. Nebesky-Wojkowitz's juxtaposition of the *Rin-ḥbyuṅ* proper and the *Rin-lhan* (under its wrong title *Rin-ḥbyuṅ*) on p. 24 note 5 lead the author to find out if any interrelationship existed between the two and that has given rise to the present note.

To our joyous surprise, the *Rin-lhan* has turned out to be the original *sādhana*-collection which is illustrated in the *Rin-ḥbyuṅ*. It is the first instance of its kind and a long-awaited opportunity when an ancient pantheon can be studied in its original *sādhana*-setting[2]. Three other iconographic manuals are also known: the "Three Hundred Gods" of Lcaṅ-skya Qutuγtu Lalitavajra[3], *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan*[1] containing

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[1] It is described by Rev. F. A. Peter, *"The Rin-ḥbyuṅ", Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. IX (1943) pp. 1—27 (this article is full of errors).

[2] "Since it [Rin-ḥbyuṅ] is based on a written text, it is to be hoped that this, too, will one day be discovered and published" — F. A. Peter, *ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] Eugen Pander: *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu* (edited by A. Grünwedel in Veröffentlichungen aus dem kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, I. 2/3, 1890), *Sbornik Izobrazhenii 300 Burkhanov*, ed. by S. F. Oldenburg, St. Petersburg 1903 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, vol. 5).

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[1] 諸佛菩薩聖像贊

360 divinities[4] ascribed to Lcaṅ-skya Qutuγtu, and the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon with 766 preserved images or inscribed pedestals — for none of them do we have the original text. The correlation of iconography and ritual will surely lead to a better comprehension of the complex details of the icons and their functional contexts.

The first volume of the *Rin-lhan* is continued in the second without a break — in fact the 14th section begins in the first volume and continues in the second. The *dkar-chag* (or list of contents) gives serial numbers to the divinities or sets of divinities — these two are also continuous in the two volumes. The entire *Rin-lhan* is divided into 23 sections[5]. They contain sādhanas of the following:

1. Ādikalyāṇa divinities[6],
2. Vītarāga[7] Tathāgatas,
3. Main divinities of the Maṇḍala,
4. Vajravārāhī,
5. Avalokiteśvara,
6. Tārā,
7. Vajrapāṇi,
8. Hayagrīva,
9. Acala,
10. Āyuḥsādhana divinities,
11. Prajñā-bestowing divinities,
12. The Five Vajrāsana-dhyāna (?) divinities,
13. Vaśaṁkaraṇa devīs[8],
14. Miscellaneous sādhanas,
15. Sādhanas handed down by Śākyarakṣita,
16. Twenty-One Tārās according to Sūryagupta,
17. Wealth-bestowing *(dhanada)* divinities,
18. Jñānanirmita (?) Mahākāla,
19. Bhagavat Mahākāla,
20. Remaining categories of Mahākāla,
21. Śrīdevī,
22. Yama-yamī Mahākāla and allied divinities, and
23. Paryavasāna-kalyāṇa divinities[9].

It may be noted that the *Rin-lhan* begins with ādikalyāṇa divinities and ends with paryavasāna-kalyāṇa ones.

Hereunder is the complete list of the *Rin-lhan* according to its *dkar-chag*. The serial number, Tibetan name of the divinity, recto verso and line[10] of the text are all from the *dkar-chag*, whose scientific precision is a marvel. The Sanskrit equivalents, followed by references to the *Rin-ḥbyuṅ*, have been added.

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[4] For its description see W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Cambridge Mass. 1937 (*Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series*, Vol. III), vol. I, introd. p. ix. Further on, it is referred to simply as Clark.

[5] The *Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan* is also divided into 23 divisions, for which see Clark, introd. p. x. Is it a mere coincidence?

[6] *thog-mar dge-ba 'ādau kalyāṇam'* Mvy. 1281.

[7] *Chags-bral 'vītarāga'* (Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, part 4 p. 695).

[8] *dbaṅ-sdud 'vaśaṁkara'* (Clark, vol. I p. 55, *vaśaṁkara rakta Caturmukha* R 132 c).

[9] *tha-mar dge-ba 'paryavasāne kalyāṇam'* Mvy. (Sakaki ed.) 1283.

[10] The rectos are designated by *na* and the versos by *ba* in the dkar-chag.

1. Thog mar: dge baḥi don du ñer mkho sgrub thabs ḥgaḥ zhig bzhugs pa (ādikalyāṇa divinities).

1. Jo lugs kyi sgrol dkar yid bzhin ḥkhor loḥi sgrub thabs (5b4): Ārya [Atīśa]- krama Cintāmaṇicakra sita Tārā = R 1a.
2. Bari lugs kyi sgrol dkar yid bzhin ḥkhor lo (17b4): Bari- lugs Cintāmaṇicakra sita Tārā = R 1b.
3. Gñan lugs kyi sgrol dkar yid bzhin ḥkhor lo (23a4): Gñan- lugs Cintāmaṇicakra sita Tārā = R 1c.
4. Paṇ chen nags rin lugs kyi sgrol dkar yid bzhin ḥkhor lo (29b1): Mahāpaṇḍita Vanaratna-krama Cintāmaṇicakra sita Tārā = R 2a. (*Tāranātha* p. 263, Cordier 2.121, 207, *Blue Annals* II. 797, 1018).
5. Dbyaṅs can ma dkar mo (35a1): Sita Sarasvatī = R 2b.
6. Gñan sgrol yan lag drug pa (42b5): Ṣaḍaṅga Tārā of Gñan = R 2c.
7. Dmar po skor gsum du grags paḥi naṅ gi ku ru kulle (48a1): Kurukullā (one of the three Red Divinities, the other two being nos. 8 and 9) = R 3a.
8. Dpal ḥdod rgyal dmar po (54a1): Rakta Kāmarāja = R 3b.
9. Tshogs bdag dmar chen (61a1): Mahārakta Gaṇapati = R 3c.
10. Rdo rje sems dpaḥ ser po (68a1): Pīta Vajrasattva = R 4a.

2. Gñis-pa: bde bzhin gśegs pa chags ḥbral gyi rnam pa can gyi sgrub thabs (Vītarāga Tathāgatas).

11. Thub pa rdo rje gdan gtso ḥkhor gsum (69b1): The triad of Vajrāsana-Muni and his two disciples (Gtso = Master, ḥkhor = disciples) = R 4b.
12. Bcom ldan ḥdas dam tshig gsum bkod lha lṅa ma (73a4): The pentad of Bhagavān (Muni in R 4c) Trisamayavyūha = R 4c (cf. Cordier 1.298, 2.268). In R 4c the illustration gives five divinities.
13. Thubs pa gnas brtan bcu drug gis bskor ba (77a5): Muni (Munīndra in R 5a) surrounded by sixteen Sthaviras (R 5b—10b), followed by the two sthaviras Dharma and Hva-śaṅ (10c, 11a), and the four lokapālas (11b—12b).
14. Bkaḥ gdams lha bzhiḥi naṅ gi śākya thub pa (80b1): Śākyamuni, one of the four Bkaḥ-gdams divinities = R 12c.
15. Sman bla mched bdun (82a7): The (Seven brothers) beginning with Bhaiṣajyaguru (13b, flanked by Candravairocana 13a + Sūryavairocana 13c).
16. Klu dbaṅ rgyal po (87a6): Nāgeśvararāja = R 16b (cf. Cordier 2.66). There are four anucaras: Anucara Maitreya, Anucara Nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (16a), Anucara Mañjuśrī, and Anucara Avalokiteśvara (16c). There are two divinities in one picture. The other six are 14a—15c.

3. Gsum pa: dkyil ḥkhor gyi gtso bo rnams kyi sgrub thabs (the main divinities of the maṇḍala)

17. Gsaṅ ḥdus ḥjam paḥi rdo rje (91a6): Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra = R 17a.

18. Gsaṅ ḥdus lhan skyes (97 a 4): Guhyasamāja Sahaja = R 17 b.
19. Mahā ma ya (110 b 5): Mahāmaya = R 17 c.
20. Bde mchog lhan skyes (102 b 6):
Sahaja Śaṃvara = R 18 a (cf. CORDIER 1.35, 40, 2.268).
21. Go chaḥi dpaḥ bo drug (107 b 4): The six kavaca-vīras(?): Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Padmanarteśvara, Kṛṣṇa Heruka, Vajrasūrya, Paramāśva (all names preceded by Kavaca°) = R 18 b—20 a.
22. Go chaḥi dpaḥ mo drug (112 a 4): the six kavaca-yoginīs (?). The six goddesses are Vajravārāhī, Yāminī, Mohanī, Santrāsinī, Sañcālinī, and Caṇḍikā all preceded by the word kavaca° (R 20 b—22 a). These are mentioned in the Hastapūjā-vidhi *(Sādhanamālā* p. 498—500). *Dpaḥ-mo* is translated as *Lakṣmī* in *Blue Annals* p. 239. *Sādhanamālā* has "*Vajravārāhiṁ yoginī-cakra-nāyikām*" in the opening *maṅgalācaraṇa* stanza, whence we have translated *dpaḥ-mo* as *yoginī*.
23. Bde mchog dkar po (115 b 6): Sita Śaṁvara = R 22 b.
24. Bde mchog dkar po tshe sgrub (120 b 1):
Āyuḥsādhana sita Śaṃvara = R 22 c.
25. Hjig rten dbaṅ phyug yi ge bdun pa mi traḥi lugs (123 a 3): Mitrakrama saptākṣara Lokeśvara, cf. R 23 a, CORDIER 1.197 (here the author of the sādhana is Mitrayogin).
26. Kyai rdor lhan skyes (127 a 2):
Sahaja Hevajra = R 23 b (cf. CORDIER 2.268).
27. Dus ḥkhor lhan skyes (130 a 2): Sahaja Kālacakra = R 23 c.
28. Khro rgyal rdo rje śugs (133 a 6): Krodharāja Vajravega = R 24 a.
29. Gśed dmar lhan skyes (142 a 1): Sahaja Raktāri (= Raktayamāri) = R 24 b (only Raktāri, without sahaja).
30. Rdo rje ḥjigs byed bsdus pa (145 a 1):
Saṁkṣipta Vajra-bhairava = R 24 c (Saṁkṣipta Bhairava).

4. Bzhi pa: rdo rje phag moḥi sgrub thabs (Vajravārāhī).

31. Nā ro mkhaḥ spyod (151 b 3): Naro (= Nāḍī Ḍākinī = R 25 b (cf. CORDIER 2.269).
32. Rdo rje phag mo zhal gñis ma dpyal lugs (162 a 3): Dpyal-lugs. Vajravārāhī. In R 25 a this deity is Dpyal-lugs Rdo-rje-phag-mo. The epithet *zhal-gñis-ma* is not found with any deity in *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (index). It may be an abbreviation of *zhal-gcig phyag gñis-ma* "with one mouth and two hands, i. e. of the ordinary type."
33. Mai tri mkhaḥ spyod rig pa ḥdzin pa rtsen ma (175 b 6): Vidyādharī-keli Maitrī-ḍākinī. Cf. Tohoku Catalogue of the Tanjur no. 1588 for Vidyādharī-keli. R 25 c has just Maitrī-ḍākinī.
34. Phag mo zhal gñis ma indra mkhaḥ spyod (184 a 5): Vārāhī Indra-ḍākinī. For *zhal-gñis-ma* see no. 32. R 26 a has Indra-ḍākinī.
35. Phag mo don grub ma (191 a 2): Arthasādhana-Vārāhī = R 26 b.
36. Rdo rje phag mo dbu bcad ma (200 a 1): Chinnamuṇḍā Vajravārāhī = R 26 c (without V°); cf. CORDIER 1.56—57, 2.117, 269.
37. Phag mo gnam zhabs ma (209 a 5): Ūrdhvapādī Vārāhī = R 27 c.

38. [Illegible] (214 a 4): Kūrmapādī Vārāhī = R 28 a.
39. [Illegible] (?): brāhmaṇa-Śrīdhara-krama Vajravārāhī = R 28 b. (cf. *Tāranātha* p. 258). R 28 c (Nā-ro mkhaḥ-spyod) is extra as is clear from the annotation given just under the illustration *(ḥdi lhag)*.
40. Go zlog lhan skyes ma (218 a 6): Sahajā Go-zlog = R 29 a.
41. Phag mo khros nag lha dgu ma (220 a 6): Nine divinities beginning with Kālī kruddha-vārāhī = R 29 b — 32 a.
42. Phag dkar śes rab gsal byed (226 a 1): Prajñālokakṛtya sita Vārāhī = R 32 b (cf. CORDIER 1.60, 2.118).
43. Phag dkar śes rab gsal byed yig rñiṅ lugs (228 b 5): Prajñālokakṛtya sita Vārāhī yig rñiṅ lugs = R 32 c (lacks *yig rñiṅ lugs*, which is necessary to differentiate it from 32 b).

5. *Lṅa pa: ḥphags pa spyan ras gzigs kyi sgrub thabs (Avalokiteśvara).*

44. Spyan ras gzigs yi ge drug pa jo lugs (234 b 5): Ārya-[Atīśa]-krama Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokiteśvara = R 33 b. It is flanked by Maṇidhārin (33 a) and Ṣaḍakṣarī (33 c).
45. Bkaḥ gdams lha bzhiḥi naṅ gi spyan ras gzigs (239 b 2): Avalokiteśvara from the four Bkaḥ-gdams Divinities = R 34 a.
46. Spyan ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal dpaḥ mo lugs (241): Lakṣmī-krama Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara = R 34 b (°*dpal mo lugs*). For the nun Lakṣmī see *Blue Annals* p. 1007, 1018, 1044.
47. Spyan ras gzigs don zhags lha lṅa Ba ri lugs (245 b 3): Five divinities beginning with Ba-ri-lugs Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa = R 34 c.
48. Don zhags ser po (253 b 6): Pīta Amoghapāśa = R 35 b. It is flanked by four anucara divinities: anucara rakta Amoghapāśa, anucara Hayagrīva (35 a), anucarā Bhṛkuṭī and anucarā Ekajaṭā (35 c).
49. Don zhags lha lṅa kha che paṇ chen lugs (258 a 4): Five Divinities beginning with Kāśmīra-paṇḍita-krama Amoghapāśa R 36 a — 36 c (the four anucara divinities are included in the three).
50. Kha sarpa ṇi lha lṅa (262 a 2): Five Divinities beginning with Khasarpaṇa (37 a — c). The anucaras, Sudhana, Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva (in 37 a, c) are reckoned in the five. By oversight 38 a repeats 38 c *Spyan-ras-gzigs Sems-ñid-ṅal-gso* and says that it is redundant *(ḥdi lhags)*.
51. Spyan ras gzigs yid bzhin nor bu lha lṅa (267 b 1): Five Divinities beginning with Cintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara = R 38 b (all the five are included in this one illustration).
52. Kha sarpā ṇi sems ñid ṅal bso (271 b 2): Cittaviśrāmaṇa Khasarpaṇa = R 38 c (C° Avalokiteśvara).
53. Ḥjig rten dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ sgrub mi tra dzo kiḥi lugs (272 a 3): Mitrayogi-krama Guhyasādhana Lokeśvara = R 39 a (it omits M°).
54. Spyan ras gzigs nam mkhaḥi rgyal po (275 a 2): Gaganarāja Avalokiteśvara = R 39 b.
55. Spyan ras gzigs yid bzhin ḥkhor lo (276 b 4): Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara = R 39 c.

56. Hphags pa bcu gcig zhal hjigs pa brgyad skyob (277b6): Aṣṭabhaya-trāṇa ekādaśamukha Ārya (Avalokiteśvara) = R 40 a (it omits A°). Separate representations of the eight *bhaya°* are detailed in R 40 b—42 c.
57. Spyan ras gzigs rdo rje sñiṅ po rab tu hjoms pa (279 b 2): Vajragarbha-pramardin Avalokiteśvara = R 43 a (it omits °pramardin). Cf. Clark, Vol. II, B 83, and *Śikṣāsamuccaya* p. 169 (Vajrapramardin).
58. Hphags pa spyan ras gzigs seṅge sgra (280 a 2) = Siṁhanāda Āryā-valokiteśvara = R 43 b (it has only Siṁhanāda).
59. Spyan ras gzigs rgyal ba rgya mtsho (284 b 2): Jinasāgara Avalokite-śvara = R 43 c.

6. Drug pa: hphags ma sgrol maḥi sgrub thabs (Tārā).

60. Bkaḥ gdams lha bzhiḥi naṅ gi sgrol ma (285 b 3): Tārā from among the Four Bkaḥ-gdams Divinities = R 44 a.
61. Sgrol ljoṅ kha che paṇ chen lugs (287 a 2): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama śyāma Tārā = R 44 b.
62. Sgrol dkar kha che paṇ chen lugs (289 b 3): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama sita Tārā = R 44 c.
63. Sgrol ma ñin zhi mtshan khro (292 a 1): Divāśānta-rātrikruddha Tārā = R 45 a.
64. Urgyan sgrol ma gnas kyi dbaṅ phyug ma (295 b 2): Pīṭhīśvarī Uḍḍi-yāna-Tārā = R 45 b (cf. Cordier 1.117, 2.268).
65. Sgrol ma yid bzhin nor bu (298 a 4): Cintāmaṇi-Tārā = R 45 c (cf. Cordier 2.73).
66. Sgrol ma mar me sa lugs (300 b 1): Sa- (skya)-lugs rakta Tārā = R 46/47/48 a.
67. Sgrol ma nor sbyin ma (303 a 1): Dhanada Tārā = R 46/47/48 b.
68. Sgrol ser gtso hkhor gsum (306 a 1): the triad of Pīta Tārā = R 46/47/48 c. The other two are Pīta Jambhala (R 49/50 a and Vaiśravaṇa R 49/50 b). In the Leningrad copy folio 46 bears the three numbers 46, 47, and 48, and folio 49 has 49 and 50. These are the original folio numbers. Later on four new folios have been added to f. 46—48 and 49—50 bearing the new numbers 47, 48, 49, and 50. If we omit the new nos. 47, 48, 49, 50 then the Rin-hbyuṅ conforms to the sequence of the Rin-lhan.
69. Rmi lam ston paḥi sgrol ma (307 a 1): Svapnadeśaka Tārā = R 49/50 c.
70. Sgrol ma lha lṅa (307 b 6): Five Divinities beginning with Tārā = R 51/52 a—53 b.
71. Phyag brgyad sgrol ma (312 b 5): Aṣṭabhuja Tārā = R 53 c.
72. Rje btsun ma kā pa li tā ra (313 a 1): Bhaṭṭārikā Kapāla-Tārā = R 54 a.
73. Hphags ma tsunda tā ra (314 b 2): Āryā Cundā-Tārā = R 54 b.

7. Bdun pa: phyag na rdo rjeḥi sgrub thabs (Vajrapāṇi).

74. Dpal phyag na rdo rje u tsā rya (315 b 1): Śrī Ucārya Vajrapāṇi = R 54 c. Clark has Phyag rdor utsarya in Tibetan, and Hsien hsing shou

chih chin kang [2] in Chinese. The character *hsien* occurs in B 118 Hsien sheng wang fo [3] where it corresponds to Tib. Saṅs-rgyas Mṅon-ḥphyags-rgyal-po 'Abhyudgatarāja Buddha'. In A, 1 B 56 (*ibid.* p. 38) we have shen ting [4] hsien sheng wang fo in Dhyānābhyudgatarāja Buddha. Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig 1900, p. 160. It seems that ucārya is derived from ut-car.

75. Phyag rdor gos sṅon can gzuṅs las byuṅ ba (316 a 6): Dhāraṇī-uddhṛta nīlāmbaradhara Vajrapāṇi = R 55 a (it does not have D°). Cf. Cordier 1.198—199.
76. Phyag rdor sa lugs (317 b 4): Sa-[skya]-lugs Vajrapāṇi = R 55 b.
77. Phyag rdor gtum chen bsruṅ baḥi mkhar ras chuṅ lugs (319 b 3): Ras-chuṅ-lugs bsruṅ-baḥi mkhar Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Vajrapāṇi = R 55 c. (*NW* 257).
78. Phyag rdor gtum po khra thogs (334 b 6): Caṇḍa Vajrapāṇi, khra thogs = R 56 a.
79. Phyag rdor gtum chuṅ dmar po (337 a 4): Rakta alpacaṇḍa Vajrapāṇi = R 56 b. Clark just gives *chuṅ* without its Sanskrit equivalent. It is clear that it forms part of the gradation: mahācaṇḍa, caṇḍa and alpacaṇḍa.
80. Phyag rdor gos sṅon can ḥgro bzaṅ lugs (338 b 1): Hgro bzaṅ lugs nīlāmbaradhara Vajrapāṇi = R 56 c.
81. Phyag rdor khaṅ brtsegs ma (342 a 6): Kūṭāgāra Vajrapāṇi = R 57 a (without °*ma*).
82. Phyag rdor ḥbyuṅ po ḥdul byed (344 b 3): Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi = R 57 b.
83. Phyag rdor ḥbyuṅ ḥdul gsar ma (347 b 2): Nava bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi = R 57 c.

8. Brgyad pa: dpal rta mgrin gyi sgrub thabs (Hayagrīva).

84. Rta mgrin dpaḥ gcig lhan skyes jo boḥi lugs (351 a 4): Ārya-[Atīśa] — krama sahaja ekavīra Hayagrīva = R 58 a.
85. Rta mgrin khyuṅ gśog can jo boḥi lugs (355 b 4): Ārya-[Atīśa] — krama Garuḍapakṣavat Hayagrīva = R 58 b.
86. Rta mgrin śva na bzhi skor jo boḥi lugs (360 b 5): Ārya-[Atīśa] — krama Caturḍākinīparivāra Hayagrīva = R 58 c. The four attendant ḍākinīs are illustrated in R 59 a— R 60 a. Note that śva-na refers to the canine features of the ḍākinīs.
87. Rta mgrin kha che paṇ chen lugs (365 b 1): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama Hayagrīva = R 60 b.
88. Rta mgrin skyer sgaṅ lugs (368 a 2): Skyer-sgaṅ-lugs Hayagrīva = R 60 c. For *Skyer-sgaṅ-pa* see *Blue Annals* II. 522, 738, 742, 746.
89. Rta mgrin lcags ral can (371 a 5): Lohakhaḍga Hayagrīva = R 61 a.

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[2] 顯行手持金剛 [3] 顯聖王佛 [4] 神定

9. Dgu pa: mi γyo baḥi sgrub thabs (Acala).

90. Khro boḥi rgyal po ḥphags pa mi γyo ba sṅon po pus btsugs ma (376 a 1): Krodharāja ārya avaninihitajānu nīla Acala = R 61 b (without k. a.) Cf. B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford 1932, p. 60.
91. Mi γyo ba khro bo gtum po sṅon po bkaḥ gdams lugs (379 b 5): Bkaḥ-gdams-lugs nīla Caṇḍaroṣaṇa Acala = R 61 c (without c.).
92. Hphags pa mi γyo ba dkar po (381 b 6): Ārya sita Acala = R 62 a (without Ārya).
93. Mi γyo ba phyag bzhi pa (382 a 1): Caturbhuja Acala = R 62 b.
94. Mi γyo ba zhabs bzhi pa (388 b 5): Catuṣpāda Acala = R 62 c.
95. Mi γyo ba spreḥu brgyad ma (391 a 3): Aṣṭakapi Acala = R 63 a.

10. Bcu pa: tshe sgrub kyi lhaḥi sgrub thabs (āyuḥsādhana divinities)

96. Tshe dpag med sprul sku (393 b 6): Nirmāṇakāya Amitāyus = R 63 b.
97. Tshe dpag med ba riḥi lugs (395 b 1): Bā riḥi lugs Amitāyus = R 63 c.
98. Tshe dpag med dkar po phyag bzhi pa (400 b 3): Caturbhuja sita Amitāyus = R 64 a (without C.).
99. Tshe dpag med dkar po mi traḥi lugs (403 b 4): Mitra-krama sita Amitāyus = R 64 b.
100. Gtsug tor rnam rgyal lha dgu (406 b 6): Uṣṇīṣavijayā navadevaka (lha dgu) = R 64 c (it has simply Uṣṇīṣavijayā, without *lha dgu;* it does not illustrate them either).
101. Ḥchi med rdo rjeḥi lha mo (411 b 3): Amaravajradevī = R 65 a. Cf. Cordier 2.109.

11. Bcu gcig pa: śes rab kyi lhaḥi sgrub thabs (prajñā-divinities).

102. Ḥjam dkar kha che pan chen lugs (414 b 2): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama sita Mañjughoṣa = R 65 b.
103. Ḥjam dbyaṅs a ra pa tsa na dmar ser sa lugs (419 b 1): Sa-[skya]-lugs raktapīta arapacana Mañjughoṣa = R 65 c.
104. Ḥjam dbyaṅs gaṅ blo maḥi bstod sgrub mar grags pa (421 b 2): Pūrṇa-mati-stotrasādhana-kīrtita Mañjughoṣa = B 66 a.
105. Ḥjam dbyaṅs smra baḥi seṅge (422 a 3): Vādisiṁha Mañjughoṣa = R 66 b. Cf. Cordier 2.175.
106. Ḥjam dkar śes rab ḥkhor lo (423 b 6): Prajñācakra sita Mañjughoṣa = R 66 c.
107. Rje btsun byams pa ni ri ti paḥi lugs (429 b 2): Nirṛitipāda-krama bhaṭṭāraka Maitreya. R 67 c has only Maitreya.
108. Śer phyin ma ser mo (431 b 1: Pīta Prajñāpāramitā = R 67 b.
109. Śer phyin ma dkar mo (432 b 3): Sita Prajñāpāramitā = R 67 a. Note that the sequence of the above three divinities is exactly reverse in the Rin-ḥbyuṅ.

110. Dbyaṅs can ma dkar mo phyag bzhi ma (347b4): Caturbhuja sita Sarasvatī = R 68a.
111. Dbyaṅs can ma dmar mo (440a1): Rakta Sarasvatī = R 68b. R 68c is omitted (?) in the Rin-lhan.

12. Bcu gñis pa: rdo rje gdan paḥi thugs dam lha lṅaḥi sgrub thabs (the five vajrāsana-dhyāna (?) divinities).

112. Gzuṅs las byuṅ baḥi lha mo ḥod zer can (441b3): Dhāraṇīvinirgatā devī Mārīcī = R 69a.
113. Thub pa me ru śi ṣa (446a4): Meruśikhara Muni = R 69b. The dhāraṇī in the R. reads: *Namo Bhagavate, Meruśeṣara-kūtaprabharājāya Tathāgatāya.* The cerebral ṣ is pronounced *kh* in Tibetan, as in Hindi.
114. Spyan ras gzigs yi ge phyed daṅ bzhi pa (448b1): Ardhacaturthākṣara Avalokiteśvara = R 69c.
115. Saṅs rgyas spyan ma (450b4): Buddhalocanā = R 70a.
116. Dam tshig gsum bkod gtso rkyaṅ (452b6): Ekāntanāyaka trisamayavyūha = R 70b. Cf. R 107b, Cordier 1.298, 2.268

13. Bcu gsum pa: dbaṅ sdud kyi lhaḥi sgrub thabs (vaśaṃkaraṇa devīs)

117. Ku ru kulle gsaṅ sgrub (455a6): Guhyasādhana Kurukullā = R 70c. It is followed by four anucarā ḍākinīs in R 070 abc und 71a. These are not mentioned in the dkar-chag of Rin-lhan.
118. Dpaḥ mo sñiṅ gi gser thig can (459b1): Garbhasuvarṇasūtra Dpaḥ-mo — R 71b (it has dpal-mo'Śrī' instead of Dpaḥ-mo).
119. Nor rgyun ma dmar mo (461b4): Rakta Vasudhārā = R 71c.
120. Lha mo ti nu (462b2): Pṛthivī (?) devī = R 72a.
121. Mkhaḥ ḥgro ma thod pa rgyan (464a7): Kapālinī (?) Ḍākinī = R 72b. Thod-pa-rgyan would strictly be kapālālaṁkārā.
122. Mahaḥ ḥgro ma gsaṅ ba ye śes (466a1): Guhyajñāna Ḍākinī = R 72c.

14. Bcu bzhi pa: sna tshogs paḥi sdeḥi sgrub thabs (various classes of divinities).

123. Rdo rje rnam par ḥjoms pa ljaṅ sṅon (467a4): Śyāmanīla Vajravidāraṇa = R 73c.
124. Rdo rje rnam ḥjoms mthiṅ ga (474a3): Nīla Vajravidāraṇa = R 73b.
125. Rdo rje rnam ḥjoms dkar po (477a1): Sita Vajravidāraṇa = R 73a. Note the reversed sequence in the R.
126. Gsaṅ ḥdus las byuṅ baḥi khro bo bgegs mthar byed (483a3): Guhyasamāja-uddhṛta krodha-vighnāntaka = R 74a (omits G⁰).
127. Sna tshogs yum dkar mo (486a4): Sita Viśvamātṛ = R 74b.
128. Rdo rje gur nas gsuṅs paḥi so sor ḥgraṅ ma (488b2): Vajrapañjarabhāṣitā Pratisarā = R 74c (correct *bur* to *gur).*
129. Gtsug tor gdugs dkar (490b4): Uṣṇīṣasitātapatrā = R 75a.
130. Ri khrod ma lo ma gyon ma ser mo (494a1): Pīta Parṇaśabarī = R 75b.
131. Ri khrod ma lo ma gyon ma dmar mo (497b4): Rakta Parṇaśabarī = R 75c.

132. Ri khrod ma lo ma gyon ma sṅon mo (501 a 1): Nīla Parṇaśabarī = R 76 a.

133. Ri khrod ma lo ma gyon ma nag mo (504 a 4): Kṛṣṇa Parṇaśabarī = R 76 b.

134. Ri khrod ma lo ma gyon ma ljaṅ gu (506 b 5): Śyāma Parṇaśabarī = R 76 c.

135. Gzaḥ yum rig paḥi rgyal mo (509 a 4): Vidyārājñī Grahamātṛkā — R 77 a.

136. Khro rgyal rme brtsegs dud kha (511 b 6): Dhūmavarṇa Krodharāja Bhurkuṁkūṭa = R 77 b (Krodha only). Sme-brtsegs = Bh. in Tohoku 756.

137. Khro bo rme brtsegs ljaṅ gu (516 a 3): Śyāma Krodha-Bhurkuṁkūṭa = R 77 c.

138. Khro mo rme brtsegs (519 a 5): Krodhī Bhurkuṁkūṭī (?) = R 78 a. *Khro-mo* is translated as *krodhī* in Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal's dictionary (*Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit*, publié par J. Bacot, Paris 1930), folio 19 a 2. *Krodhī* as a feminine is attested by MW. With *Bhurkuṁkūṭī* compare *Bhṛikuṭī*.
[Vol. ṄA starts from the next entry.]

139. Bde mchog khro bo reg tshig (4 a 1): Krodha bhayanāśana Śaṁvara = R 78 b. Cf. Cordier 2.225-226.

140. Bde mchog rdo rje mkhaḥ ldiṅ (5 b 6): Vajragaruḍa Śaṁvara = R 78 c. Cf. Cordier 2.102.

141. Dus ḥkhor khyuṅ khra rgyud lugs (11 b 2): Tantra-krama śabala Kālacakra-Garuḍa = R 79 a.

142. Sa skya paḥi gser chos bcu gsum naṅ gi khyuṅ khra man ṅag lugs (14 a 5): Sa-skya-paḥi Gser-chos bcu-gsum naṅ-gi Upadeśa-krama śabala Garuḍa = R 79 b (without Sa-skya . . . naṅ-gi).

143. Khyuṅ ser bkaḥ gdams lugs (17 b 1): Bkaḥ-gdams-lugs pīta Garuḍa = R 79 c.

144. Hjam dbyaṅs nag po (18 a 3): Kṛṣṇa Mañjughoṣa = R 80 a.

145. Lha mo śra ma ṇa (19 a 1): Śramaṇā devī = R 80 b.

146. Seṅ gdoṅ ma sṅon mo (19 b 6): Nīla Siṁhavaktrā = R 80 c.

147. Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo (24 b 3): Rakta Siṁhavaktrā = R 81 a.

148. Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar moḥi gsaṅ baḥi dbaṅ bskur (28 a 4): Rakta Siṁhavaktrā. This gives her guhyābhiṣeka.

149. Hjam dpal nāga rakṣa (31 a 6): Nāgarakṣa Mañjuśrī = R 81 b.

15. Bco lṅa pa: śākya rakṣita las brgyud paḥi sgrub thabs (divinities handed down from śākyarakṣita).

150. Saṅs rgyas dpaḥ bo bdun (33 b 3): The seven Buddhas = R 81 c—83 c.

151. Ḥod dpag med (37 a 1): Amitābha = R 84 c (note the omission of R 84 a b).

152. Byams pa (37 b 6): Maitreya = R 85 a.

153. Kun tu bzaṅ po (38 b 6): Samantabhadra = R 85 b.

154. Nam mkhaḥi sñiṅ po (39 b 3): Ākāśagarbha = R 85 c.

155. Saḥi sñiṅ po (40 b 5): Kṣitigarbha = 86 a.

156. Sgrib pa rnam sel (41 b 5): Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin = R 86 b.

157. Spyan ras gzigs ḥjigs pa brgyud skyobs (42 b 4): Aṣṭabhayatrāṇa Avalokiteśvara = R 86 c.

158. Spyan ras gzigs sna tshogs dbaṅ po (43b3): Viśveśa Avalokiteśvara = R 87a.
159. Spyan ras gzigs padmaḥi phyag (47b2): Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara = R 87b.
160. Spyan ras gzigs su kha va ti (49b6): Sukhāvatī Avalokiteśvara = R 87c.
161. Spyan ras gzigs don yod lcags kyu (51a1): Amoghāṅkuśa Avalokiteśvara = R 88a.
162. Spyan gzigs don yod mchod paḥi nor bu (51b5): Amoghapūjāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara = R 88b.
163. Gsaṅ baḥi bdag po lhan skyes (52b3): Sahaja Guhyapati = R 88c (adds *śānta*), R 89a (adds *krodha*).
164. Lha mo mā ma ki (55a4): Māmakī Devī = R 89b.
165. Lha mo gos dkar mo (57a4): Pāṇḍaravāsinī Devī = R 89c.
166. Gtsug tor rnam rgyal phyag gñis ma (58a4): Dvibhuja Uṣṇīṣavijayā = R 90a.
167. Lha mo tsunda (60a3): Cuṇḍā Devī = R 90b (adds *sita*).
168. Khro bo gzhan gyis mi thub pa (61b2): Krodhāparājita = R 90c.
169. Rta mgrin dkar po (62b6): Sita Hayagrīva = R 91a.
170. Mi γyo ba dmar po (64b3): Rakta Acala = R 91b.
171. Ḥod zer can ma rta ljaṅ can (66b5): Śyāmāśva Mārīcī = R 91c.
172. Rgyal mtshan rtse moḥi dpuṅ rgyan (67b4): Dhvajāgrakeyurā = R92a.
173. Lha mo ro laṅs ma (68b5): Vetālī Devī = R 92b.
174. Gnod sbyin mo ḥphrog ma (69b6): Hārīti Yakṣinī = R 92c.
175. Tshogs bdag ser po (70b1): Pīta Gaṇapati = R 93a.
176. ñe sras brgyad kyi naṅ chen ḥjam dbyaṅs (71a3): Mahā-Mañjughoṣa from among the Aṣṭa-upaputra = R 93b (Ārya Mañjuśrī).
177. Ñe sras brgyad kyi naṅ chen spyan ras gzigs (71b3): Mahā-Avalokiteśvara from among the Aṣṭa-upaputra = R 93c (only A°).
178. Ñe sras brgyad kyi naṅ chen phyag rdor (72a5): Mahā-Vajrapāṇi from among the Aṣṭa-upaputra = R 94a (Śyāma Vajrapāṇi). For the eight upaputras see S. C. DAS, *Tibetan English Dictionary*, p. 485b s. v. *ñe-baḥi-sras-chen brgyad*.

16. Bcu drug pa: ñi ma sbas paḥi lugs kyi sgrol ma phyag ḥtshal ñer gcig gi sgrub thabs (twenty-one Tārās according to Sūryagupta).

179. Rtsa baḥi sgrol ma ljaṅ gu (73a1): Mūla śyāma Tārā = R 94b (Ārya śyāma Tārā).
180. Daṅ po rab tu dpaḥ baḥi sgrol ma (76a3): Ādi-pravīra (?) Tārā = R 94c (omits Ādi).
181. Sgrol ma dkar mo zla mdaṅs ma (79a2): Candrakānti (?) gaurī Tārā = R 95a.
182. Sgrol ma gser mdog can (79a4): Kanakavarṇa Tārā = R 95b.
183. Sgrol ma gtsug tor rnam rgyal (79a5): Uṣṇīṣavijayā Tārā = R 95c.
184. Sgrol ma hūṁ sgra sgrog ma (79b1): Hūṁsvaranādinī Tārā = R 96a.

185. Sgrol ma ḥjig rten gsum rgyal (79b2): Trailokyavijayā Tārā = R 96b.
186. Sgrol ma rgol ba ḥjoms ma (79b3): Vādipramardinī Tārā = R 96c.
187. Sgrol ma mchog ster ma (79b5): Varada Tārā = R 97a (it reads: Dbaṅ mchog ster baḥi sgrol ma 'Vaśitottamada? Tārā' *Clark*).
188. Seṅ ldeṅ nags sgrol gtso ḥkhor gsum (80a1): Khadiravaṇī Tārā (three including the two anucara divinities) = R 97c, R 97b (Mārīcī), R 98a (Ekajaṭā).
189. Sgrol ma mchog stsol ma (80a5): Varada Tārā = R 98b.
190. Sgrol ma mya ṅan sel ma (80a6): Śokavinodana Tārā = R 98c.
191. Sgrol ma ḥphoṅs pa sel ma (80b2): Vipannirbarhaṇa Tārā = R 99a (cf. *sarvāpadavimocanī* in *Tārānamaskāraikaviṁśaka-stotra*, xylograph, stanza 11).
192. Sgrol ma bkra śis snaṅ ba (80b3): Maṅgalāloka Tārā = R 99b.
193. Sgrol ma yoṅs su smin mdzad ma (80b4): Paripācaka Tārā = R 99c.
194. Sgrol ma khro gñer γyo ba ma (80b6): Bhṛkuṭī Tārā = R 100a.
195. Sgrol ma dge legs ster ma (81a2): Kalyāṇada Tārā (R 100b differs: Zhi-ba-chen-moḥi sgrol-ma 'Mahāśānti Tārā').
196. Sgrol ma chags pa ḥjoms ma (81a3): Rāganiṣūdana Tārā = R 100c.
197. Sgrol ma bde sgrub ma (81a6): Sukhasādhana Tārā = R 101a.
198. Sgrol ma rab rgyas ma (81b1): Saṁkusumita (or Praphulla) Tārā = R 101b.
199. Sgrol ma sdug bsṅal bsreg ma (81b3): Duḥkhadahana Tārā = R 101c.
200. Sgrol ma dṅos grub ḥbyuṅ ma (81b4): Siddhisaṁbhava Tārā = R 102a.
201. Sgrol ma yoṅs rdzogs byed ma (81b5): Paripūraṇa Tārā = R 102b.

17. Bcu bdun pa: nor lhaḥi sgrub thabs (wealth-bestowing divinities)

202. Rnam sras ser chen (82b4): Mahāpīta Vaiśravaṇa = R 102c (it gives eight anucara divinities). (*NW* 68).
203. Rnam sras mdud dmar rta sṅon can (91b6): Nīlāśva raktaśūla Vaiśravaṇa = R 103a. (*NW* 69).
204. Rnam sras ljaṅ ser be con can (96b3): Gadādhara śyāmapīta Vaiśravaṇa = R 103b. (*NW* 70).
205. Rnam sras dmar po gar mkhan mchog (100b3): Nartakavara rakta Vaiśravaṇa = R 103c. R 104a, gives the eight anucara yakṣas. (*NW* 70).
206. Rnam sras gsuṅ mchog lus ṅan po (105a6): Kubera svarottama (?) Vaiśravaṇa = R 104b. R 104a and 104c give eight yakṣas and eight yakṣīs as his anucaras. (*NW* 71).
207. Rnam sras drag byed (109a3): Raudra Vaiśravaṇa = R 105b. R 105a and 105c give the eight anucara nāgas. (*NW* 71).
208. Rnam sras nag po rta sṅon can (112b5): Nīlāśva kṛṣṇa Vaiśravaṇa = R 106a. (*NW* 71).
209. Rnam sras dkar po tshe ḥdzin (118b1): Āyurdhara sita Vaiśravaṇa = R 106b. (*NW* 72).
210. Rnam sras ljaṅ gu seṅ zhon ma jñā naḥi lugs (123a5): Jñāna-krama siṁhavāhana śyāma Vaiśravaṇa = R 106c. (*NW* 73).
211. Rnam sras yaṅ gsaṅ phyag mtshan bzhi pa (126a3): Caturāyudha atiguhya Vaiśravaṇa = R 107a. Clark does not give the Sanskrit

counterpart and wrongly divides *yaṅ gsaṅ*. For *yaṅ 'ati'* see *lhaḥi yaṅ lha 'devātideva'* Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki's ed.) 16. *Phyag-mtshan* is the honorific of *lag-cha* which is rendered as *āyudha* in Mvy. 6104. (*NW* 73).

212. Dzambha la ser po gtso rkyaṅ (132 a 3): Ekāntanāyaka pīta Jambhala = R 107 b. Cf. Cordier 2.207, 267, 268. (*NW* 73).

213. Gsaṅ ḥdus las byuṅ baḥi dzam ser (135 b 1): Guhyasamāja-vinirgata pīta Jambhala = R 107 c. (*NW* 74).

214. Dpaḥ bo chig grub las byuṅ baḥi dzambha la lha maṅ (138 b 1): Ekavīrasādhana-vinirgata Jambhala bahudeva = R 108 a. (*NW* 74).

215. Dzambha la nag po kha che paṇ chen lugs (141 a 4): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita-krama kṛṣṇa Jambhala = R 108 b (without K°). (*NW* 74).

216. Dzambha la dkar po lha lṅa jo boḥi lugs (145 a 5): Five Divinities beginning with Ārya-[Atīśa-]krama sita Jambhala = R 108 c. (*NW* 75).

217. Dzambha la dmar po srog sgrub sa lugs (149 a 3): Sa-[skya]-lugs prāṇasādhana rakta Jambhala = R 109 a (without p°). (*NW* 75).

218. Grva pa mṅon śes lugs kyi dzambha la dmar po (152 a 2): Abhijña-krama rakta Jambhala = R 109 b. Abhijña occurs as a paṇḍita-teacher in the *Blue Annals* p. 360-361. (*NW* 75).

219. Dzambha la ljaṅ gu dus ḥkhor lugs (157 a 2): Kālacakra-krama śyāma Jambhala = R 109 c. (*NW* 76).

220. Gnod sbyin nor bu bzaṅ po (160 a 4): Maṇibhadra yakṣa = R 110 a. (*NW* 76).

221. Sras gar mkhan mchog (161 a 5): Nartakavara Vaiśravaṇa = R 110 b. (*NW* 76).

222. Sras rgyal ba khyu mchog (164 b 3): Jinarṣabha Vaiśravaṇa = R 110 c. (*NW* 77).

223. Lha mo dpal chen mo (166 a 3): Mahālakṣmī Devī = R 111 a. (*NW* 77).

224. Gzuṅs las byuṅ baḥi lha mo nor rgyun ma (167 b 3): Dhāraṇī-vinirgatā Vasudhārā Devī = R 111 b. (*NW* 77).

225. Nor rgyun ma dzā ma riḥi lugs (175 a 6): Jamari-krama Vasudhārā = R 111 c. Cf. Dza-ba-ri-pa in the *Blue Annals* 2.869.

226. Nor rgyun ma ba laṅ rdzi (176 a 1): Gopāla Vasudhārā = R 112 a. (*NW* 77).

227. Yid ḥphrog nor rgyun ma (177 a 2): Manohara Vasudhārā = R 112 b. There is a Manoharī-(Yid-ḥphrog-ma)-sādhana in the Tanjur (Tohoku 2060). (*NW* 77).

228. Gnod sbyin zhaṅ blon rdo rje bdud ḥdul (178 a 3): Zhaṅ-blon-rdo-rje Mārajit yakṣa = R 112 c-R 113 b (bāhyasādhana, antarasādhana, and guhyasādhana). (*NW* 77).

229. Gnod sbyin a pa ra dzi ta (183 b 4): Aparājita yakṣa = R 113 c. Cf. Cordier 2.91. (*NW* 80).

230. Ḥjur ḥgegs sel baḥi tshogs bdag chags pa rdo rje (185 a 6): Rāgavajra ājñāvinivarta Gaṇapati = R 114 a (without R°). Cf. Cordier 2.88 where there are two separate stotras for Rāgavajra Gaṇapati and Ājñāvinivarta Gaṇapati. (*NW* 80).

231. Tshogs bdag dkar po phyag bzhi pa jo boḥi lugs (187 a 3): Ārya-[Atīśa]-krama caturbhuja sita Gaṇapati = R 114 b. (*NW* 80).
232. Tshogs bdag dmar po phyag bzhi pa (188 a 5): Caturbhuja rakta Gaṇapati = R 114 c. (*NW* 80).
233. Klu rgyal sog ma med (189 a 6): Apalāla nāgarāja = R 115 a. (*NW* 80).
234. Dbyug gu ma spun gsum (190 b 2): Dbyug-gu-ma bhaginī-traya = R 115 b. (*NW* 81).
235. Khol po kundha li (191 a 6): Dāsakuṇḍalī = R 115 c. The mantra has Piśācī Kuṇḍalī. (*NW* 81).

18. Bco brgyad pa: ye śes sprul paḥi mgon po rnams kyi sgrub thabs (jñāna-nirmita (?) Mahākāla).

236. Myur mdzad ye śes kyi mgon po phyag drug pa nag po bar chad kun sel (191 b 5): Sarvāntarāya-saṁgrasana (*or* sarvavighna-vināyaka) kṛṣṇa ṣaḍbhuja kṣiprakara (?) jñāna-Mahākāla = R 116 b (S° Mahākāla only). — R 116 a c give the four *blon-po*. Cf. *Myur-mdzad-ma* = Kurukullā in Tanjur (Tohoku 1319, 1320). (*NW* 38).
237. Mgon bkaḥ gñis pa mgon dkar yid bzhin nor buḥi (200 b 4): Cintāmaṇi sita Mahākāla = R 117 a. (*NW* 43).
238. Mgon bkaḥ gsum pa mgon ser nor bsruṅ blo ḥphel zhal gsum phyag drug pahi (204 b 6): Ṣaḍbhuja trimukha mativardhana dhanapāla pīta Mahākāla = R 117 b (mativardhana pīta Mahākāla). (*NW* 43).
239. Mgon bkaḥ bzhi mgon dmar dbaṅ gi rgyal poḥi (207 a 5): Cintāmaṇi rakta Mahākāla = R 117 c. Cf. Cordier 2.204. (*NW* 40).
240. Mgon bkaḥ lṅa pa mgon ljaṅ tshe bdag (211 b 1): Āyuṣpati śyāma Mahākāla = R 118 b. R 118 a c contain the four anucarā ḍākinīs. *Mgon bkaḥ* is short for *Mgon bkaḥ-ñan-pa*, i. e. ājñākara Mahākāla (*bkaḥ-ñan-pa* = *ājñākara* in Udrāyaṇa p. 27 line 12). The five Mahākāla given above may be the anucaras of the Pañca-tathāgatas (*NW* 44).
241. Ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi pa grub chen zhi ba sbas paḥi lugs (216 a 4): Mahāsiddha-śāntigupta-krama caturbhuja Jñāna-Mahākāla = R 119 a. (*NW* 44).
242. Bstan sruṅ chen po ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi pa klu sgrub lugs (228 b 3): Nāgārjuna-krama caturbhuja mahādharmapāla Jñāna-Mahākāla = R 119 b (omits m° and Jñāna). (*NW* 46).
243. Ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi rgva loḥi lugs (231 a 5): Rgva-lo-[tsa-ba] ḥi-lugs caturbhuja Jñāna-Mahākāla = R 119 c (omits Jñāna). (*NW* 46).
244. Ḥtshal lugs kyi ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi pa (238 a 1): Ḥtshal-lugs caturbhuja Jñāna-Mahākāla = R 120 a. (*NW* 47).
245. Lugs gñis gcig tu bsgril baḥi ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi pa (245 a 4): Caturbhuja Mahākāla with the Rgva-lo-tsa-ba and Ḥtshal styles combined = R 120 b. (*NW* 47).
246. Mgon dmar rkaṅ gliṅ can (250 a 1): Rakta Mahākāla, with thighbone trumpet = R 120 c. (*NW* 47).
247. Ye śes mgon po phyag bzhi paḥi ḥkhor lha mo tsaṇḍi ka (253 b 6): Caturbhuja-jñāna-Mahākālānucarā Caṇḍikā Devī = R 121 a. (*NW* 48).

248. Las mgon bya rog gdoṅ can (257 b 3): Kākāsya Karma-Mahākāla = R 121 b. (*NW* 48).
249. Gur mgon lcam dral (260 b 6): Pañjara-Mahākāla, lcam-dral (yama-yamī?) = R 121 c. This section divides the Mahākāla into: Ājñākara Mahākāla (Mgon bkaḥ), Jñāna-Mahākāla (Ye-śes Mgon po), Karma-Mahākāla (Las Mgon po) and Pañjara-Mahākāla (Gur Mgon po). Gur mgon is *pañjara* Mahākāla and not "lords of the tents" as translated by *NW* 49. Lcam-dral may be translated by yama-yamī; all the lcam-dral divinities in the Rin-lhan belong to the class of yama and related deities. (*NW* 49).
250. Gur gyi mgon po lha brgyad (268 a 1): Eight Divinities beginning with Pañjara-Mahākāla = R 122 a (*NW* 49).
251. Gur mgon phur zhabs khyuṅ śog can (276 a 1): Garuḍapakṣavat kīlapāda Pañjara-Mahākāla = R 122 b (omits G°). (*NW* 51).
252. Gur yum can klu sgrub lugs (279 a 5): Nāgārjuna-krama samātṛika Pañjara-Mahākāla = R 122 c. Clark splits it up erroneously as Gur-yum-can. (*NW* 51).
253. Gur rkyaṅ rṅog lugs (283 b 4): Rṅog-lugs ekānta Pañjara-Mahākāla = R 123 a. (*NW* 52).

19. Bcu dgu: legs ldan ma hā kā laḥi sgrub thabs (Bhagavat Mahākāla).

254. Mgon po stag zhon ma (286 b 3): Vyāghravāhana Mahākāla = R 123 b. (*NW* 52).
255. Mgon po beṅ dkaḥ ma (290 b 2): Dkaḥ ma (?) daṇḍadhara Mahākāla = R 123 c. (*NW* 52).
256. Mgon po beṅ gter ma (293 b 4): Nidhi daṇḍadhara Mahākāla = R 124 a. (*NW* 52).
257. Mgon po legs ldan mched gsum (296 b 4): Bhagavat Mahākāla bhrātṛtraya = R 124 b. Nebesky's translation of Mche[d] gsum 'with three teeth' is to be corrected. (*NW* 53).
258. Mgon po aṁ gho ra (298 b 4): Aṅghora Mahākāla = R 124 c. (*NW* 53).
259. Mgon po lha chen dpal hbar jo boḥi lugs (301 a 5): Ārya-[Atīśa-] krama mahādevaśrījvāla Mahākāla = R 125 a. (*NW* 53).
260. Mgon po gri gug dpaḥ gcig (303 a 6): Ekavīra kartarīdhara Mahākāla = R 125 b. (*NW* 54).
261. Lho nub mgon po gri gug dmar po (305 a 5): Rakta kartarīdhara dakṣiṇapaścima Mahākāla = R 125 c. (*NW* 54).
262. Mgon po bzhi sbrags (308 b 4): The Four Mahākālas combined (sbrags) = R 126 a. (*NW* 54).
263. Mgon po gri gug kha che paṇ chen lugs (312 a 4): Kāśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita [Śākyaśrī]-krama kartarīdhara Mahākāla = R 126 b. (*NW* 55).
264. Mgon po zaṅs gri can lha bcu bdun gyi ljaṅ lugs (314 a 2): Ljaṅ-lugs tāmrakartarīdhara Mahākāla, saptadaśadeva = R 126 c. His retinue consists of eight pale-blue demons with their eight black-coloured female consorts. (*NW* 55).

265. Mgon po gri gug lha dgu ma jñānaḥi lugs (318 a 6): Jñāna-krama kartarīdhara Mahākāla, navadeva = R 127 a. His retinue of eight is given by *NW* 56.

266. Mgon po ber nag zaṅs gri can (321 b 4): Tāmrakartarīdhara kṛṣṇa sacola Mahākāla = R 127 b. Clark has misread *ber* as *beṅ; ber* is in contradistinction to the next form *gcer-bu* 'nagna'. *Ber* is *cola* in Mvy. 5845. (*NW* 56).

267. Mgon po gcer bu zaṅs gri can (325 a 3): Tāmrakartarīdhara nagna Mahākāla = R 127 c. (*NW* 56).

268. Tshogs bdag mgon po seṅ geḥi gdan can (328 b 3): Siṁhāsana Gaṇapati Mahākāla = R 128 a. (*NW* 56).

269. Lha chen mgon po lcam dral trakṣad gños lugs (333 b 5): Gños-lugs mahādeva trakṣad Mahākāla, yama-yamī = R 128 b. (*NW* 57).

270. Mgon po trakṣad dvags poḥi lugs (341 a 5): Dvags-poḥi lugs trakṣad Mahākāla = R 128 c. (*NW* 58).

271. Mgon po trakṣad seṅ zhon jo boḥi lugs (343 a 5): Ārya-[Atīśa]-krama siṁhavāhana trakṣad Mahākāla = R 129 a. (*NW* 58).

272. Mgon pa trakṣad gri gug sbrags sgrub ma (347 a 3): Kartarīdhara trakṣad Mahākāla (the two aspects fused) = R 129 b. (*NW* 59).

273. Mgon po trakṣad rkaṅ thaṅ ma (349 a 6): Padātika trakṣad Mahākāla = R 129 c. (*NW* 59).

274. Mgon po trakṣad ma niṅ ma (352 b 3): Paṇḍaka trakṣad Mahākāla = R 130 a. (*NW* 59).

275. Mgon po trakṣad ḥbroṅ zhal can (355 a 2): Camarīmukha trakṣad Mahākāla = R 130 b. (*NW* 60).

276. Mgon po trakṣad gsaṅ sgrub śva naḥi zhal can (356 b 1): Ḍākamukha guhyasādhana trakṣad Mahākāla = R 130 c. (*NW* 60).

20. Ñi śu pa: sna ma las ḥphros paḥi thabs (remaining categories).

277. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa bsñen pa dus daṅ ḥbrel ba (359 a 2): Sevākāla-sambaddha caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 131 a. Cf. *rgyu dus* 'caraṇa-kāla' in Cordier 2.205. Dpal-mgon-po is Śrī-mahākāla in Tanjur (Tohoku 1760). (*NW* 60).

278. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa sgrub dus daṅ ḥbrel ba (366 a 2): Sādhanakālā-sambaddha caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 131 b. (*NW* 61).

279. Zhal bzhi pa las sbyor mgon po (372 b 5): Caturmukha karmayoga-nātha = R 131 c. (*NW* 61).

280. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa dkar po tshe ḥphel (378 a 1): Āyurvardhana sita caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 132 a. (*NW* 61).

281. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa ser po nor ḥphel (383 a 3): Dhanavardhana pīta caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 132 b. (*NW* 62).

282. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa dmar po dbaṅ sdud (388 a 5): Vaśaṁkara rakta caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 132 c. (*NW* 62).

283. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa sṅon po ñams sgrol (393 b 1): Kṣatitāraka nīla caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 133 a. (sgrol ba po 'tāraka' Mvy. 416). (*NW* 62).

284. Dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa gdon gñan can (398 b 3): Caṇḍamukha caturmukha Śrī-Mahākāla = R 133 b. (*NW* 62).
285. Śa za ce spyaṅ gdoṅ can (404 a 6): Śṛgālamukha Piśāca = R 133 c. (*NW* 63).

21. ñer gcig pa: dpal lha moḥi sgrub thabs (śrīdevī).

286. Dpal ldan lha mo dud gsol mar grags pa ḥdod khams dbaṅ phyug ma (406 b 2): Kāmadhātvīśvarī called Śrīdevī Dhūmavatī = R 134 a. Cf. Cordier 1.130-131, 2.200. (*NW* 24).
287. Dpal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo (410 a 6): Śrīmatī Pārvatī rājñī = R 134 b. Cf. Cordier 1.128-129 for Dmag-zor-ma 'Pārvatī'. This sets aside Nebesky's surmise that the main attribute of this Goddess is a sickle *(zor)* which, he himself says, "is not mentioned in the description contained in the Rin-lhan". (*NW* 24).
288. Lha mo srog sgrub lcags phur ma raṅ byuṅ rgyal mo (415 b 6): Prāṇasādhana lohakīlā Svayambhū-rājñī devi = R 134 c. Cf. Svayambhūdevī in Three Hundred Gods no. 251. (*NW* 31).
289. Lha mo duṅ skyoṅ ma (420 b 1): Śaṅkhapālī devī = R 135 a. (*NW* 32).
290. Bdud mo re ma ti (423 a 6): Mahākālī Remati (according to the mantra in R) = R 135 b. (*NW* 32).
291. Klu mo re ma ti phyag bzhi ma (425 b 1): Caturbhujā nāgī Remati = R 135 c. (*NW* 32).
292. Gnod sbyin re ma ti (427 b 1): Yakṣa Remati = R 136 a. (*NW* 32).
293. Re ma ti rdo rje gśog rgod ma (429 b 2): Uddhatavajrapakṣa (?) Remati = R 136 b. She has a "pair of flaming wings" (*NW* 33). Rgod 'uddhata', rgod-pa 'uddhava, auddhatya', rgod-byed 'uddhānana', rgod-bral 'vigatauddhatya' (Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 492).
294. Lha mo e ka dza ṭi (432 a 6): Ekajaṭī Devī = R 136 c. (*NW* 33).
295. Lha mo nam mkhaḥi gos can (434 a 2): Digambarā Devī = R 137 a. (*NW* 35).

22. Ñer gñis pa: mgon po lcam dral daṅ rigs mthun gyi sgrub thabs (Yama-yamī mahākāla and allied divinities).

296. Chos rgyal las kyi gśin rje mthiṅ ga (435 b 5): Nīla dharmarāja Karmayama = R 137 b. (*NW* 83).
297. Las gśin dmar po ma ru rtse bzhis skor ba (440 a 4): Rakta Karma-yama, surrounded by four Ma-ru-rtse = R 137 c. (*NW* 84).
298. Las gśin dmar po khrag mdog (443 a 6): Rudhiravarṇa rakta Karmayama = R 138 a.
299. Dur khrod bdag po lcam dral (446 b 3): Citipati, yama-yamī = R 138 b. (*NW* 86).
300. Pu ṭa lcam dral (450 a 5): Putra, yama-yamī = R 138 c. In the illustration *lcam dral* are not in sexual union as said by *NW* 86. Yab yum are naddhayuga and lcam dral, on the contrary are never in union in the Rin-ḥbyuṅ.

301. Bran bdud gśin rje nag po (456 b 4): Bran-bdud (dāsa-māra?) kṛṣṇa Yama R 139 a. (*NW* 86).

302. Dkar mo ñi zla lcam dral (460 a 2): Sūrya-Candra Gaurī, yama-yamī = R 139 b. (*NW* 87).

23. Ñer gsum pa: tha dar dge baḥi don du ñer mkhoḥi sgrub thabs ḥgaḥ zhig (paryavasāna-kalyāṇa divinities).

303. Rgyal po chen po bzhi (463 a 2): Caturmahārāja = R 139 c-R 140 c. (Vaiśravaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa).

304. Mkhaḥ ḥgro sde lṅa (466 a 3): Five ḍākinīs = R 141 a-141 c (Ratna-ḍākinī, Vajra-ḍākinī, Buddha-ḍākinī, Padma-ḍākinī, Karma-ḍākinī).

305. Bkra śis tshe riṅ mched lṅa rnams (469 a 3): the five Divinities beginning with Maṅgaladīrghāyuṣī = R 142 a-c (Mi γyo glaṅ bzaṅ ma, Mthiṅ gi zhal bzaṅ ma, Bkra śis tshe riṅ ma, Gtad dkar ḥgro bzaṅ ma, Cod pan mgrin bzaṅ ma). (*NW* 178).

From the above the exact concord between the Rin-lhan and the Rin-ḥbyuṅ is clear beyond doubt; the sādhanas given in the Rin-lhan are illustrated in the Rin-ḥbyuṅ. It is only in five cases (R 27 a, b, 68 c, 84 a, b) that the divinities illustrated in the Rin-ḥbyuṅ are not found in the *dkar-chag;* however, the possibility of their being traced in the Rin-lhan cannot be ruled out. In this context we may note that minor divinities are assumed to have been included in the divinity to whose *parivāra* they belong, e. g. in R 16 the four *anucaras* of Nāgeśvararāja (R 16 b) are not separately listed in the dkar-chag, though they are illustrated individually in R 16 a with the prefixed *ḥkhor 'anucara'.* We find the same situation in R 35, 104, 118. In all these cases the main deity occupies the centre of the folio[11]. In some instances the flanking divinities are not specified as *anucaras (ḥkhor)*, e. g. R 13, 33, 105, 116. The anucara divinities contribute to the recurrence of the same name more than once, with variations in varying contexts.

Besides classifying the bewildering variety of the divinities of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ, the Rin-lhan also helps us to clear its textual position. In the Rin-ḥbyuṅ,folios 46—52 have been condensed to three folios, every one of them with multiple numbers: 46/47/48, 49/50, and 51/52. Clark has regularised the foliation as follows:

Clark	Xylograph
46	46/47/48
47	47
48	48
49	49
50	50
51	49/50
52	51/52

[11] Cf. S. F. Grünwedel, *Sbornik Izobrazhenii 300 Burkhanov*, introd. p. ii.

Folios 47, 48, 49 and 50 of CLARK are later additions, as is clear from the Rin-lhan (see above serial no. 68)[12]. The reason for adding the new folios may have been to complete the number of xylographic plates. R O 70 is original (see serial No. 117). The reverse sequence of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ in R 67c (= Rin-lhan 107), 67b (= 108), 67a (= 109), R 73c (= 123), 73b (= 124), and 73a (= 125) baffles a solution.

The interdependence of the Rin-lhan[13] and the Rin-ḥbyuṅ becomes a certainty by their identical inspiration, namely Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. The Rin-lhan forms two volumes GA and ṄA of the collected works[14] *(gsuṅ-ḥbum)* of Rje-btsun blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal dpal-bzaṅ-po. Volume GA is the first *glegs-bam* and ṄA the second. In the colophon contained in the second volume it is clearly stated that at the request of the learned *dkaḥ-chen's* Ye-śes-bsam-gtan, Blo-bzaṅ-skal-bzaṅ, Blo-bzaṅ-don-grub, Blo-bzaṅ-yon-tan, Sku-skye-dge-ḥdun-grags-pa, Chos-mdzad-ye-śes bstan-ḥdzin, and others the Panchen Lama composed the Rin-lhan as a practical manual giving the *rjes-gnaṅ* and other necessary ritual details about divinities mentioned in the *Sgrub-thabs-rin-ḥbyuṅ*[15].

The Rin-ḥbyuṅ, though a work of the Mongols, was also blessed by the same Panchen Lama[16]: he wrote the final maṅgalācaraṇa for the xylographs *(par-byaṅ smon-tshig)*, which occurs at the end of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ

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[12] F. A. PETER, *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[13] Prof. Dr. F.D. Lessing very kindly sent me his files containing the cut-up copy of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ, in which he has pasted each divinity on a separate sheet of paper. These he has arranged in alphabetic sequence, with the varieties coming under the main deity — e.g. the various forms of Mañjuśrī come together under M. Herein Prof. Lessing has referenced a large number of the divinities to a *Rin-lhan*, which is not the same as ours: firstly its order does not coincide with the Rin-ḥbyuṅ and secondly, it is in four vols. GA, ṄA, CA and CHA against ours which consists of only two vols. GA and ṄA. There were more Rin-lhan's, e.g. Čin süjügtü nom-un qaγan Blo-bzaṅ-nor-bu-śes-rab, a disciple of Jibcundampa I (1635—1723 A.D.) wrote a *Sgrub-thabs-rin-ḥbyuṅ-gi-lhan-thabs* in four volumes (pothis ṄA, CA CHA and JA of his *opera omnia* — LOKESH CHANDRA, *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, New Delhi 1961, § 5 p. 21 of the text).

[14] His *opera omnia* consist of four volumes in the set preserved at the State Library, Ulanbator (Mongolian People's Republic) — LOKESH CHANDRA, "*The Authors of Sumbums*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. II (1958), p. 124 no. 79.

[15] *Sgrub-thabs-rin-ḥbyuṅ-nas bśad-paḥi lha-tshogs-rnams-kyi rjes-gnaṅ bskur-tshul-gyi lhan-thabs ḥdi-lta-bu zhig dgos zhes . . .* (beginning of the colophon). The dkar-chag begins: *Sgrub-thabs-rin-ḥbyuṅ-nas gsuṅs-paḥi lha-tshogs-rnams-kyi sgrub-thabs-kyi rim-pa phyogs-gcig-tu bkod-pa∼Rin-ḥbyuṅ don-gsal zhes-bya-bar I.* Incidentally the Tibetan name of the sign∼is *don-gyi-slad-du mtshan-nas smos-nas* (Lama Tshultim).

[16] Intimate connections subsisted between the Mongols and this Panchen Lama. One of his gurus was the great Mongol polymath Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (1781—1855 A.D. — see LOKESH CHANDRA, *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia* § 10). The third incarnation of Mkhan-chen-chos-rgyal and an illustrious scholar, Tshe-dbaṅ-skyabs-mchog (born 1789) was ordained by him *(Eminent Tibetan Polymaths . . .* § 14). He was highly esteemed by the Mongols long after: very recently we find Blo-bzaṅ-rta-dbyaṅs *alias* Rtsa-ba-bla-ma (1867—1937 A.D.) the outstanding scholar of Urga, writing a commentary on his *gsol-ḥdebs* under the title *Paṇ-chen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-maḥi mtshan sgra gsol-ḥdebs-kyi ḥgrel-pa blo-gros mig ḥbyed* in vol. KA of his *opera omnia (Eminent Tibetan Polymaths* . . . § 16, p. 65 of the text).

and twice at the end of its two appendices[17]: the Snar-thaṅ-(brgya-rtsa) and the Rdor-ḥphreṅ. It may be worthwhile to point out that F. A. PETER has misunderstood the name of the Panchen Lama Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-paḥi Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal[18] as referring to Tsoṅ-kha-pa. Noyan sprul-sku Ratnavajra and the Jibcundampa have also been confused. Tā bla-ma has been translated as Dalai Lama! Such glaring errors abound and it would serve no purpose to point out all of them. Suffice it to say that the date assigned by him[19] to the Rin-ḥbyuṅ has to be revised. Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma° lived from 1781 to 1852 according to G. SCHULEMANN[20], so the work has to be placed sometimes during this period[21].

To sum up, the Rin-lhan puts the amorphous mass of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ pantheon into a well-knit structure. It inspires life in the lines of the other. Its esoteric milieu aids better comprehension of the formantic aspects of Tibeto-Mongol art as represented by the Rin-ḥbyuṅ.

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[17] The two appendices form an integral part of the Rin-ḥbyuṅ as testified by the title and the colophon at the end of the final portion, the Rdor-ḥphreṅ. They are found in all the copies known at Berlin, Ulanbator, Oriental Institute of Leningrad, (both the exemplars), Prof. F. D. Lessing, W. E. Clark and Prof. Raghu Vira. So we need not surmise two editions — the earlier and later — as done by F. A. PETER, *ibid.*, p. 4 on the basis of his incomplete copy.
The Rin-lhan pertains to the main portion of the '500 Gods of Narthang', the Rin-ḥbyuṅ proper. The famous rites of the Snar-thaṅ-brgya-rtsa and Rdor-ḥphreṅ, known from other sādhana-texts, were appendixed when the illustrations were done. The Snar-thaṅ-brgya-rtsa, along with the Zur-dkaḥ-brgya-rtsa and the Rin-ḥbyuṅ-brgya-rtsa, is a very famous centuple initiation. Abhiṣeka (dbaṅ) into the Vajrāvālī-maṇḍala was also an important rite: it occurs in the *Blue Annals* (tr. G. N. ROERICH) several times (pp. 228, 320, 371, 411, 448, 499, 507, 542, 776, 995, 1046). Without these two appendices, the iconographic album would have remained incomplete.

[18] *Ibid.* p. 8.

[19] Between 1650 and 1700 A. D.

[20] *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, Leipzig 1958, p. 477. Prof. G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 416, says he died in 1854.

Notes towards a History of Korean Fiction*

By **Peter H. Lee**
(New York)

Fiction in Chinese

Although the novel in the modern sense began only in the second quarter of the seventeenth century in Korea, its ancestors, legends, anecdotal narratives and tales, are as old as human history itself. In Korea, however, where Chinese literature had a strong hold among the literati and where their proper system of writing developed only in the fifteenth century, it is not surprising that earlier surviving examples of fiction were strongly influenced by Chinese fiction and used the Chinese language as their medium.

There is a rich collection of folk tales in Korea in the form of *Märchen*, novella, hero tales, sage, *pourquoi* stories, myths, legends, fables, and jests[1]. The oldest surviving examples of such folk tales are preserved in the *Samguk sagi*[[1]] and *Samguk yusa*[[2]]. The *Samguk yusa*[2], a collection of popular stories and folk tales, records a number of examples, foundation myths of Tangun[[3]][3], Puyŏ[[4]][4], and of Kara[[5]][5], and other unusual

* This chapter which forms part of *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes* was developed pursuant to a contract between the United States Office of Education and the American Council of Learned Societies and is published with permission of the United States Office of Education.

[1] Chang Tŏk-sun, „Sŏrhwa munhak kwa kŭ kyesŭng munje," *SG* V/2 (Feb. 1957), 63—77; Son Chin-t'ae, "Hanguk minjok ŭi sŏrhwa," *MH*, I (May 1956), 3—10; Yi Nŭng-u, "Sangdae ŭi chŏnghwa: kosŏrhwa ŭi haesŏk," *HM*, I/11 and 12 (Nov. & Dec. 1957); Yi Tong-nim, "Chejudo sinhwa e taehan kwan'gyŏn: Yang, Ko, Puŭlla ch'ingho rŭl chungsim ŭro," *Kugŏ kungmunhak po* (Tongguk Univ.), I (Dec. 1958), 68—75; U Yŏng-ho, "Kujŏn tonghwa ŭi koch'al," *KKY*, II (Nov. 1958), 42—57; Ch'oe Sang-su, *Chosŏn chimyŏng chŏnsŏl chip*, Seoul, 1947; *idem, Chosŏn kubi chŏnsŏl chi* (Chosŏn minsokhak ch'ongsŏ I), Seoul, 1949; *idem, Chosŏn min'gan chŏnsŏl chip*, Seoul, 1947; *idem, Legends of Korea*, Seoul, 1951; *idem, Kyŏngju ŭi kojŏk kwa chŏnsŏl*, Seoul, 1946; *idem, Puyŏ ŭi kojŏk kwa chŏnsŏl*, Seoul 1955; Son Chin-t'ae, *Chosŏn minjok munhwa ŭi yŏn'gu: Chosŏn kŭp Chungguk ŭi minsok yŏn'gu nonjip*, Seoul, 1948; *idem, Chosŏn minjok sŏrhwa ŭi yŏn'gu*, Seoul, 1947.

[2] See Ch'oe Nam-sŏn's introduction to his edition of *SGYS*, 35—42; Chang Tŏk-sun, "*Samguk yusa* sojae ŭi sŏrhwa pullyu," *Inmun kwahak* (Yŏnse Univ.), II (July 1958), 119—48.

[3] Kim Chi-yong, "Tan'gun sinhwa ŭi minsokhakchŏk koch'al," *Ch'ŏnggu taehak ch'angnip sipchunyŏn kinyŏm nonmunjip* (1958), 25—38; Kim U-jong, "Tan'gun sinhwa ŭi sichŏk ŭimi: *Simch'ŏng chŏn* pip'yŏng ŭi kyŏrŏn," *HM*, IV/2 (Feb. 1958), 144—53; IV/3 (March 1958), 244—54; *SGYS* 1, 33—34.

[4] Wang Ch'ung, *Lun hêng (Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition) 2, 16a—b; *Wei chih* 30, 1004b—c.

[5] *SGYS* 2, 108 ff.

[1] 三國史記
[2] 三國遺事
[3] 檀君
[4] 夫餘
[5] 加羅 駕洛

Im Oriens Extremus angewandte Umschriften ostasiatischer Sprachen

Chinesisch nach H. A. Giles: *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, Shanghai 1912.

Japanisch nach *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, Tôkyô 1931.

Koreanisch nach McCune-Reischauer: *The Romanization of the Korean Language*, Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society XXIX, Seoul 1939, 1—55

Mandschurisch nach Erich Hauer: *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, Tôkyô-Hamburg 1952.

Mongolisch nach A. Mostaert: *Dictionnaire ordos* III, "Index des mots du mongol écrit et du mongol ancien", Peiping 1944.

Abkürzungen für Zeitschriftentitel

Asia major	*AM*
Asiatische Studien	*AS*
Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient	*BEFEO*
Bulletin of Chinese Studies (Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu hui-k'an)	*BCS*
Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) (Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an)	*CYYY*
Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities	*BMFEA*
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies	*BSOAS*
Chinese Social and Political Science Review	*CSPSR*
Far Eastern Quarterly	*FEQ*
Fu Jen Hsüeh-chih	*FJHC*
Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies	*HJAS*
Journal asiatique	*JA*
Journal of Asian Studies	*JAS*
Journal of the American Oriental Society	*JAOS*
Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society	*JNCBRAS*
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	*JRAS*
Li-shih yen-chiu	*LSYC*
Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques	*MCB*
Mitteilungen der (Deutschen) Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)	*MOAG*
Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen: Ostasiatische Studien	*MSOS*
Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko	*MTB*
Monumenta Nipponica	*MN*
Monumenta Serica	*MS*
Nachrichten der (Deutschen) Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)	*NOAG*
Oriens Extremus	*OE*
Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	*OLZ*
Ostasiatische Rundschau	*OR*
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift	*OZ*
Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie	*RBS*
Revue des arts asiatiques	*RAA*
Shigaku zasshi	*SZ*
Studia Serica	*SS*
Tōhō gakuhō	*TG*
Tōyō gakuho	*TYG*
T'oung Pao	*TP*
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan	*TASJ*
Tsinghua Journal (Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao)	*CHHP*
Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies (Yen-ching hsüeh-pao)	*YCHP*
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft	*ZDMG*

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With best compliments

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THE RIN-LHAN SĀDHANA-MĀLĀ

of

Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal

edited by

Prof. Dr. LOKESH CHANDRA

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE

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PREFACE

In the accompanying pages we have reproduced a few initial folios of the "Yi-dam-rgya-mtshoḥi sgrub-thabs rin-chen-ḥbyuṅ-gnas-kyi lhan-thabs rin-ḥbyuṅ don gsal". The original xylograph runs into two volumes with 519 and 470 folios respectively. It is of great interest for iconographic studies.

It forms two volumes GA and ṄA of the collected works (gsuṅ-ḥbum) of the Panchen Lama Bstan-pahi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. In the colophon of the second volume it is clearly stated that at the request of learned scholars and eminent householders, the Panchen Lama composed this work as a practical manual giving the anujñā and other necessary details about divinities mentioned in the Sgrub-thabs-rin-ḥbyuṅ.

The margin of the xylograph has the short signature Rin-lhan. It distinguishes this work from its complement, the "Rin-ḥbyuṅ Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa Rdor-ḥphreṅ bcas-nas gsuṅs-paḥi bris-sku mthoṅ-ba don-ldan" commonly referred to as the "Five Hundred Gods of Narthang," which according to its marginal signature is the Rin-ḥbyuṅ.

The Rin-lhan is the original sādhana-collection which is illustrated in the Rin-ḥbyuṅ. It is the first important instance of its kind and a long-awaited opportunity when an ancient pantheon can be studied in its original sādhana-setting. Three other iconographic manuals are also known: the "Three Hundred Gods" of Lcaṅ-skya Qutuγtu Lalitavajra, "Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan" containing 360 divinities again ascribed to Lcaṅ-skya Qutuγtu, and the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon with 766 preserved

images or inscribed pedestals -- but for none of them do we have the original text. The correlation of iconography and ritual will lead to a better comprehension of the complex details of the icons and their meditational contexts.

The sādhanas in this booklet pertain to the following deities: Cintāmaṇicakra White Tārā, according to the traditions of Atīśa, Ba-ri, Gñan, and Vanaratna, White Sarasvatī, Ṣaḍaṅga Tārā of Gñan, Kurukullā, and Red Kāmarāja.

Lokesh Chandra

༄༅། །ཡིད་མ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ཐབས་ཡིན།
འབྱུང་དོན་གསལ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

༄༅། །སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ཐབས་རིན་འབྱུང་དོན་གསལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཟླ་མ་ཡིད་མ་ཚོས་སྐྱུང་
རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

གང་ཞིག་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཟུང་འཇུག་བརྗོད་པའི་རྒྱ་གཏེར་ལས་འཁྲུངས་གསལ་བ་རྫོགས་མཚན་དཔེའི་དཔལ་འབར་བ།།
དོན་གཉིས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཐུབ་དབང་ཞམ་མཁའི་ནོར་བུ་ཞབས་པད་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ང་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་གིས་མཆོད། །
ཡོག་སྨྲ་འབྱུང་པོའི་ཙ་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་མ་གཙོད་ཅིང་མངོན་མཐོ་ངེས་ལེགས་ལམ་བཟང་གསལ་མཛད་པའི། །
སྨྲ་གསུམ་རིན་ཆེན་རང་བཞིན་སྨན་ལམ་མཆོག་ནས་འགྲོ་བདུན་ལྡན་ལེགས་བཤད་འོད་སྣང་འབར་འཕྲོས་པས། །

ཁོང་ནས་ཁྲོ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་སྤངས་ཤིང་བཤིག་པར་སྐུ་བ་གཞོམས་པ་དང་། །
ཆོས་བརྒྱད་འཆིང་བའི་འདོར་ལེན་བྲལ་ཡང་རྗེས་སྐྱོད་མཐའ་དག་ཆུང་ངུ་བསྲིངས། །
གྲིད་ཞིའི་བདེ་ལ་ཆགས་པས་དབེན་ཀྱང་འགྲོ་ལ་ཆགས་པས་ཟབ་མོའི་དོན། །
སྒྲ་དང་ངག་གི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་ཀྱང་ངག་གིས་སྤེལ་མཛད་མཁས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ། །

བློ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་པའི་གདངས་རེ་ལས་འོངས་པའི། ། གདམས་པའི་ཀླུང་ཆེན་བཟང་དཀྱུ་འདུ་པའི་གཏེར།།
གྲགས་དགར་ཐབས་ཕྲེང་གཡོ་བའི་ཚོ་ཐག་འཁྱིལ། ། ཁམས་གསུམ་འགྲོ་པའི་བླ་མ་ཞུགས་གི་ཡུལ། །
བསླབ་གསུམ་གསེར་གྱི་ཐབས་ཕམ་མཐོང་ཤིང་། ། འཆད་རྩོད་རྩོམ་པའི་མཆེ་བ་སྒྲ་དང་ལྡན། །
ཤེས་རིག་ཐབས་མཆོག་མ་ལུས་འཇོམས་མཛད་པའི། ། ལག་སྨན་དངོས་བརྒྱུད་བྱ་མའི་ཚོགས་ལ་བསྟུ། །
གསང་སྔགས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འཛིང་ལས་ལས་རབ་བབ་གཤེགས། ། འགྲོ་བ་དངོས་སྒྲུབ་ནོར་དགུ་སྟོབ་པའི་ཕྱིར། །
སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བསྐོར། ། འཇོད་མཛད་སྤྲོས་པའི་མཐོན་པོ་རྒྱ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཅིག །
བློ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་བང་མཛོད་ནོར། ། བཤད་སྒྲུབ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཛིན་པའི་གཙོ། །
མཁའ་མཉམ་སྐྱེ་དགུའི་གཉེན་གཅིག་ཀ་འཛིན་ཅན། ། བཤེས་གཉེན་བཟང་པོའི་ཞབས་ལ་སྤྱི་བོས་བཏུད། །
དྲི་མེད་ལུགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀུན་བཟང་བརྒྱ་མཚོ། ། བློ་བཟང་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཞལ་ངོས་ལས། །
ཞེས་བསྟུན་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་འདོད་འགུགས་ཆེར་སྤེལ་བ་སྟེ། ། ཤེས་ལྡན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་དོད་སྒྲུབ་པས་ཡོངས། །

འདིར་སྐུ་ཡི་སྤྲོད་པ་དེ་ཉིད་འཆང་ཆེན་པོས། གདུལ་བྱ་སོ་སོའི་ཁམས་མཐོང་དང་མཐུན་པར་སྤྲུལ་པའི་ཞིང་པོ་ཆེ་རྣམས་སུ་སྐུ་ལྔའི་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་མཐར་ཡས་པ་ཞིག གསུང་ལས་པ་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་རྒྱ་གར་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཨུ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ན་བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཨ་ཙཱ་རྱ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྟེན་པ་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་བསྐལ་བཟང་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བ་གཅིག་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་རྗེས་གཟུང་བཅས་པ་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཆེན་དང་མཁོ་བ་འདི་ཁ་ཞིག་དང་། སྤྲུལ་ཉིད་རྒྱ་གར་ནུབ་པ་དག་རྗེ་བཙུན་པདྨ་རྫུ་འཕྲུལ། འཕགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་གཞི་སྟེ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྣམ་པ་ལ་ལ་གནས་ཏེ། སློབ་མ་རྗེས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་བྱིན་རླབས་དང་། རྗེས་གནང་དང་། རིག་གཏེར་དང་། བཀའ་ལུང་དང་། གཅིག་ལ་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱས་འབྲུག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱུད་སྡེའི་དགོངས་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་སོ་སོའི་བཞེད་གྲོལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྡེབས་ནས་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་འདི་མཛད་པས། འདི་ཉིད་ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ནས་སྐྱེ་བ་དམ་པ་གཅིག་བརྒྱུད་ཅིང་ཐོབ་ཁྲམ་བཅས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཁ་མཉམ་པ་པའི་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡོད་པར་མཛད། རྗེ་ཡབ་ཁྲམ་གྱི་གསུང་རབ་དང་། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བཞིན་མ་འཁྲུལ་བ་མེད་པར་བཞིན། རང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་ལ་བསྟན་བྱིན་ལ་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་ཐུང་། འདི་ནས་བཤད་པའི་རྗེས་གནང་འཆད་ཉམས་ལེན་ཇི་ལྟར་མཛད་བཞིན་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་སྒྲུར་བཀའི་རྗེས་གནང་མཐའ་དག་རིན་ནས་རྒྱུད་བཙོ་ལ་དགོས་རྒྱུད་ཞིག་ལ་རྫོང་ཚོས་ལ་ཆེད་པའི་དུས་འདིར་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་དུ་དགོས་པ་དག་སྐུ་དྲུག་བཀྲོལ་བཅས་ཉིད་པ་དེ་དག་ཡོད་བའི་ཚེ་དང་། དྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་ཡིད་ཕྱག་ཏུ་མའི་རྒྱ་སྒྲུང་མང་དུ་མཁས་པ་ར་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང་ལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་ཡི་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞང་གི་ཡུལ་གོང་རྒྱུ་ཞིང་ལ་ངེས་པར་བཅས། དགོས་པ་གང་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར། གཞུང་རྒྱུད་རྗེས་གནང་ཐ་ཚིག་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱི་ལ་ཞལ་འཕང་མཛད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བ་ཉིད་ཡུང་དང་བསྟན་བཞི་གླུ་ཀ་ཀྱུ་རྒྱུད་ནས་འཚོ་ལ་དགོས་པ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་སོ་སོའི་ཐད་དུ་བཀབ་ནས་བཤད་ཅིང་། ལས་རབ་འབྱམས་པ་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་རིམ་པ་རྫོགས་ནས། སློབ་མ་རྗེས་འཛིན་ལག་ལེན་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་སྤྲོ་དགོས་རྗེས་གསུམ་ཞི་ཕྱིར་གྱི་པའི་ཚུལ་རྣམས་བསྒྲུད་དེ་ཐབས་དམ་པའི་ཕྱག་ལེན་མཐོང་གྲོལ་གྱིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་རྒྱུད་ཞུས་བདེ་བར་འགོད་པ་ལ། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་གླེང་གཞི་ཡིན་རྗེས་གནང་གི་ཚོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པ་ལ། འཇུག་པ་བདེ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། ཉེ་བར་ཡོད་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཕྱོགས་དེ་ནས་སྤྱོད་དགར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སོགས་རྗེས་གནང་དེ་ཙམ་ཕྱེད་ཙམ། གཞུང་ནས་བཤད་པའི་གོ་རིམ་ལྟར་ཕྱེད་གསོལ་ཤིང་། དེ་མཚུངས་ཉེ་ནས་བཞིན་མ་ཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་ཟབ་མོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་བར་ལ་རིགས་འགྲེལ་ཞིང་། དེའི་སྟོན་རྫོགས་ས་མཆིམས་ལས། ཡང་ན་རྗེས་གནང་ཡིད་ལ་སྤོགས་ཚེ་རྣམས་ཚོམས་སུ། རྣ་ཁོ་མ་ཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་སྐུ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་དབང་བཞི་ཞུ་བས་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ལ་ཏུ་སྟེར་ཚུལ་མཆིར་ཆེན་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་ཚོ་གའི་སྙིང་ཟས་སུ་བྱེད་ཅིང་། བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ནུས་པ་བསྐོར་བ་གཅིག་དང་། རྫོགས་རིམ་ཐ་དག་སྟུམ་མོའི་ཁྲིད་བཅས་མཛད་པ་ཕྱག་ལེན་ཡིན་པས་དེ་རྣམས་སློ་ཁྲུག་ཏུ་ཞིས་པ་རབ་ཏུ་གསོལ་ཤིང་། འདིར་ནི་གསུང་ནས་བཤད་པའི་གོ་རིམ་ལྟར། ཚོགས་པར་

རྗེ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྤྲོད་པ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་ལ་བསྙེན་པ་འགྲོ་ཤེས་བསྐྱེད་དེ།

བདག་དང་འགྲོ་བ་ནམ་མཁའི་མཐའ་དང་མཉམ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་དུས་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་དཔལ་ལྡན་བླ་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆིའོ།། ཡི་དམ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ་×། རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་རྣམས་ལ་×། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་རྣམས་ལ་×། འཕགས་པའི་དགེ་འདུན་རྣམས་ལ་×། ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་བརྗོད་ནས། སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་ཡི་གནས་རྣམས་ཚོགས་དང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཆོག་རྣམས་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་ལན་གསུམ་གྱིས་སེམས་བསྐྱེད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ལས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་སྒྲུབ་པར་བྱའོ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྒོམ་བཟླས་ལ་འཇུག་པར་བགྱིའོ།། ལན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་སེམས་བསྐྱེད། རང་གི་སྙིང་ཁར་ཟླ་བ་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཧཱུྃ་དཀར་པོའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ལ་སྦྱར་བསྒྱུར་ཀྱི་ཐམ་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱས་པ་སྟོང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁར་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ

ས་སྤྱི་བོར་འདབ་མ་གམ་ལ་ཡེ་སྤྲུ། ནམོ་གུ་རུ་བྷྱཿ ནམཿ ཨཱ་ཙ་ཏཱ་རེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་མ་ཎྜ་ལ་ཧོཿ

གང་གི་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་བདེ་ཆེན་ཉིད། ། ཞེས་པས། བདག་ལ་འདུད་དང་། །

དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཡུམ།། འཆི་མེད་ཚེ་ཡི་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱི་ནམ།། །

འདོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རབ་སྐྱོལ་བའི། ། སྒྲོལ་མ་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བཅས་ལ་བསྟོད། །

ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་ཙ་ཏཱ་རེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨ་རྒྷཾ་པཱ་དྱཾ་པྲོཀྵ་ཎཾ་ས་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡོན་དང་། ཨ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕྱིས་པར་ལྷ་ཕྱི་བཅུག་པས་ནང་ས་བ་སེ་ལ་ཐུལ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་ཙ་ཏཱ་རེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་པཱུ་ཛ་མེ་གྷ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་ཏུ་ཨརྒྷཾ། པཱ་དྱཾ། པུཥྤེ། དྷཱུ་པེ། ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ། གནྡྷེ། ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ། ཤབྡ་པཱུ་ཛ་ཧཱུྃ། དོན་ཡོད་ལ་བ་བཞེང་བའི་མཆོད།

དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི། ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། སངས་རྒྱས་འགྲུབ་པར་ཤོག ། ལན་གསུམ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ཡུ་ཥེ་ཞེས་ཀ་ལེ་ཀ་སུ་གསོལ། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བ་དང་བདེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་དང་སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་དང་བྲལ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་མེད་པའི་བདེ་བ་དམ་པ་དང་མི་འབྲལ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག ། ཉེ་རིང་ཆགས་སྡང་དང་བྲལ་བའི་བཏང་སྙོམས་ཚད་མེད་པ་ལ་གནས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག ། ཞེས་བརྗོད། ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་གི་སེམས་ཙམ་དང་། སེམས་ཉིད་དག་པས་སྟོང་ཉིད་དུ་བསྒོམ། ཤཱུ་ནྱ་ཏཱ་མ་ཧཱ་སུ་ཁ་རང་བཞག་སྟེ། ཨོཾ་ཤཱུ་ནྱ་ཏཱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་བཛྲ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཨཱཏྨ་ཀོ྅ཧཾ། ཞེས་བརྗོད། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་མ་བཅོས་པའི་སེམས་སྐྱུ་ཧཱུྃ་གི་སྒྲ་དང་ལྡན་པ་མཁའ་གང་བ། ཧཱུྃ་ལས་རྡོ་རྗེའི་ས་གཞི། ར་གུར། དྲ་བ། མེ་དཔུང་འབར་བ་བཅས་པའི་བསྲུང་བའི་འཁོར་ལོར་གྱུར། དེའི་དབུས་སུ་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་སྣོད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱ་ཤེལ་ལས་ཀྱི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་། ཕྱོགས་སུ་པཾ་ལས་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་འདབ་མ་སྟོང་ལྡན་པ་ལ་ག་ལོ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྟེང་པོ་དང་བཅས་པ། པདྨའི་སྙིང་པོར་ཨ་ལས་ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་བཞིན་རྫོགས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་མ་དང་བྲལ་བ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད་ཏཱྃ་དཀར་པོ་ལས་འཕྲོས་པ་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོང་པོ་ཟླ་ཚེ་འབྲུལ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་ལས་མཚན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། །

འཕགས་པ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱས། སླར་འདུས་པ་གང་ཞིམ་པ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། རང་ཉིད་རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་དཀར་བ། ཞི་ཞིང་རྒྱ་ཤེལ་ལྟར་དྭངས་པ་ལ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འོད་ཟེར་ལྔ་ལྡན་དུ་འཕྲོ་བ། ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་པ་ཞི་འཛུམ་ཉམས་ཅན། ཕྱག་གཡས་པའི་འཇམ་པ་སྐར་མ་སྤྱན་བདུན་ལྡན་མ། ཕྱག་གཡས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་དང་། གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྡོང་བུའི་རྩེ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཐུགས་ཀར་འཛིན་པ་ཅིང་རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྐུ་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་འཕྲོ་བ་འབྲུ་ནི་ཡོད་པ་བརྙེས་པ། མི་ཤིང་ཆགས་པའི་ཉམས་ལྡན་པ་ཉམས་ཀྱི་འབུར་ཐུགས་མཛེས་པ། ཕྱི་དཀར་པོའི་རྩ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མཆོག་ལྡན་པ་བཞུགས་པ། སྐུ་རྒྱན། མགུལ་རྒྱན། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། དཔུང་རྒྱན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། ཞབས་གདུབ་ཅན། ཞབས་གདུབ། གཡེར་ཁའི་སྐད་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྐུ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་དུ་མས་མཛེས་པ། དར་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་དར་གྱི་སྨད་དཔྱངས་གསོལ་བ། དབུ་སྐྲ་ཡིད་འཕྲོག་པ་ལ་ཐོད་བཅིངས་པ་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་ནམ་པ་དང་བཅས་ཤིང་། གཡོན་ཟླ་བའི་ཕྱུང་ཅན་དུ་རྗེ་སྤྱི་བོ་ལ་བཀུག་པས་འཇིང་སྟུ་བརྒྱུ་བཟང་བཞུགས་པ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་དེའི་སྐུ་ཡི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར། སྤྱི་བོར་ཨོཾ་དཀར་པོ། མགྲིན་པར་ཨཱཿ་དམར་པོ། ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧཱུྃ་སྔོན་པོ། ཧཱུྃ་གི་སྙིང་ཚིམ་དུ་ཕྱག་དཀར་པོའི་བླ་མ་ལ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ། རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་ས་བོན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། རང་བཞིན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པ་བདག་ཉིད་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་རྒྷཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཡོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱ་དྱཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་ སྭཱ་ ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པའི་མཆོད་པས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། དམ་ཚིག་པ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི་ངོ་བོར་གྱུར། སླར་ཡང་རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་ས་བོན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་བརྒྱད་པ་ལྷ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་བཟླས་པ་སྤྱན་འདྲེན། ཨོཾ་ས་རྦ་ཏ་ཐཱ་ག་ཏ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥེ་ཀ་ཏ་སཾ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་ཕྱག་དབང་བསྐུར་བས་དགོང་བཞིན་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བདག་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་བར་བསྒྲུབ་ཏུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །

ཇི་ལྟར་བལྟམས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ནི། །ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་ཁྲུས་གསོལ་ལྟར།།
ལྷ་ཡི་ཆུ་ནི་དག་པ་ཡིས། །དེ་བཞིན་བདག་གིས་སྐུ་ཁྲུས་གསོལ།།

ཨོཾ་སརྦ་ཏ་ཐཱ་ག་ཏ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥེ་ཀ་ཏ་ས་མ་ཡ་ཤྲཱི་ཡེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་། ཁྲུས་པའི་རྒྱུས་དབང་བསྐུར། སྒྲིབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དག །སྒྲིབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲི་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་དག །ཆུ་ནི་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས། རིན་ཆེན་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཀྱི་དབུ་རྒྱན། ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་ཏྲཱྃ་ཧྲཱིཿཨཱཿ ཞེས་པས་སྐུ་ལ་བཀོད་པར་བཞེད། །

ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་མིན་ཅོད་པན་གྱིས། །ཞབས་ཀྱི་པདྨ་ལ་བཏུད་དེ། །
ཕོངས་པ་ཀུན་ལས་སྒྲོལ་མཛད་མ། །སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

བསྟོད་པའོ། །རང་གི་སྙིང་གར་པད་ཟླའི་གདན་ལ། གཡོན་ཏཱཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོའི་མཐར་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་བཀོད་པའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་འཕགས་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་མཆོད་བྱས། མཐར་སྔོན་དུ།
ཨོཾ་བདག་མེད་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཅུད་ལེན་ཏེ་ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག་ཏུ། ཞེས་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་སྟོན་དང་། སྤྲོས་བསྡུ་ལ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་
རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་གསལ་བ་ལ་བཏབ། མགོན་སྐྱབས་ཕྱོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་
སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཕྱིར་མི་ལོག་པའི་དོན་བྱས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་
ཐུགས་རྗེ་བྱིན་རླབས་རྣམས་སྤྲུར་བསྡུས། འོད་ཟེར་རྣམས་ས་བོན་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཐིམ་པས། བཀྲག་མདངས་གཟི་བརྗིད་རས་རྒྱ་བས་
བའི་རྣམ་པར་གྱུར། སྤྲོ་བསྡུ་འདི་དམིགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ལ་གནས་བཞིན་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་པ་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་བསྒྲེ་སྒྲེང་བཟློའོ།།
ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུཿ་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་སྙིང་པོའི་ཚིག་དང་བཅས་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ལས་སྤྲུལ་བསྒོམས་སོ།།བསྙེན་པ་སོགས་སྤྲུལ་བཞིའི་ཉམས་
འཛིན་ལ་འབད་པའི། བཟླས་པའི་ངོ་བོ་ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱ་པ་ལ་ཕྱེད་ཉིད་ཀྱང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་མཆེས་སུ་སྤྲོ་སྔ་ཚིག་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡང་བསྒྲུ་རྟ་བསྒྲུད་དེ་བཟླ་
བའོ།། རྒྱུན་གྱི་བཟླས་པ་ལ་ནི། སྤྲོ་ཚིག་དང་བཅས་པ་གཙོ་བར་བཟླ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དགེ་བ་འདི་ཡིས་མྱུར་དུ་བདག །སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་འགྲུབ་གྱུར་ནས། །
འགྲོ་བ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ལུས་པ། །དེ་ཡི་ས་ལ་འགོད་པར་ཤོག །

༄ འདིའི་རྗེས་གཏང་རག་ནི། བདག་བསྐྱེད་སྔར་བཞིན་དུ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་སོགས་བཏང་ནས། ཐེམ་སྐྱུ་གྲུབ། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཚང་ལ་གཞི་མཆུལ་ལ་ཆུ་ལ་སོགས་གདན་ཀར་
ཡོངས་མཐུ་འདབས་རྒྱས་བྲིས། ལྷ་གསལ་ཆུལ་ཚོན་དཀར་པོས་མ། འཁྱུད་དཀར་པོའི་ཆོ་མ་ཁུ་བཀོད། དཀར་གཏོར་གཅིག་དང་མཆོད་པ་ཕྲམས། རང་གི་མཐུ
དུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་ཐུ། མི་དམིགས་པ་ཡང་བའི་རྟོག །དང་ཆོས་ཉིད་བཟང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས། ཀུན་གྱི་འཚོར་ཡང་དང་བཅས་པ་འདུས་པ་ལ། དུང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལ་བརྗེད་
ནས། ཨོཾ་ཨ་མྲི་ཏ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ། ལས་རེ་གཅིག་ནས། བརྒྱ་ཤུ་ཀྲོ་མ་བརླབ་ཤིང་། སེམས་མ་འདི་ཡི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཤའི་འཇོག་ཡང་བསྒྲུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནི་བམ་ངོས་རྒྱུ་སྦྱར་མ་ཡེ
ནོ།། ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཉིད་བཞག་པ་དང་བར་རྡེ་སྣང་བ་སོགས་ལ་གཏོར། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ཀུ་ཎྜ་ལི་ཧ་ན་ཧ་ན་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་ཞེས་བསངས། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཱཿསརྦ་
དྷརྨཱཿསྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ་ཞེས་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་གནས་ཁང་སྟོང་ལས་ཡིན་པ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཡངས་ཤིང་། ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཞལ་ཟས་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞལ་མེད་ཁང་
མཚན་ཉིད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་དབུས་སུ། ཨོཾ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྣོད་ཡངས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་དུ། ཧཱུྃ་ཞུ་བ་ལས
བྱུང་བའི་ལྷ་རྫས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་མཆོད་ཡོན། ཞབས་བསིལ། མེ་ཏོག །བདུག་སྤོས། མར་མེ། དྲི་ཆབ། ཞལ་ཟས། རོལ་མོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མཆོད་
རྫས་རྣམས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན། མཆོད་པའི་རྣམས་ཟག་མེད་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་བྱེད་པས་ནམ་མཁའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར། །
ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱ་དྱཾ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་དྷཱུ་པེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་གནྡྷེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ནཻ་ཝི་དྱེ

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

གསང་སྔགས་མཆོག་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ །   །འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁྱང་རྒྱ་བ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཡིས། །
སྒྲུབ་པ་ལས་རྒྱས་གསུང་ལས་པས །   །དེ་ཡོན་འདི་ཉིད་འགྲུབ་པར་ཐུ། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ལྡན་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས། གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས་ཐར་ལམ་ལ་འགོད་པའི་ཐབས་བཟང་མཆོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་ར་བཞེད་ནས། ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་གསུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གི་སྒོ་གཉིས་སུ་འབྱེད། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་དང་། འབྲས་བུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པ་གཉིས་སུ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་ལ་བསྐལ་པ་གྲངས་མེད་གསུམ་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས། རང་ལ་མཚོན་པ་ལ་གཉིས་ནས་རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ་བའི་ལམ་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཉེ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། འབྲས་བུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ལ་ཚེ་གཅིག་ལུས་གཅིག་ལ་མངོན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་པས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལམ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ལ་མཁྱེན་པ་བརྩོན་པ་འདི་ལ་མ་ཞུགས་ན་མི་འགྲུབ་པར་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ཡང་དག་པའི་བླ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་རྗེས་སུ་བཟུང་བ་ཐུགས་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་ལམ་ཟབ་མོ་ཡོད་པས། ལམ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཆོག་དམ་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ཤེས་པར་བྱས་ལ། དོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་བསྙེན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཐབས་ལ་ཐུན་ཐུན་ཅིག་ཏུ་མཉམ་པ་བཞིན་རྣམ་པ་དེ་སྐད་དུ་བརྗོད་པ་དང་བསྟན་པའི་གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལ་བཀའ་ཆགས་ཅི་ཐེབས་ཞིག་མཛད་ནས། དེ་ཡི་ཚི་འགྲོ་ང་ཏུ་སླེབས་ནས་སྤྱར་མཆོད་པ་བར་བཞི་མཐུ་ཡོག་འགྲོ་བ་དང་མཚུངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྡོ་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ།

འདི་ཕྱིར་ཐབས་མང་ལས་རྒྱས་སྐུ་བགྲོད་པ་ལ །   །ཐབས་མི་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཐེག་དང་ཡར་སྦྱིན་ཐེག །
རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་ཡོད་གསང་སྔགས་འབྲས་བུ་ཡི །   །ཤེས་རབ་ཕྱིན་པར་འབབ་པ་ཡིན་པ་རྗེས། །
ཉི་མ་བླ་བསྒྲུབ་རྒྱུ་འབྲུ་གྲགས །   །རྗེ་གང་དེ་བཞིན་པའི་ཚིག་ཀྱང་འདོད་བཞིན་ཏོ། །
ཐབས་མི་རིག་ལམ་འདི་ཡི་སྒྲུབ་ཅིག་ཅེས །   །ཆོས་ལ་བར་མི་བྱེད་མཁས་པའི་གྲུབ་འདོད་ནས། །
དེ་འདྲ་དེ་ཡང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་ཡིན་ན །   །དེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་དབང་པོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཕོག་། །
ཤེས་བྱ་ཐོབ་ཐབས་དཀའ་བ་བཞིན་མེད་པའི་ལམ། །   །འདི་འདྲ་ཡལ་བར་རྡོར་བཀོད་མ་མཆོར། །
དེ་ཉིད་ཕྱིར་ན་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཐེག་པ་མཆོག   །སངས་རྒྱས་ལམ་ཁྱད་དགོན་པའི་རྟོགས། །
རྡོ་རྗེ་བཟླས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞི་ཆུ་གྲུབ་བཞི་ཕྱིར། །   །རྒྱུ་ནས་བསམ་བཟང་པ་ཏུ་མ་རྒྱུ་བསྒྲུབས། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། སངས་རྒྱས་བཞིན་ཉིད་ཏུ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཕྱང་ཆེས་དགོན་པ་ཞིང་བྲལ་ལྟ་སྒྲུབ་ཐེག་པའི་མཆོར་རྒྱ། ཀ་རྒྱུ་བཅུ་ཡང་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་ལ་སྒྲུབ་དགོས་པ་ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་ཡང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་སྒོར་ཞུགས་པའི་སྒོ་སྐྱང་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཏུ་མཐེག་ཚང་དགོས་པས། སྒོ་སྐྱང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་ནི། འདུས་པའི་བཤད་རྒྱུད་དོ་རྗེ་ཕྲེང་བ་ལས།

སློབ་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་གང་ལྡན་པ །   །རྣམ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྣོད་དུ་འགྱུར། །

ཞེས་སྨྲས་པའི་ལས་རྒྱུ།

དད་ཅིང་བླ་མ་ལ་ཡང་གུས །   །ཚོགས་པར་ནུས་པ་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱང་། །
ཁྱུང་མེ་མཁའ་ཉོན་མ་ལ་དང་ །   །གསོད་པ་དང་ནི་འཆི་བ་སྤྱང་། །
ཉོན་རྒྱུ་དགེ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་གནས །   །སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་བདེན་པའི་བློས། །
   ཀུན་རྒྱ་བརྩོན་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན ། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡི་རིང་ལྡན་པར་སྤྲུལ་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་ལ་དད་པ། བླ་མ་ལ་གུས་པ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤང་བ་ཤིང་། ལྟ་སྤྱོད་གསུམ་ལ་བརྟན་པ་ཐོབ་པར་ལྡན་པ། སེམས་ཅན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཅིས་མཐར་བར་མི་བཟོད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཕུག་མ་དྲག་དང་ལྡན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཐབས་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་ཡོད་དགོས་ཏེ་མཚོན་གྱིས་དང་ལྡན་གོ་ཡང་

གསང་སྔགས་མ་རྟོགས་ལོག་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ། ། །བརྟེན་ནས་ཁྲང་རྒྱ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་ཡིས། །
ཀླུ་ཤ་མང་ལ་རྒྱས་གསུང་ལ་པ་ལས། ། །དེ་རྟོགས་འདི་རུ་ཞི་འགྲེ་བར་ཆ། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ལྡན་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས། གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས་ཐར་ལམ་ལ་སྦྱོར་མེད་པའི་ཐབས་བཟང་མཆོག་ཏུ་ཕྱིར་པར་བཞེད་ནས། ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་བཀའ་སྩལ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གི་སྡེ་སྣོད་གཉིས་སུ་འདུ་ཞིང་། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་པའི་ཐེག་པ་དང་། འབྲས་བུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པ་གཉིས་སུ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པའི་ཐེག་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ས་ལམ་བགྲོད་པ་ལ་བསྐལ་པ་གྲངས་མེད་དགོས་པ་སྟེ། ཐབས་ལམ་ཟབ་མོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ནི་ཞུམ་པ་མེད་དེ་ཞིང་། འབྲས་བུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་སྐོར་བརྒྱུད་མ་ནི་དམ་ཚིག་དང་སྡོམ་པ་ཙམ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཚེ་གཅིག་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ལམ་གྱི་བགྲོད་མ་འདྲེས་མི་དགོས་པར་རང་བཞིན་མི་རྟོག་པ་ལ་བབ་ཏུ་ནས་གཞན་ཟབ་དབང་པོ་རབ་ཀྱིས་སྐྱེ་བ་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཕྲུང་གཅིག་ལ་འཚང་རྒྱ་བ་ཐེག་པའི་ཡང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་འགྲུབ་པ་ཡོད་པས། ལམ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་དམ་ཆེ་ཆད་པར་ཤེས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་ལ། རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཡི་དེ་ཆེ་ཕྲལ་ལྡན་གཅིག་མཆོག་མཐུན་བའི་དུས་འདིར་འབྱང་ཐེག་ཉམས་པ་དང་བསྟན་པའི་གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལ་བག་ཆགས་ཅི་ཕྲེང་སྐོར་མ་ཐུབ་ས། དེ་ཡི་ཚེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་གསལ་ནས་སྣང་བ་མེད་པ་རང་ལ་ཕྱི་མ་དུ་ཡོད་དགོས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྗེ་བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོས།

འདི་ལྟར་རྟོགས་ན་མང་རྒྱས་སུ་བགྲོད་པ་ལ། ། །ཐབ་མོ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་དང་པར་ཕྱིན་ཐེག །
རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་ཡོད་གསང་སྔགས་པར་ཕྱིན་ལས། །ཤིན་ཏུ་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས། །
ཉི་མ་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་བུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་གྲགས། ། །ཚིག་དེ་བདེན་པའི་ཚིག་ཏུ་འདོད་པ་ཞིན་ཏུ། །
ཐབ་མོ་དེ་ཡི་ལམ་འདི་ཅི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཅེས། ། །ཚོ་ལ་བར་མི་ཕྱེད་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་ཁྱབ་བརྗོད་པ། །
དེ་ལྟར་དེ་ཡང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་ཡིན་ན། ། །དེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་དབང་པོ་རྣོ་བ་ཡོད། །
ཤིན་ཏུ་འཕྲུལ་དཀའ་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་ལམ། ། །འདི་ལྟར་ཡལ་བར་རྫོགས་ན་ཡེ་མམ་མཆོར། །
དེ་ཉིད་ཕྱིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཐེག་པ་མཆོག །སངས་རྒྱས་ལས་ཀྱང་དགོས་པའི་སྙིང་། །
དངོས་གྲུབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཏེར་ཆེན་འགྲུབ་བ་ཡིན། ། །ཐུགས་ནས་བཅད་པ་ཏུ་མ་ལ་སྣང་དུ་སྨྲས། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། སངས་རྒྱས་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་བྱོན་པ་ཡང་བྱུང་ཆེས་དཀོན་པ་ཡིན་བས་ཐུབ་པ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་གཅིག་པའི་ནང་ནས་ཀྱང་གསང་སྔགས་ལ་ཆེ་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་ལ་བཀའ་དགོས་པ་ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་རང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱིད་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་མཐོང་ཚད་དགོས་པས། སྐྱིད་སྐྱ་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་ནི། འདུས་པའི་བཤད་རྒྱུད་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕྲེང་བ་ལས།

སྔོན་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་གང་ལྡན་ས། ། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་དུ་འགྱུར། །

ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ལས་ཏུ།

དད་ཅིང་བླ་མ་ལ་ཡང་གུས། ། །རྟོགས་པར་ཐན་པ་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱངས། །
ཁྱུང་ཤེ་མང་དུ་ཐོས་པ་དང་། ། །གསོད་པ་དང་ནི་འཚེ་བ་སྤངས། །
ཀུན་ཏུ་དགེ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་གནས། ། །སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ནི་འདྲེན་པའི་བློས། །
ཀུན་ཏུ་བཅོམ་ལྡན་ཡང་དག་སྨྲ། ། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡི་དང་ཁྱད་པར་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་ལ་དད་པ། བླ་མ་ལ་གུས་པ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤངས་ཤིང་། སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་གསུམ་ལ་མང་དུ་ཐོས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ། སེམས་ཅན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཅན་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་བར་མི་བཟོད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཤུགས་དྲག་དང་ལྡན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཐབས་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་དུ་མ་ཤེས་དང་ལྡན་དགོས་པར

ཟབ་དབྱིང་། ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་དག་ལས་དང་པོ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་རང་འགྱུར་ལས་སུ་མི་འབྱུང་བས་ན། རྣམ་ཕྱེ་ས་རྒྱ་སྦྱོང་དགོས་ཤིང་། དེའི་རྩལ་ཡང་། ངང་པོར་མཚོན་ན་ཉིད་དང་ལྡན་པའི་དགེ་བའི་ཤེས་གཉེན་ཞིག་མཉེས་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་མཉེས་པར་བྱས། དེས་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྟན་པ་ལྟར་གྱི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ངོ་ཞིང་ཉིད་དཀར་བའི་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ལ་བསམ་སྒོ། དཔལ་བའི་ཉེན་ལ་སྙིང་པོ་མེད་པའི་འཁོར་བ་ཡེ་རྒྱ་མ་ན། སྙིང་པོ་ལྡན་པའི་མཆོག་ནི། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཅིང་། སེམས་དེ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ། དེའི་མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་རྣམ་ཕྱེ་ས་བསལ་ནས། གོམས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཡན་ལག་དང་མ་བྲལ་བ་གོམས་པ་ཞིག་དགོས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ལས་དེས་བསྒྲུབ་ཞེས།

མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གནོད་མེད་ན། །སེམས་ལ་དེ་བཞག་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར། ཞེས་དང་།
རང་གི་རིགས་མཐུན་སྣ་མ་ཡི། །ས་བོན་ལ་ནི་བཞེད་པ་ཅན། །
བརྟེན་པ་ལ་སོགས་སྣོད་དེ་དག །གོམས་པར་གྱུར་ན་གང་ཞིག་གནས།།

ཞེས་ཐམས་སྒྲོང་རྡེ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དང་བརྩམས་པའི་མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་རྣམ་ཕྱེ་ས་སེལ་དགོས་ཤིང་། མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་ཡང་། ཚེ་འདི་འི་ལྟ་ཚོགས་ལ་ཞེན་ན་བློག་པ་ཆེ་རྒྱང་ཀ་དགེ་བའང་ལམ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་མི་ནུས་པས། འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་དེ་རིང་ཙ་མི་གནས་པའི་འཆི་བ་མི་རྟག་པ་དྲན་པ་དང་། ཤི་བའི་འོག་ཏུ་ངན་སོང་གསུམ་དུ་འཁྱམས་དགོས་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་ངན་འགྲོའི་འཇིགས་པ་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པའི་ནུས་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཡོད་པར་ཤེས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། སྐྱབས་འགྲོའི་བསླབ་བྱ་ལ་སློབ་པ་དང་། དེ་ཡང་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མི་དགེ་བའི་ལས་བསགས་ན། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་རྗེ་ཚེ་ཡང་བཟང་ས་ཤེས་པ་བྲལ་ཏུ་མེད་ནས་ངན་འགྲོའི་འཇིགས་པ་ལས་སྐྱོབ་མི་ནུས་པས་ན་བདེ་ལེགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་ལས་འབྲས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཀྱི་དད་པ་བསྐྱེད་ནས། སྡིག་སྤོང་དགེ་སྒྲུབ་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་སོགས་སྒོ་ས་ཐུ་རྫུང་ང་རྡུ་དང་བྱུང་མོང་བའི་ལམ་ལ་བློ་ཞིག་ས་པར་སྦྱངས། དེ་རྗེས་སུ་འཁོར་བར་སྐྱོ་བའི་ངེས་འབྱུང་རྣམས་བསམ་སྒོ་ཡིད་བྱར་པའི་ལམ་དུ་ཕྱོགས་པར་བྱས། དེ་ཡང་རང་ཉིད་ག་ཅིག་བུ་འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་པ་ཙམ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་ཚོག་པར། པ་ཆེན་སློབ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས། མར་ཤེས་བསྒོམ་རྩལ་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

སྐྱེ་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ནི། །འབྱུང་ཐུབ་དབང་པོ་སྤྱོད་གནས། །
ཤེས་སོགས་ཡུང་དང་རིགས་པ་ཡི། །ཐབས་མཁས་བརྒྱུ་ཕྲག་བསྒོམ་པར་བྱ།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། གཏག་པའི་ཡ་མཐའ་ཐོག་མེད་དུ་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་ཐོག་མ་མེད་པར་བསྒྲུབས། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ན་རེ་ཅིག་མ་ཡིན་པར་མ་གྱུར་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་ངེས་པ་བརྟན་པོ་སྐྱེད་པར་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། དེ་ཉིད་བདྲིན་ཅན་པ། དྲིན་དུ་གཟོ་བ། ཡིད་འོང་གི་བྱམས་པ། སྙིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ། ལྷག་བསམ་རྣམ་དག་དང་བཅས་པ་མཚན་ཉིད་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་ནུས་པས། རྒྱུ་དྲུག་འབྲས་བུ་གཅིག་གི་སྒོ་ནས་འབྲས་བུ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་སེམས་བརྩོན་མ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཞི་བ་ལྷ་གསུངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ལས་བཤད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལྟར་ཐབས་མཁས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་བདག་གཞན་བོ་བསྒྲེ། དེ་ལྟར་ལམ་ཐུན་མོང་བ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཤེས་པར་སྦྱངས་ཟིན་པ་ན། ལམ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པ་ལ་མཐའ་ཞིག་པར་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་སྒོར་འཇུག་དགོས་ཤིང་། དེ་ལ་ཡང་། གསང་སྔགས་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་བླ་མའི་བསྟེན་ཚུལ་རྣམས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་མཁྱེན་ན། ཕྱི་ལས་ཉིན་ཆེ་བར་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་དུ་མ་ནས་བཤད་པ། ཐོག་མར་ཐམ་མ་བརྒྱ་པ་ཉིད་ནས། དེ་ནས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་གྱི་བླ་མའི་བསྟེན་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ལ་ཁྱབ་ཞེན་པ་བསྟེན་པ་ཞིག་བྱས། དེ་རྗེས་སུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་སློབ་དཔོན་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་ལྡན་པའི་དྲུང་དུ་སྨིན་བྱེད་དབང་བཞི་ཐོབ་ནས་ངེས་ཀྱིས་དབང་བཞིའི་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་ཞིག་ནོད་ཅིང་། དབང་དུས་སུ་ཁས་བླངས་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་དང་སྡོམ་པ་ལ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚང་ཟླ་ཅིག་ནས། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་འོག་མ་ལྟར་ན་མཚན་བཅས་མཚན་མེད་ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་གཉིས་དང་། བླ་མེད་ལྟར་ན་རིམ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ལ། གང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལམ་སྒྲུབ་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་དེའི་ཡི་ཤེས་རང་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེ་བའི་སྐྱ་འདྲེན་ཆེད་རྗེས་གཞན་དང་། སྐྱབ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཕྱུང་བཙས་ཐོབ་པ་ཞིག་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བ་ཡིན་པས། དེས་ན་སྔགས་ཐབས་ལ་ཤེས་ཕྱིན་གཞུང་འདི་རབ་མཁའ་ལྕམ་པ་ཡིད་རིང་ཆེན་པོའི་ཕྱག་ཀྱི་སྤྱིའི་ཀུ་ར་ཡོད་བཞིན་པ་བཙོང་པོའི་རྗེས་ཤུ་གཞུང་བཟང་པོ་ལྟ་ང་བ་སྤྲུགས་

བསམ་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་བླ་ན་མེད་པ་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་པར་བྱ། དེ་མ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཡང་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་བགེགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྐྱེན་ངན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བ་དང་། བསམ་པའི་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་གེགས་མེད་པར་འགྲུབ་ཅིང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཚེ་ལ་བགེགས་སྐྱེ་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་འཆི་མེད་ཚེ་ཡི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པར་བྱ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཟབ་ཅིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ཐམས་མཁའ་ལས་མ་སྦྱོང་མདོ་ཀ་ར་མོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཟབ་མོ་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་མཆོག་ཏུ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། ཆོས་གསན་པའི་ཀུན་སློང་ཡང་མདོ་རྒྱུད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ནས་ཇི་སྐད་བཀའ་བསྩལ་བ་ལྟར་ལེགས་པར་གསལ་བ་བཀའ་བ་ཟབ་པ་སྤྱོད་པར་མཛད་པ་ལ། འདིར་གྲུབ་པའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ངག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་གྲགས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཞབས་མཐའ་མགོས་སྐྱོང་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་གཏན་ཏུ་གཟིགས་པ་དེས། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་མང་པོ་ཐོས་གསུངས་པའི་ཚེ་སྒྲུབ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྒྲིགས་པ་འདི་འཆི་བསླུ་ཆེན་མོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སྒྲོལ་བ་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པ་ལ་ཞལ་བཀྲ་བཙུན་པ་ཞིག་མཛད། དེའི་འཕྲིན་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་གསལ་བར་བཀོད་པ། སློབ་དཔོན་དེ་ནི་སློབ་མ་ཡ་ཧེ་ཏ་ཟླ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་དེ་ལོགས་སུ་ཕྱུང་བའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་རྒྱང་མཛད། དེ་ཚེ་ལ་འདི་འདི་གཞུང་གི་རྩ་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེ་ཉིད་ལ་བཅན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རྒྱས་ཇི་བཞིན་དཔལ་ལ་ཕྱག་ནས་ཏེ་པ་ཏི་ལུགས་དང་། བར་འབྱུང་གཉིས་ཕྱག་ཡང་ཀ་བ་རི་ལུགས། ཕྱི་རབ་འབྱོར་ནགས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བཞེད་པ་ནི་བརྒྱུད་ཏེ་ལུགས་པའི་ཡོད་པ་ལས། འདི་སྣ་འགྱུར་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་དབང་བསྐུར་བ་ལགས་གསེར་གླིང་པས་གསན། དེ་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རྗེས་གསན། ཇོ་བོ་བོད་དུ་མང་དུ་གཤང་ནས་བཞུགས། འདི་བྲོམ་སྟོན་ལས་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ནར་ཐང་བས་སྤྱན་ལྔ་བོ་ཕྱུགས་པ་དང་། བཀའ་གདམས་པས་ཕྱག་ལེན་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། མན་ངག་གི་ངོ་བོ་ཡང་ཕྱེ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་། འདི་དེ་གཉིས་ཀ་བརྒྱུད་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་འདུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཕ་ཁ་རྣམས་སྤྱོད་དུ་སོང་། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སྐལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྗེས་གནང་ཟབ་མོ་ཞུ་བའི་ཡོན་དུ་མཎྜལ་ཕུལ་མཛོད། ཞེས་བཤད། སློབ་མས་ཀྱང་མཎྜལ་ཕུལ། དེ་ལྟར་མཎྜལ་ཕུལ་ནས་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་འདི་ལྟར་མཛོད།

རྗེ་བཙུན་འཕགས་མ་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ། །བདག་གི་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕན་ལ་དོན་ཆེ། ། །

གཙོ་ཆེན་ཁྱེད་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་ཀྱི། །མ་ལུས་རྗེས་གཟུང་སྐྱབས་སུ་གསོལ། །

ལན་གསུམ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱུན་བཤགས་སྦྱོན་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པའི། སློབ་དཔོན་དང་མདུན་བསྐྱེད་གཉིས་ཀ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྐུ་རྣམ་པ་ལ་བསྒོམ་པའི་སྙིང་ག་ཅ་ལ་བཞུད་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ཡིད་མདུན་གྱི་འཁོར་གྱི་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་རྒྱས་ཐང་སེམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཞུགས་པ་བར་བསམ་ལ། སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་འདུན་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་འདི་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་མཛོད། མངའ་རྒྱས་ཆོས་དང་ཚོགས་ལ་ཡན་གསུམ། སྡིག་པ་བཤགས་པ་དང་། དགེ་བ་ལ་ཡི་རང་བ། སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་དང་སྨོན་པ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དང་འཇུག་པ་སེམས་པ་དང་། ལེགས་པར་བསྔོ་བ་རྣམས་བཟློད་སྤྱད་པ་ལ་ཡིད་ལ་ཕྱུགས་པ་ཚིག་གི་རྗེས་བཟླས་མཛོད། དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི། སོགས་ལན་གསུམ། རྗེས་གནང་དངོས་ལ་དམིགས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱང་བསྐུལ། དེའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ་བས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྒྲོལ་མའི་གཟུགས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས། ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྒྲུབ་པར་ཤོག ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། སློབ་མའི་ངང་ལ་ཡང་ཐིམ་པ་གདན་ལ་བཞེད་དེ་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཞུགས་ཏེ་རང་ཉིད་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོར་གྱུར་པར་མོས་པ་གཅིག་དགོས་པས། ཨོཾ་པདྨོ་ཤེ་ཡ་སྦ་ར་ཏྲ་ཙ་སྲི་ཀ་ཧཱུཾ་ཨཱ་སོགས་ཞལ་ཅན། ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་འདི་ཡང་ཐུ་ཙ་བའི་ཨ་ཀུ་ཏུ་ཨ་ཀུ་ཏུ་ཞེས་པའི་སྔགས་ཆུ་རྒྱུན་དང་ཕྱུང་བས་ཐུབ་དབང་ཞིང་གི། ཐ་ཡིན་པའི་མཐའ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་དང་ལྕེ་མས་པ་ཡི་རྣམ་པ་ཀྱང་སེམས་ལ་བཙུགས་པར་བཀྱེད་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཡི་དམ་ཐུབ་པ་ཁྲུས་ཀྱིས་ཐམས་སུ་གསོལ་ཅིང་། རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྣ་ཡིས་མ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལྷ་བ་དང་ཡང་ཐར་པར་རྒྱུད་གཅིག རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཆགས་པའི་ཉམས་ལ་ལྡན་ཞུ་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱུན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཛད་པ། ཀྱཻ་གང་ཀ་ར་བོ་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཕྱུག་ཅེ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱུག་རྒྱན། སྐུ་རྒྱན། མགུལ་རྒྱན། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། དཔུང་རྒྱན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། སྐེ་རྒྱན། ཞབས་གདུབ། གཡེར་ཁའི་ཕྲེང་བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་དུ་མས་མཛེས་པ། དར་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་དར་གྱི་སྨད་དཀྲིས་ཅན། དབུ་སྐྲ་ལ་ཅིག་སྣ་པར་བཅིངས་པའི་སྐུ་ར་ཐོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་གསོལ་ཞིང་། གསེར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ཅན་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་གིས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་སྐུ་ལ་ཁྲུས་ཀྱིས་བཀྲུས་ནས་ཕྱག་ནི་གཅིག ། རི་བོང་ཅན་གྱི་བཞུགས་པའི་རྒྱབ་ཡོལ

ཙན་དུ་གྱུར། དཔྲལ་བར་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཨོཾ་དཀར་པོ། མགྲིན་པར་པདྨ་ལ་ཨཱཿདམར་པོ། ཐུགས་ཀར་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཧཱུྃ་སྔོན་པོ། ཧཱུྃ་གི་མཐར་ཙམ་རྒྱ་ཡིད་དཀར་དང་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ། དེ་ནས་སྙིང་པོའི་ཞལ་ལས་མོས་གུས་དྲག་པོས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། སྙིང་པོའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྲིན་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྲུལ་ནས། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་ཐིམ། སྤྱི་གཙུག་ནས་རི་བོ་བྱ་ལ་ནས། རྒྱ་བཙུན་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱིལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུའི་རྒྱ་ལྷ་ཡི་དྲུང་དུ་སེམས་དཔའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཐིམ། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ལ་ཐིམ། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་པོ་དང་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡི་སྐུ་མདོག་དཀར་པོ་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་པ། རྒྱན་དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། ཡང་རྒྱང་རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་ཚོ་མ་བཞུགས་པ་ཞིག་མི་འགྱུར་བཞིན་དུ་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ་པར་མོས་པ་ཐོབ་ཐུབ་ལ། དེ་ནས་སྒྲོལ་མའི་སྒྲོལ་རྒྱུད་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ཞེས་སྔགས་བཟླས་པ་དང་། སྒྲོལ་མའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ་ལ་སོགས་པ། ཞེས་པ་ལན་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་བཟླས་པའི་མཐར་བསྟོད་པ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་བྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་རིམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད། ཡང་སྒྲུབ་པ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་མདོ་ཆོག་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ་པར་མོས་པ་ཐོབ་ཐུབ་ལ། ཡང་ན་ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་འབྲུ་རྣམས་ལ་དམིགས་པ་ཙམ་ཞིག་གིས་ཆོག་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ་ཡིས་གྲུབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་བསྡུས་ནས་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ་པར་བསམ་ལ། འདི་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་བཟླས་པ་མཛོད། ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་དང་། བྱ་བ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཚོགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་བཟླས་པ་འདུས། རིམ་པ་ལྟར་ཕྱག་བཟླས་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐོབ། འདི་ཡང་བཟླས་པ་བཞིན་མཐོང་ཐུབ། ཡང་སྒྲུབ་པ་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་བ་དང་དངོས་གྲུབ་མི་ཐོབ་པས། བཟླས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་རུ་དམ་བཅའ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་སྒྲུབ་དེ། ཚུལ་འདི་ནས་བཟླས་པ་སྔོན་དུ་འགྲོ། ཇི་སྲིད་བྱང་ཆུབ་མ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བར་དུ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་བཟུང་ནས། དེའི་ཉམས་ལེན་སྒྲུབ་པ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་ཤེས་པར་བྱ་སྟེ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་འབྲལ་མེད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ། འདི་ནི་མཆིས་པར་བཟླ་སྒྲུབ་པ་བས་འདིའི་རྗེས་སུ་སྐྱོས་མཛོད། ཚོགས་བསྐྱེད་བ་ཐུགས་སྔགས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་བཞིན་དང་། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་བདག་ལ་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ། བདག་མིང་འདི་ཞེས་བགྱི་བ་འདྲེས་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ། ཇི་སྲིད་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་པོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་བཟུང་ངོ་། དེའི་གསུང་སྔགས་ཉིད་རིམ་པ་ཚེ་ཐུབ་རིམ་བཟླ་བར་བགྱི་བ་ལ་ཆགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཁ་ཞེ་གསུམ། དེ་ལྟར་སྔགས་བཟླས་པ་དང་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཚེ་འཛིན་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ཡིན་མོད་ཀྱི། ཡོངས་སུ་བ་མང་པོར་འཇུག་པས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པ་ཞིག་གིས། སྟ་མདང་ལྟ་བ་ཡིན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་གཉེན་ཡག་བཀའ་ཞིག་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཡིན། ཡིན་ཀྱིས་བཟླས་པས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཚད་དགོས་པས། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ལ་མི་རྟོག་འཛིན་བཞིན་དུ་འདི་ལ་རྗེས་སྐྱོས་མཛོད།

བཅོམ་ལྡན་བདག་ལ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཡིས། །འདས་ལ་དགེ་བར་མཛོད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཞེས་པ་ལན་གསུམ། དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱུལ་བའི་མི་རྟོག་དེ་ཉིད་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཕྲེང་དུ་ཡིན་པའི་བཟླས་ཀྱི། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་ཁར་གཏོར་བས། སྤྱི་གཙུག་གི་སྒོ་ནས་ཐུགས་ཏེ། སྐྱེད་གར་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལ་ཐིམ་པ་ཞིང་། ཡིན་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད། མི་རྟོག་སྤྱི་བོར་གཏོར་ཏེ།

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདི་ལ་སྒྲུབ་པས་ཀྱི། །འདི་ལ་བགེགས་མེད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཞེས་པ་ལན་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་གར་གཏོར་ཏེ།

ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྩལ་དུ་གསོལ། །བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་བརྟན་པར་མཛོད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཧྲཱིཿ སློབ་མ་འདི་ཡི་རྒྱུད་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་ཡི་གསུང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ནུས་མཐུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་འཇུག་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག། དེ་ལ་གསུང་གི་རྗེས་གནང་ཐོབ་པ་ལགས་སོ། ཡང་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་བརྒྱུད་བསྐུལ། ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། མཁའ་ཁྱབ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕྱག་མཚན་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོ་གྲངས་མེད་པའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོ་བའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཐིམ། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ལ་མོས་གུས་དུང་བཅས། དེ་ཉིད་རང་གི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཐིམ། འོད་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཞུ་བ་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཞུགས་ཏེ་སྙིང་གར་ཐིམ། དེ་ལྟར་དེ་ལ་སེམས་ཀྱི་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པའི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱངས་ཏེ། ཐུགས་ཟད་མཐའ་ཡས་ཞིག་མཛོད། ཅེས་བརྗོད་ལ་ཐུགས་བྱིན་མི་རྟོག་པ་སྤྲོས་དུ་འཇུག། དེས་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་གནང་ཐོབ་པ་ལགས་སོ། དེ་དག་གི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་ཐོབ་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་དང་སྡོམ་པ་བསྲུང་ལྟ་མ་པས་འདི་ཡི་རྗེས་སྙོམས་མཛོད། འདི་མན་ཆད་ཉིན་གཅིག་ལ་རྗེས་གནང་དུ་མ་བྱེད་ན་རྗེས་མའི་མཎྜལ་དུ་བརྗོད། སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་བསྒོར་མི་དགོས།

གཙོ་མོ་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་བཀའ་སྐྱ་ལ་པ ། །དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་གིས་བགྱི། །

ཡན་ལག་གསུམ། བཀའ་དྲིན་བཀའ་དང་དགེ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་མཐུ་ཡུལ་མཛད། ཅེས་བརྗོད་ལ། སློབ་མ་རྣམས་མཎྜལ་དབུལ། རང་གི་ལུས་དང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་དགེ་བའི་རྩ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྷ་དང་བླ་མ་ལ་འབུལ། ཚ་གསལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་དུ་གསོལ་བ་སྨྲ་མ་པས་འདི་ཡི་རྗེས་སྙོམས་མཛོད།

དེ་ལྟར་བཅས་མ་སྤྲེ་བདག་བྱིན་དུ ། །ཁྱོད་ལ་བདག་གི་འབུལ་བ་ཕུལ་ལགས་ཀྱི། །

ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་སློབ་མར་བཟུང་བ་དང ། །ཚ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་སྤྱོད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཡན་ལག་གསུམ། བསོད་ནམས་འདི་ཡིས་སོགས་དང་། སྨོན་ལམ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་ཚིགས་བཅད་ཅི་རིགས་པ་བརྗོད། དེས་སློབ་མ་རྗེས་སུ་འཛིན་པའི་ཆོ་ག་རྫོགས་པ་ཡིན། རྗེས་ཆོག་ནི། མཆོད་པ་རྣམས་ཁ་གསོལ་ལ། བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་ནས་མཆོད།

འཁོར་བ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་ཏཱ་རེ་མ ། །ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཡིས་འཇིགས་བརྒྱད་སྒྲོལ། །

ཏུ་རེས་ནད་རྣམས་ཀུན་ལས་སྐྱོབ ། །སྒྲོལ་མ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད། །

ཅེས་མཆོད་བསྟོད། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་ཏྭ་ས་མ་ཡ། ཞེས་སོགས་ཡིག་བརྒྱ་ལན་གསུམ་བརྗོད།

མ་འབྱོར་པ་དང་ཉམས་པ་དང ། །གང་ཡང་བདག་ནི་རྨོངས་བློ་ཡིས། །

བགྱིས་པ་དང་ནི་བགྱིད་དུ་བཅུག ། །དེ་ཡང་བཟོད་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

དུས་ངན་སེམས་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དམན ། །མ་རིག་ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འབྲེལ་པ། །

འཕགས་པའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་མ་རྫོགས་པ ། །དེ་ཡང་བཟོད་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

སེར་སྣའི་དབང་གྱུར་མི་མཁས་པས ། །མཆོད་པ་ངན་ཞིང་བཤམས་ཉེས་པ། །

མགོན་པོ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྡན་པས ། །དེ་ཡང་བཟོད་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ལྷག་པ་དང་ནི་ཆད་པ་དང ། །ཆོ་ག་ཡི་ཡན་ལག་ཉམས་པ་དང་། །

བདག་གིས་བརྗེད་ངས་ཅི་མཆིས་པ ། །དེ་ཡང་བཟོད་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ནོངས་པ་བཟོད་པར་གསོལ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་བདག་ལ་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ། ཞེང་རྣམས་ལ་མཉེན་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟོ་བའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ། སྤྲོས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ལ་མ་ཞེན་མི་ཕྱག་མང་འདུ་བ་ལགས་པས། ཕན་བདེའི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཡང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི

བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། བསྟན་འཛིན་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་པད་བརྟན་ཅིང་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། བདག་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཆོག་དང་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་མ་ལུས་པ་སྩལ་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་འདོད་དོན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་གདབ། མཆོད་གཏོར་གྱི་མགྲོན་རྣམས་ལ་གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ་བར་མོས་ཏེ།

ཨོཾ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་དོན་ཀུན་མཛད། ། །རྗེས་སུ་མཐུན་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྩོལ། །
སངས་རྒྱས་ཡུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་ནས་ཀྱང་། ། །སླར་ཡང་འབྱོན་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཞེས་བརྗོད། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་མུཿ ཅེས་བདུད་རྩི་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་གཤེགས། ཞེས་བརྗོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ། དམ་ཚིག་པ་རང་ཉིད་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་བསྒོམ། དེ་ནས་ཤིས་བརྗོད། ཤིས་བརྗོད་ནི།

ཚེ་བའི་ཚེ་མཆོག་སྒྲོན་པ་མཐའ་མེད། ། །ཚེ་མགྲོན་ནི་མ་རྒྱ་ལ་བའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས། །
བརྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་པ་ཐུགས་ལ་གཏོད་པ་ཞི་བའི་བྱིན་ཀྱིས། ། །དཀའ་ཐུབ་དཔལ་ལ་གནས་པ་ཉིད་མཚན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
ཆོས་ཉིད་བདེན་པའི་ཆོས་མཆོག་ཐུབ་པ་མེད། ། །དམ་ཆོས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བདེན་པའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས། །
ཉོན་མོངས་སྡུག་བསྔལ་གདུང་བའི་ནད་ཞི་ནས། ། །ཀ་ག་ཏུ་དཔལ་ལ་གནས་པ་ཉིད་མཚན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
དགེ་འདུན་ཡོན་ཏན་རིན་ཆེན་འཕེལ་བའི་བང་བ། ། །རྒྱལ་སྲས་མཐའ་མཛད་བདེན་པའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས།།
ཤེས་པའི་སྒྲོན་མ་དང་དགེ་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པར་འཕེལ། ། །དཀའ་ཐུབ་དཔལ་ལ་བརྟན་པ་ཉིད་མཚན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
ཚངས་པར་ལྷ་དབང་སྲུང་མ་ཡི་བཀའ་སྲུང་ནས་ཀྱིས། ། །ཕན་མཛད་ལྷ་ཡི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གནས་སུ་ར་ཏེ། །
དགེ་ལེགས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཞིན་འགྲུབ་པ་ཤ། ། །ཚེ་རིང་ནད་མེད་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ལྡན་པར་ཤོག །

ཞེས་ཤིས་པ་བརྗོད་ཅིང་མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཆར་དབབ་པར་བྱའོ། ། །།

༄། བདེ་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་སྨོན་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ། །

སྐྱབས་སེམས་རྒྱ་སར་བསྡུས་པ་གང་རིགས་དང་། ཡིད་པར་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་སྔར་བཞིན་སྔོན་དུ་བཏང་ནས། ཚོགས་ཞིང་སྤྱན་འདྲེན་པ་ནི། རང་གི་སྙིང་གར་སྒྲུབ་པས་གནས་པའི་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁར་ཀླུ་མ་དང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་ལ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་མགྲོན་དཀར་པོ་ལ་མངོན་རྒྱས་དང་། རྒྱང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཚད་མེད་བཞི་བསྒོམ་པའི་བར་སྔར་བཞིན། ཨོཾ་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཧ་ཧ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་ཀྱིས་སྒྲིབ་པ་སྦྱོང་བར་སྤྲང་ས། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་མ་བཅོས་པའི་སེམས་ཉིད་ཧཱུྃ་གི་རྣམ་པ་དང་སེམས་མ་ཁ་ཟད་པ། ཧཱུྃ་ལས་རྡོ་རྗེ་རིལ་གཞི། རྒྱུར། ཐབ། མེ་དཔུང་འབར་བ་དང་བཅས་པའི་བསྐྱང་བའི་འཁོར་ལོར་གྱུར། དེའི་དབུས་སུ་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་སྙིང་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཆེན་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱེའི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་། དབུས་སུ་པཾ་ལས་པདྨ་དཀར་པོའི་ལྟག་མ་སྟེང་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡབ་ལ་གཡོ་བ་དང་རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྟོང་པོ་དང་འཇམ་པ་པདྨའི་སྟེ་བར་ཡས་ལས་ཟླ་བ་ལ་གདན་ཞིང་ཆུ་ཤུ་པའི་ཟླ་མ་དང་སྦྱར་པ་ཡ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་ལས་བསྒྱུར་ཀྱི་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོང་པོ་ཟླ་ཞིག་འཕྲུལ་ལ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོས་མཚན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་འགྲོ་བ་མ་ལུས་པ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱས། སླར་འདུས་ཤིང་ཐིམ་པ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། རང་ཉིད་ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་དཀར་བ། ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་ལྟར་དང་ལ་འདྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འོད་ཟེར་ལྷ་ལྷན་དུ་འཕྲོ་བ། རང་གི་ཞི་བ་ཆེན་

[illegible] ཞེས་སོགས།

[illegible] ཞེས་པས། [illegible]

ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱ་དྱཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤཔྟ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། དམ་ཚིག་པ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི་ངོ་བོར་གྱུར། སླར་ཡང་རང་གི་སྙིང་ག་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ལ་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དང་བཅས་པ་བསྐུལ་བ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཨོཾ་སརྦ་ཏ་ཐཱ་ག་ཏ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥེ་ཀ་ཏ་ས་མ་ཡ་ཤྲཱི་ཡེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པས། ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བཅིངས་པ་རང་གི་སྤྱི་བོར་གནས་པའི་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་བར་བསྐུལ་ལྟ་བུའི་གསོལ་བ་ཅེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པ་ལས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རི་རབ་སྟེང་ན་མ་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི་ཡི་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་། བུམ་པའི་རྒྱ་ས་དབང་བསྐུར། སྤྱི་གཙུག་ནས། ཐུ་བོ་རུ་ཕྱག་མ་ཡང་ཕྱིར་ལྡན་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། སྣང་ཡང་རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས། ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ལུས་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་འཕགས་པ་དག་བཞིན་རང་གི་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་མཆོད་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བརྗོད་ལ་མཆོད་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀྵོ་བྷྱ་ཀ་ཝ་ཤྲཱི་ཡ་སྒྲུབ་པར་ཀྱིས་ཨ་ལི་བཀོད་པས་བསྐུལ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཡེ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་ནས་མཆོད་པ་འབུལ་བའི་ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཙ་ཀྵུ་རི་སུ་སུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ་གོ་ཏྲ་སུ་མ་ཕྲཱ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨརྒྷཾ་པ་ཊི་ཙྪ་ཧཱུྃ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ་ཤཱཏྟ་བཱ་བུ་ཏྲ་ཀ་ར་ཡེ་ཏྲཱ་ལ་བརྡུང་བ་ཧཱ་པ་ར་ཚ་ཡ་མ་ཡ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་ཨརྒྷཾ་ཅིག་པ་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་ཡ་ཡང་བསྐུར། ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ཙ་ཀྲ་རེ་ཨ་པ་རི་ཨ་ཏྲ་ར་ཧཱུྃ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཧ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་ཨཱཿ དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཕྱེ། ཨཱ་ཡོ་གི། ཀཱ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞི་སྤྲོ། ཤཱ་སྣ་ནམ་ལྷུང་ར་ཏེ་འབུལ་ལོ། །དེ་ནས་བསྟོད་པ་ནི།

འཁོར་བ་ལས་གྲོལ་ཏཱ་རེ་མ། །ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཡིས་འཇིགས་པ་བརྒྱད་སྒྲོལ། །
ཏུ་རེ་ནད་རྣམས་ཀུན་ལས་སྐྱོབ། །སྒྲོལ་མ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད། །

མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་ལམ་ཀྱང་ནར་འགོར་རབ་སྐྱེ་བ་མ་ཡིན་གྱིས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཡི་ཚོགས་བསྐུལ་ཏེ། གཏོར་མ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ས་བཅས་ཀྱིས། ཨ་ཀཱ་རོ་མུ་ཁཾ། སྔོན་པའི་ཁར་ལས་གཏོར་སྦྱང་ཡང་ཀླུ་ཤིང་གྱི་ཆོ་ག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལས་སྦྱར་བ་ཡང་བཟླ་ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞལ་ཟས་སུ་ཕུལ་བའི་གཏོར་མ་ལ་འགོད་པ་དག་ཡི་གེ་ཕྱི་ཀྱི་ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་བཛྲ་ཚ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་ཨ་ཧོཿ ཨོཾ་གཱ་ཀཱ་ཧཱུྃ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། བརྗོད་ནས་གཏོར་སྐྱེ་ལོར་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩིར་བསྒྱུར་ཏེ་དབུལ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཨ་ལི་ཁ་ལི་ཨ་ར་སྟོན་པ་ཡན་ཟླ་བ་ཡང་འཁོར། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ཨེ་ཧྱ་ཧི། བླ་མ་ཕྱག་ཆེན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལ་ཕྱག་ནས་བསྐུར་བར་མཛད། ཨོཾ་ཨ་ཀཱ་རོ་མུ་ཁཾ་སརྦ་དྷརྨཱ་ཎཱཾ་ཨཱདྱ་ནུཏྤནྣ་ཏྭཱཏ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་པ་ཙ་ཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ཞེས། ལན་གསུམ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་ཏེ་ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད།

ཀྱེ་བཙུན་མ་གཟི་བརྗིད་ལྡན།	།དཔའ་བརྩོན་ཅན་མ་དང་ནོར་གྱི་བདག
དཔལ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་སོགས་སྐུལ་བ་མཛད།	།ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ།
གང་གི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་འོད་དཀར་གྱིས།	།མ་ལུས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་ཅིང་།
མགོན་མེད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མགོན་དང་སྐྱབས།	།རྒྱལ་བ་སྲས་དང་བཅས་ལ་འདུད།
མཆོད་སྦྱིན་གཏོར་མ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ།	།རྣལ་འབྱོར་བདག་ཅག་འཁོར་བཅས་ལ།
	ཡིད་ལ་འདོད་པ་ཀུན་འགྲུབ་ཤོག

ཞེས་པ་ནས།

ཅེས་པའི་བར་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། འདོད་དོན་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ། ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱ་པས་ལྷག་ཆད་བསྐང་། བཟོད་གསོལ་རྣམས་བྱ།

ཐུགས་རྣམས་ལ་བཙོན་པ་ལ་མཆོད་ལ་བསྟུད་པ་བསྡུ་ནས། གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་འདི་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་བཟླས་གསུང་ངོ་ཞེས །

དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་།	།ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ་ཡི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད།
དཔལ་ལྡན་བླ་མའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས།	།བདག་ལ་རྗེས་གཟུང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་གསོལ།

ལག་གསུམ་རྒྱུད་དགའ་བ་བཅུ་བའི་ཕྱིར། མཐུན་རྐྱེན་ཚོགས་བསྡུ་བའི་དེ་དཀྱིལ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་དངོས་སུ་མཛོད་ལ་དེའི་སྙིང་གི་ཡུམ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས་པའི་

སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དྲུང་དུ་སྤྲུལ་ནས་འགྲོ་སྤྲིན་དུ་ཀྱི་བའི་ཕྱིང་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཅིད་སྐུ་མ་པའི་ཐབས་མ་ཡས་
འདིའི་རྟེན་སྟོན་མཛད། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི།།སོགས་ལན་གསུམ་དང་། ཇི་ལྟར་དུ་སྔོན་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་
ལོའི་རྟེན་གནང་སྟུ་ལྷ་གསོལ་སྨ་པའི་འདུན་པས་འདིའི་རྟེན་སྟོན་ཀྱང་གསུང་ཤིན། །སློབ་དཔོན་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ། བདག་ལ་སྐྱོབ
དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྟེན་གནང་མ་ཕྱུས་པ་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་གསོལ། ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ནས། དེ་སྐྱོར་བ་རྟེན་གནང་བ
གཞི་དགོད་པ་ནི་སྔོན་དུ་དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛད་པ་ནི། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཿ་སརྦ་དྷརྨཱཿ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་དངོས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་
མི་དམིགས་པས་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་ངང་ལས། པད་ཟླའི་གདན་ལ་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་སྐད་ཅིག་གིས་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་ཟླ
བ་ལྟར་དཀར་བ། ནོར་བུ་ཆུ་ཤེལ་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་རྡུལ་འཁྲུགས་མེད་པ། འོད་ཟེར་ལྔ་ལྡན་དུ་འཕྲོ་བ། རབ་ཏུ་ཞི་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་འཛུམ་ཞལ་ཅན། སྐུ་ན་
ཆུང་བའི་ལང་ཚོ་ལྡན་པ། ཨུཏྤལ་གྱི་འདབ་མ་ལྟར་རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྤྱན་གཉིས་མ། ཕྱག་གཡས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་དང་། གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྡོང་
བུའི་རྩེ་བཞུགས་ཁར་འབྱུང་བ་ཡལ་ག་གསུམ་དུ་ཕྱེ་བ། སྔ་ཕྱི་ཟིན་གར་མེ་ཏོག་ཁ་འབུས་པ་ཁ་བྱེ་བ་ལ་བ་དང་། འབྲས་བུ་དང་། རྒྱས་པ
གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་མཆོན་པ། སྣ་ཚོགས་ཆགས་པའི་ཉམས་དང་ལྡན་འབུར་ཟླུང་གིས་མཛེས་པ། སྤྱི་བོར་དཀར་པོ་འཇོག
སྒྲུར་པ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་རྒྱན། སྙན་རྒྱན། མགུལ་རྒྱན། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། དཔུང་རྒྱན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། སྐེ་རགས། ཞབས་
གདུབ། གཡེར་ཁའི་ཕྲེང་བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་དུ་མས་མཛེས་པ། དར་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་
དར་གྱི་སྨད་དཔྱིས་གསོལ་བ། དབུ་སྐྲ་ལི་བ་ལྟག་པར་བཅིངས་པའི་ཐུ་རལ་དུ་མ་པར་གཡོ་ཞིང་། གཞོན་ནུའི་ལུས་ཅན་རྡོ་རྗེའི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་
གིས་སྐུ་དྲང་པོར་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། རི་བོང་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར། ཞེས་གསལ་བ་བཏབ་པོ། དེ་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཡང་རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མ
དངོས་ཡིན་སྙམ་པའི་མོས་གུས་ཆེས་པས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། མཆེད་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷའི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ་ནའི
ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ་བས་སྤྱན
པོ་དང་མཆེད་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར
ལོའི་སྐུ་ཆེ་ཆུང་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་ཅིག ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་པ་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཞུགས་ཆ་རབ་ལ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་ཞི་བ་ཞི་བ་ཐིམ་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད།
ཛཿ ཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་གྱུར། ཏྲི་ལ་གསོལ་ལ་ཐ་བོ།།དེ་དག་ནི་རྟེན་གནང་གི་གཞི་དགོད་པའོ། །རྟེན་གནང་དངོས་ལ་ཕྱུང་གསུམ་ལས་དང་
མི་རྟེན་སུ་བཟླས་པའི་ཕྱུང་ཕྱང་བའི་ཕྱིར། དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པད་ཟླ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་དཀར་པོ་རྩིབས་བརྒྱད་པ
ཕྱེད་རེ་མ་གསུམ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ལྟེ་བར་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཏཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོའི་མཐར་སྔགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར། ཨོཾ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུ་པུ་ཎྱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཧ། ཞེས་པ་བཀྲ
ལ། ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས་པའི་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་རྣམས་ཁ་དོག་དཀར་པོ། སྙིང་པོ་ཞབས་ལ་ཨཱ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་གཡོན་སྐོར། ནས
ལ་ཕྱུ་ཡིད་མར་བསྐོར་བ་ཡས་སྐོར། ཕྱི་མ་ལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་དོག་ལྡན་པོས་གཡས་སྐོར་དུ་བསྐོར་བ། མཐར་ཕྱིན་བསྡུ། ཁ་བར་དུ
བྱོན་པས། འོད་ཟེར་འཕར་བའི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་དུ་བཞུགས་པར་མོས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། མཆེད་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ།
ཐུགས་ཀའི་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལས་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་གཉིས་པ་ཆད། ཁ་ལ་ནས་ཐོན། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྒོ་ནས་ཞུགས། སྙིང་གའི་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལ
ཐིམ། དེའི་ཚེ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་བརྩེ་ནུས་མཐུ་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་རྣམ་པར
ཐུགས་སྤྲིན་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་ཞལ་དུ་ཕྱུགས། སྙིང་གའི་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་མོས་ལ་འདི་ཉིད་བརྟེན་མཛོད་ཅིག ཚེ་འབྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་ཀུན་ཡེ
ཤེ་ཡི་རྣམས་ཆོས་རྗེ་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་སྔགས་སྙིང་ཚིག་རྣམ་ལན་གསུམ

རིམ་གློམ་ཅེད་དུ་གཞུག ། དང་པོ་མི་ཆེན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བསྐུལ་བས། གཉིས་པ་ལས་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་འདྲེས། གསུམ་པ་ལས་བརྟན་པར་བྱས་པའི་མོས་པ་མཚོན། གཉིས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་པའི་ཕྱག་ནི། སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་མི་རྟོག་འཁོར་བཞིན་དུ་འདོད་རྫོགས་བློས་ཅིག །

བཅོམ་ལྡན་བདག་གི་ལ་བཟུང་ལགས་ཀྱི། །བདག་ལ་འགོ་བར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །

ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ། དེ་ལྟར་ཞུས་པའི་མི་རྟོག་དེ་ཉིད་སྔར་ཡང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་ཏེ་ཉིད་པར་ནམ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཐིམ་པའི་མོས་པ་མཚོན་ཅིག ། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་མི་རྟོག་གཏོར་བཞིན། །

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདི་ལ་སྐུ་ལ་ལགས་ཏེ། །འདི་ལ་འགོ་བར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །
བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་བརྟན་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། །ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྩལ་དུ་གསོལ། །

དེ་ཉིད་སློབ་མ་འདི་ཡི་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཆེན་རླབས་མཐུ་ལ་པ་བརྟན་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །གསུམ་པ་དམ་བཅའ་བའི་ཕྱག་གི་ཕྱིར་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ནི་ཉིད་དེ་སྙིང་ཁ་ནས་མ་ཐོབ་བར་གྱི་ཡི་དམ་དུ་བཟུང་ངོ་། །བདག་སྩལ་ཀྱི་མ་ཐིག་ལྡ་མ་པའི་ཐབས་ཀྱང་འདི་ནི་རྗེས་སློབ་གསུང་ལ་ཡིན། །སློབ་དཔོན་དགོས་སུ་གསོལ། བདག་རིགས་པ་བཙོན་པ་མེད་པ་འདི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་གཟུངས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་སྙིང་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་བཟུང་ནས་འདིའི་གསང་སྔགས་ཉི་ནུ་ཞེས་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ལ་སྦྱར་དམ་བཅའ་ལགས་སོ། །ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་བརྗོད། དེས་དངོས་གཞི་ཕྱག་གསུམ་སོང་། དགེ་རྫོགས་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་པའི་ཕྱིར་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལ་མོས་གུས་དང་ལྡན་པ་དང་བདག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་ཏུ་གསོལ་བ་སྐུ་མ་པ་མཛད་པས། མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་འི་རྒྱུད་ལ་གནས་པ་ཡི་བརྟན་བརྟུལ་མ་ཞི་སྤྲུ་ལོ་རང་ཚད་དུ་མ་ཅིག་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཉེ་བ། ཡིད་རང་ནམ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་གི་ལ་མཐོང་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་འདྲེས། རྒྱུད་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་པའི་མོས་པ་མཚོན། དེས་རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མའི་རིམ་གཞང་ཐོབ་པ་ལགས། རྗེས་ཅིག་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་འདུ། །

༄༅། ཀ་ཀ་ན་ཕྱག་ཀྱི་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་

སྐྱབས་སེམས་སྔ་མ་བཞིན་ངང་རིག་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད། ཚོགས་ཞིང་ཡན་ཆད་སྤྱན་དུ་བཏང་བས། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཱཿ སརྦ་དྷརྨཱཿ སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་རྡོ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་བསྟེང་འཁོར་གྱི་དབུས་སུ། རྡོ་ལས་སྣ་ཚོགས་པདྨ་དང་ཟླ་བ་གདན་ལ་ཕཾ་ལས་ལྷུ་མཆོག་སྐུ་ཁ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་པདྨ་ཟླའི་གདན་ལ། ཏཱཾ་ལས་རང་ཉིད་ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་དཀར་བ། ཞི་བ་ཞལ་ཕྱག་ཐུར་ལ་ཡང་ཞུང་ཞི་བ་མེད་པ་འོད་ཟེར་ལྔ་ལྡན་དུ་འཕྲོ་བ། སྐྱ་བཅུ་པ་ཆེན་མོའི་འཛུམ་ཞལ་ཅན། ཕྱག་ལ་འདི་འདབ་མ་ལྟར་བས་བཟུང་ལ་བཞི་སྦྱིན་བཏུད་ཅིང་མ་ཕྱག་གཡས་པས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་དང་གཡོན་པས་མཐེ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྡོང་བུ་འི་ཟ་མ་ཕྲེང་ཐུར་ལ་ཐོགས་ཤིང་། རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་ལྷ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐད་ཀར་ཁ་ཐོགས། ཐོད་ཀྱི་རིང་ཆགས་པའི་ཉམས་དང་ལྡ་བྱ་ར་བུང་བ་ལ་མཛེས་པ། སྒྱུ་དེ་ཀ་དཀར་པོ་མཚོ་ཁོར་ཕྱུར་པ་རྗེ་ཉ་པ་ཅི་སྐུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཅོད་པན། སྙན་ཆ། མགུལ་རྒྱན། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། སྤྲང་རྒྱན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། ཞབས་རྒྱན། ཞབས་གདུབ། གཡས་ཀ་བའི་ཕྲེང་བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཀྱི་མི་ཏོག་དུ་མས་མཛེས་པ། དར་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་དར་གྱི་ཤམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། འཇའ་སྟོན་ལ་མཆོང་བ་ཡང་བཞིན་མ་པའི་ནུས་ཕྱོད་རྣམ་པར་གཡོ་བ་ཅན་ཅིང་། གཡོན་ཡུན་གྱི་ལུས་ཅན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཀྱི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་གིས་བཞུགས་པ་ཞིང་། དེ་ཙོང་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར།

རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ
ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱདྱཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ་ནས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ་ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུཾ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་
པར་ཐིམ། དམ་ཚིག་པ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི་ངོ་བོར་གྱུར། སྐར་ཡང་རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་དབང་གི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིགས་ལྔ་འཁོར་
དང་བཅས་པ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་པཉྩ་ཀུ་ལ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨརྒྷཾ་ནས། ཤབྡའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད་ཅིང་བཅིངས་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས
བདག་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། ཇི་ལྟར་བལྟམས་པས་ཙམ་གྱིས་ནི། །ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་དབང་
བསྐུར། སྐུ་ལུས་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་། དྲི་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་དག །ཆུའི་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར།
ཨོཾ་ཨཱརྱ་ཏཱ་རེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨརྒྷཾ་པྲ་ཏཱིཙྪ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨརྒྷཾ་ནས་ཤབྡའི་བར། ཨོཾ་ཨཱརྱ་ཏཱ་རེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དྷཱུ་པེ། ཨཱ་ལོ་
ཀེ། གནྡྷེ། ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ། ཤབྡ་རྣམས་སྦྱར་ཏེ་མཆོད། ཕྱག་ན་མེ་ཏོག་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྟོད། བསྟོད་པ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བ། རང་གི་སྙིང་གར་པད་ཟླའི་གདན་ལ་ཏཱཾ་ཡིག་
དཀར་པོ་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་དང་བཅས་པའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་སྤྲོ་བསྡུ་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་ངོ་། ཨོཾ་བདག་མི་འཆི་བ་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་
ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག་ཀྱཻ། ཞེས་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་བཏབ་ནས། ཡིག་བཅུ་པ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་དང་། སྙིང་
ལ་ཨོཾ་ཡི་གེ་གི་སྟེང་ནས་བསྐོར་བར་བསམ་པ་ལ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་པ་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་སྙིང་པོ་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་
ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་སྙིང་པོ་ཅི་དང་བཅས་པའི་ལས་སྦྱར་ནས་བཟླ། མཐར་ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱ་པས་བརྟན་པར་བྱ་ལ། དགེ་བ་འདི་
ཡིས་ཞེས་སོགས།

༄ མཆོད་བསྟོད་གཏོར་མ་དབུལ་བ་ནི། བྲིས་སྐུ་དང་། འདྲ་བཞི། །མཆོད་པ། ཡི་དྭགས་སོགས་ལ་སྦྱར་བཞིན་ཚོགས་པ་རྫས་ལ། མཆོད་པ་ཨ་ཐོ་ཀྱི་མཐོང་ཞིང་། ཧཱུྃ་ཧྲཱིཿ
ཕས་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་བྷྲཱུཾ་ལས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་གྲུ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞལ་མེད་
ཁང་མཚན་ཉིད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་དབུས་སུ། ཨོཾ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྣོད་ཡངས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས
ཀྱི་ནང་དུ། ཧཱུྃ་ཞུ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ལྷ་རྫས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་མཆོད་ཡོན། ཞབས་བསིལ། མེ་ཏོག །བདུག་སྤོས། མར་མེ། དྲི་ཆབ། ཞལ་
ཟས། རོལ་མོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མཆོད་རྫས་རྣམས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་མཆོད་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཟག་མེད་པའི་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཟད་མི་ཤེས་པ་མཁའ་
ཁྱབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱདྱཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ། མཎྜལ་བཤད་བྱ་སྟེ་ཕྱི་
གཏོར། ཨ་ཀྲོ་དྷ་ལས་ཞེས། སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཀྲཱྀཾ་ཡིག་ལས་སྣོད་ཀ་པཱ་ལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཡངས་པ། རླུང་ལས་དེ་སྟེང་ཤེལ་ས་གཞི། རྣམ་གསུམ།
ཐིམ། མེ་སྐྱང་འབར་བ་དང་བཅས་པའི་བསྲུང་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཞིང་གྱུར། དེའི་ནང་དུ་སྣོད་ལས་སྤྱན་ཅིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩིར་གྱུར་ནས་ཞི་ལ་གཅིག་གཞལ་
ཡས་ཁང་། ལྷུན་གྱིས་རྫོགས་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་འགྲུབ་པ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ། བསྐལ་པའི་རླུང་ལ་ལྟར་བ
ཟླ་བ་ཤར་བ་ཞིང་། ཐུགས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཐར་པ་དེའི་སྙིང་པོ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། འཕགས་པ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་
ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱས། སྐར་འདུས་པ་ཞི་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཞེས་པ་ནས། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་
མ་དཀར་མོའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཞེས་པའི་བར་བཀའ་བསྒྲིད་དང་བཅས།

མ་ལུས་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་མགོན་གྱུར་ཅིང་། ཞེས་པ་ནས། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འཁོར་བཅས་གནས་འདིར་གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ།
ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱདྱཾ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ་ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུཾ་བཾ་ཧོཿ
གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། དམ་ཚིག་པ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི་ངོ་བོར་གྱུར། སྐར་ཡང་རང་གི་སྙིང་གའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། དབང་གི་ལྷ

ཕྱག་བཙལ་ལ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་བརྗོད་སྤྱི་ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ཀྲོ་ཏ་ལ་ཧ་ལ་རེ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ། ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པར་བྱེད་པའི་སྤྱི་བཞིན་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལ་མཆོག་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་བ་སྐུ་ལ་ཐུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རྡོ་རྗེ་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས། ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་དབང་བསྐུར། སྐུ་གང་དྲི་མ་དག །ཆུའི་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། ཐུགས་ཀའི་ས་བོན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་ཚིག་སེམས་དཔའ་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་གྱུར་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཆོད་པའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བཅིང་བ་དང་། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་དྷཱུ་པེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་གནྡྷེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤཔྟ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཨརྒྷཾ་ནས་ཤབྡ་ཡེ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་བསྟོད་པ་ནི།

འཁོར་བ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་ཏཱ་རེ་མ། །ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཡིས་འཇིགས་པ་ཀུན་སྒྲོལ། །
ཏུ་རེས་ནད་བརྒྱད་ལས་སྐྱོབ། །སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་ནི་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད། །

ཞེས་པ་དང་། སྔགས་བཟླས་པ་ནི་གཏོར་མ་ཕུལ་ཞིང་བཟླས་པ་ལ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ཨི་དཾ་བ་ལིཾ་ཏ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁཱ་ཧི་ཁཱ་ཧི། ཞེས་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་དམ་ཉེར་གཅིག་ལ་ཐུགས་དམ་ཅི་འཚལ་བ་ལ་བསྐུལ། ཨ་ཀཱ་རོ་ནས་འཁོར་ལོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕུལ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པར་བྱེད་པའི་སྤྱི་བཞིན་མཆོད།

དགེ་བ་ཅན་མ་གཞི་བརྗོད་ལྡན། །དཔལ་ཅན་མ་དང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བདག །
དཔལ་མོ་ཡོལ་སོགས་སྒྲུབ་པ་མཛད། །ལྷ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ། །
མཆོད་སྦྱིན་གཏོར་མ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་བདག་ཅག་བཅས་པ་ལ། །
ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཡིད་ལ་འདོད་པ་ཀུན་འགྲུབ་མཛོད། །

ཅེས་པའི་བར་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། འདོད་དོན་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ། ཡིག་བརྒྱ་ལན་གསུམ་ཅིང་བཤང་། བཟོད་པར་གསོལ། མཎྜལ་དང་བཅས་པ་བསྡུ་ལྷག། དང་པོ་མར་གཤེགས་ཏེ་ཕྱག་བཅས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད། ཐམས་ཅད་ལྷ་སྐུ་བསྐྱེད་པ། ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱི་འགྲོ་རབ་ཅས། དང་པོ་མོ་ཆེན་སྒྲུབ་པ་མཛད་དེ་སྐུ་ངག་བསྒོམས་པའི་རྒྱུ་དང་རྗེས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བྱུང་བར་བསམས་སོ།

༄ རྗེས་གནང་ལ་དོན་ནི། སྒྲོལ་མ་རྣམས་ཐམས་ལ་བཤེས་དེ་མ་བྱ་ལ་འབུལ་དུ་བསྡུས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་བཏབ་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་གནང་བ་མཛོད། རྒྱལ་བ་སྲས་བཅས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་ལ་ཐུ་གསོལ། ལན་གསུམ། སྔར་དགའ་བར་ཆུ་བའི་ཕྱིར། མཆོག་གི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཉིད་གདུང་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་དང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཉིད། དེ་ཡི་སྙིང་གི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་མ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱང་སེམས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དུ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཞིང་རྣམ་ཀྱི་བཤེས་པ་རྣམས་སྐྱོང་བ་ལ་ཞེས་ཕ་ཀྱེ་ཡིན་ལ་སྨན་པ་དེ་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་གནང་བ་མཛོད། དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་འདུས་མཆོད་ཕུལ་བ་སྒྲིན་ནི་ཞེས་སྔོན་པ་འདུལ་བ་ལ་མཛད་པ། གཞན་པར་དུ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་། ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྗེས་གནང་སྐྱ་ལ་དུ་གསོལ་ལྷ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྗེས་གནང་སྐྱ་ལ་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་རྩེ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ནས། དེ་ནི་རང་རྗེས་གནང་གི་གཞི་དགོས་པའི་སྙིང་དུ་བཞི་གསལ་བའི་ཞེན་ཞིང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ཧཱ་སྭཱ་ནི་ཏུ་སྟཱ། ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཡི་མཚོན་རྣམ་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་མཇུག་ཐེག་པ་ཡུ་རྒྱལ་ཐུབ། རྗེ་འཛིན་སྙིང་ལ་ཐོག་མཐའ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་ཐོབ་ནས་ཞེས་བཀའ། ཆོས་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་པར་ཆུ་མ་ཉོན། མཐར་ཐུག་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞིང་དགོས་པ་ཡི་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་གནས་བཟང་ཕུལ་བ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡི་སྐུ་ཡུལ་བཤད་པ་ནི་སྤྱིར་མི་བྱེད་པ།

ཞེད་ཟེར་ལྷ་ལྷ་བཅུ་འཕྲོག། རང་རྒྱུ་ཞེ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་འཇམ་པ་ཡ་ཙན། ཡུ་དྲུ་ལ་ཞི་འདབ་མ་ལྷ་ར་བ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྤྲུལ་བ་སྦྲུང་ལྡན་མ། ཕྱག་གཡས་པས་མཆོག
སྦྱིན་དང་། གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཡུ་དྲུ་ལ་དཀར་པོའི་ཡོད་སྟེ་ཟུར་བཞུགས་ཀ་ར་འཛིན་ཅིང་། རང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷ་ནི་ཐོད་དཀར་ཁ་སྐྱེག ཞིག་ཅིང
ཆགས་པའི་ཉམས་ལྡན་དུ་འཕྱར་བཞིན་གཞིས་མཛེས་པ། སྤྱི་བོར་དཀར་པོའི་ཚོ་མི་སྐྱ་ར་པའི་སྐུ་རྩེ་མཆོག་ཉེ་ཚོམ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན། ལྷ་རྒྱ། མཐུ་ལ་རྒྱ། དེ་ཐལ་མེ
མེ་ཏོ། དཔུང་རྒྱ། ཐུག་གཏུག ཞེ་རྒྱ། ཞབས་གདུབ། གཡེར་ཁ་ལ་སོགས་ཕྲེང་བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱས་མས་མཛེས་པ། ངན་དགའ་བའི
སྙིང་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་དར་གྱི་སྨད་དཔྲལ་གསོལ་བ། དཔྱུ་སྦྱ་ཐེ་བ་ཐུག་པར་བཅིངས་པ་ཞི་ཕྲ་རྒྱུ་གདན་རྣམ་པར་གཡོ་ཞིང་། གསེར་སྐྱ་བ
ལུས་ཅན་ནི་ཧྲི་རི་སྒྲོལ་ཁྱུང་གིས་འཁྱིང་རྩྭ་ཐུ་བརྒྱུག་པ་བཞེང་། མི་བཞིན་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཡོལ་ཅན་དུ་རྒྱུར། ཞེས་གསལ་བཏབ་པོ། དེ་ནས་སྤྱན་འདྲེན
ཡང་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་དངོས་ཡིན་སྣ་མ་པའི་མོས་གུས་ཀྱིས་ཡས་སྨོན་པོའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཨོཾ་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི
སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ་བས། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་དང་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དང་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས
དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྐུ་ཚེ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་ཅན། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་པ
སྤྱི་བོ་གནམ་ནམ་ཆ་རབ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་ཤིབ་ཤིབ་ཐིམ་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། དྲིལ་བསིལ
ཕུལ།། དེ་དག་ནི་སྐྱེས་གནང་ཤེ་གཉེན་ཆོད་པའོ།། རྗེས་གནང་དངོས་ལ། ཕྱུང་གསུམ་ལས། དབང་པོ་རྗེས་སུ་བཟླས་པའི་ཕྱུང་བླང་བའི་ཕྱིར་དམིགས
པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་ཀར་པད་ཟླ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་དཀར་པོ་རྩིབ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལྟེ་བར་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཏཾ
ཡིག་དཀར་པོ། མཐའ་སྐོར་དུ་ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཆེ་བས་བསྐྱལ། ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱུད་དང་།
སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལ་ཨོཾ་ཡིག་གི་ཕྲེང་བས་བསྐོར་བའི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་རྣམས་ཁ་དོག་དཀར་པོ་མར་གྱི་མེ་ལྟར་དུ་འབར་བ། ཁ་དང་སྤྱི་བོར་བྱོན་པ་འོད་ཟེར་དཀར་པོ་འཕྲོས
པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་དུ་བཞུགས་པར་མོས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྐུལ། ཐུགས་ཀའི་སྔགས
ཕྲེང་ལས། སྔགས་ཕྲེང་གཉིས་པ་ཆད། ཞལ་ནས་ཐོན། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྒོ་ནས་ཞུགས། སྙིང་གའི་ས་བོན་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཐིམ
དེའི་ཚུལ་སུ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་བརྩེ། ནུས་མཐུ་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་སྔགས
ཕྲེང་དང་སྔགས་ཅིག་ཞལ་འདུ་ཞུགས། སྙིང་གའི་ས་བོན་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ལ་ཐིམ་པའི་མོས་པ་མཛོད་ལ། འདི་ཡི་རྗེས་བཟླས་མཛོད། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས
ལན་གསུམ་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་རྗེས་བཟླས་མཛད་ཅིང་། དང་པོ་གཅིག་ཅིག་བསྐུལ།
གཉིས་པ་ལས་རྗེས་མེད་དུ་འདྲེས། གསུམ་པ་ལ་བརྟན་པ་ཐོབ་པའི་མོས་པ་མཛོད། གཉིས་པ་བྱིན་འབེབས་བརླབས་པའི་ཕྱིར་ནི། སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་མི་གཡོ་བར་བཞེངས་ཏེ་སྐྱ
འདི་རྗེས་བཟླས་མཛོད་ཅིག ཁ་ཚོམ་སྨན་བདག་གིས་ཞེས་སོགས་ལན་གསུམ། དེ་ལྟར་བསྐུལ་བའི་མི་ཏོག་དེ་ཉིད་སྐུར་ཡང་ཕྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་ཏེ་ཁྱེད
རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཕྱུལ་བར་མོས་པ་མཛོད་ཅིག །སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་མེ་ཏོག་གཏོར་བ་ཞེས། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདི་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་དང་། དེ་ཡི་སྐྱོན་མ་འདེ་
རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྐུ་ཡི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིན་རླབས་མ་ལུས་པར་བརྒྱུགས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཕྱག་མ་དམ་ཚིག་བའི
ལྷ་ནི། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་འདི་ཉིད་དེ་ཡིད་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་མ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བར་ལྷ་ཡི་དམ་དུ་བཟུང་ངོ་། བདག་ཕྱུགས་ཀྱིས་མཆོད་ཅིང་གསུམ་པའི
བསམ་པ་ལས་འདི་ཞེ་རྗེས་བཟླས་མཛོད། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ། བདག་མིང་འདི་ཞེས་བགྱི་བས་སྐྱོ་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ནི་སྙིང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ
ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་བཟུང་ནས། དེའི་གཟུངས་སྔགས་ཞེན་ནི་ཅི་ནུས་བཟླ་བར་དམ་འཆའ
ལགས་སོ། ལན་གསུམ། དེའི་རྗེས་ཅིག་ཅེས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཕྱིར། མཐུན་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལ་མོས་གུས་དྲུང་དུ་བཏང་། བདག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ཅིས
བརྒྱུད་ཏུ་གསོལ། ལྷ་མཆོད་མཛད་པ་ལས་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཡི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་སྐྱེ་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱུད་ལ་མཐེ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཆེ་ཉིད་ཅུང་ཅིག་ཤ་ཕྱི་ཕིབ་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས

ཀྱེ་སྙིང་གའི་ལ་མོ་ཁ་ནས་སྐྱེས་མེད་དུ་ཞེས། ཀླུ་ཡི་ཞི་བས་བརྒྱལ་བ་པའི་མཚོན་བ་མཆོད། དེ་ནས་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་བརྒྱ་ལས་ལྷ་མའི། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་དགྲ་ལ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཀྱེ་ག་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཕྱག་པའི་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བ་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྦྱོར་བ་གང་མཐིལ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་རང་གསུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་གཡས་པ་བཞུག་ཡིས། ནད་གདོན་ཉེ་བ་སྒྲིབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ག་ཡོགས་ནས་གཞོན་ཏེ་ཕྱང་ཞིང་དག་པ་ཐབས་ཐམས་ལ། ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་རེ་ཞེས་སོགས་སྙིང་པོའི་མཐར་སྒྲོན་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིག་པ་དང་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤཱནྟིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་མ་རྣམས་ལ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཞིག་ས་ལྔ། ཀ། ཁོ། ཞེ། ཡེ། ཐེ། ཏ། རྒྱ། སྒྲ་བ་ཡས། ཕྱ་ཡས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལ། ཞེ་བར་བཅོས། ཁྱལ་མ་ཡིན་པར་འཚེ་བ། གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་གནོད་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚོ་ཕྲུག་ཀྱི་ཞིག་སོ། བདུད་ཀྱི་ཤོགས་ལ། ཤ་ཤིན་རྡོ་ཡི་ཁོད། བཞེངས་དང་ལོག་འདྲེན། བར་གཅོད་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ནད་ཤཱནྟིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་དྲི་བསྐྱུད་པ་ཐམས་ལ་སྦྱོར་དུ་བཅུག །ཁ་བྱུང་རྣམས་རབ་སྐྱེས་པ་ཀྱི་ཡང་སྐྱུང་བ་དང་རེ་ལོ་ཙ་ན་བསྒྲུབ་པ། དེ་རྟེན་བཅས་པ་བཞི་མཆིས་སྟེ་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་ཚིགས་ཀྱི་སྨིན་དུ་བཏང་བཟླ་བ་བཞུས་པའི་ཏྲཾ་ཡིག་སྤྲུགས་སྤྲིན་དང་བཅས་པ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། བཀྲུས་པས་མདུན་གྱི་བདག་གདོན་བགེགས་སྒྲིབ་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་མི་སོ་ཞིང་ཞིང་དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་གི་སྐུ་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་རེ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཐར་སྒྲོན་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྡིག་པ་དང་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཨ་པ་ན་ཡ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་བཞི་བ་རང་། བདེན་པ་དང་ནི། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མཆོད་རྟེན་དང་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་བྲུས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་དང་མ་བསྒྲུབས་ཀྱི་ཐུག་ཏུ་བདེན་པ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བདེན་པ་དང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་བདེན་པ་དང་། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་བདེན་པ་དང་། སྔགས་དང་རིག་པ་གཟུང་གི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུབས་ཀྱི་གསང་བ་བཀའ་མེད་པའི་བདེན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས། དེ་རྗེ་སྒྲོན་མ་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་གནོད་ཅིང་འཚེ་བའི་གདོན་བགེགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ རྒྱུ་འདེབས་ཚེ་མ་པར་གྱིས་ལ་རང་རང་གི་གནས་སུ་སོང་ཞིག །ཨོཾ་སུམྦྷ་ནི་ཞེས་སོགས་སྔགས་དག་ཏུ་བཟླས་ཤིང་། དེ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་ཚིགས་འདི།

སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ནི་བདུད་ལས་རྒྱལ	।	།ཆོས་ནི་ཆོས་མ་ཡིན་ལས་རྒྱལ།	।
དགེ་འདུན་མུ་སྟེགས་རྣམས་ལས་རྒྱལ	।	།དཔང་པོ་ཕྱི་མ་རྣམས་ལས་རྒྱལ།	।
ལྷ་མིན་ཕྱོགས་རྣམས་ལས་རྒྱལ	।	།ནམ་མཁའ་ལྡིང་ནི་ཀླུ་མཆོག་ལས།	।
མེ་ནི་ཤིང་རྣམས་ཀུན་ལས་རྒྱལ	।	།ཟླ་ནི་མེ་ལས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྟེ།	।
སྣང་ནི་སྒྲིབ་ལས་རྒྱལ་བར་གྱུར	।	།རི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་རི་བ་ཆེན་ལྷག	।
ལྷ་རྣམས་ལ་བདེན་པར་རབ་བརྟན་གནས	।	།ས་ཡང་བདེན་པར་གནས་པ་ལ།	।
ཡང་རྒྱལ་པ་དང་ནི་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བདེན།	।	།བདེན་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱུར་རྣམ་པར་ཀུན་ལས།	।

བདེན་པ་དང་བདེན་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་དག་གིས་སྒྲོན་མ་འདི་རྣམས་བདུད་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྒྱལ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཛཾ་བྷ་ཛཾ་བྷ་ཡ་མོ་ཧ་ཡ་མོ་ཧ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། སྒྲོན་དཀར་ཕྱི་ནང་ལས་རབ་བསྐྱེད་སྣང་ཆུ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱིར་ནང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་བ་རང་གསུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས། ལ་སྒྲུབ་པས་མཆོད་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་རྒྱ་འཕྲུ་བ་ཀྱིས་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ། ནད་གདོན་ཕྱིག་སྒྲིབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གནོད་པ་མི་ནུས་པའི་སྲུང་བ་ཆེན་པོར་གྱུར་ཀྱིས་བ་བསྲུང་པས་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་རེ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཐར་སྒྲོན་མ་རྣམས་ཕྱིག་པ་དང་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རཀྵ་རཀྵ། ཞེས་པ་ནས་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རཀྵ་རཀྵ །

ཕྱག་བསྐྱལ་བ་ཅས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་ཐབ་དང་	।	།ཕྱི་འཛིན་བཞགས་པ་མ་སྒྲོལ་བ་མའི་ཐེག་ཐུགས་ཀྱིས།	
སྒྲོན་མ་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་གིས་བསྲུང་མི་ཤེས་ཏེ	।	།འདི་ལ་སྲུང་རྒྱ་གནོད་པ་མ་བྱེད་ཅིག	।

བཛྲ་རཀྵ་རཀྵ། དེ་ལྟར་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མའི་སྦྱིན་བྱ་དང་སྒྲོན་པ་ལ་ཞས། རྗེས་ཚོགས་སྤྱོད་བཀྲ། ॥

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

༄། །ཕར་ཆེན་ནགས་རིན་ཕྱག་མ་གྱི་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ལ།

སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དང་། ཡུལ་ཡང་དག་གི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད། ཚད་མེད་བཞི་བསྒོམ་པ་སྔོན་དུ་བཏང་། འདི་ལ་ཚིག་ཡིན་མི་དགོས། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཱ་སརྦ་དྷརྨཱ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་རྒྱ་ལས་ཉི་ཟླའི་སེང་གེ་བཞིའི་ཁྲི་ཟླ་བ་ཟེར་སེམས་བསྒོམ་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཾ་ལས་རྒྱ་ཞེན་སྣེ་ནས་ཡས་ཁང་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྒོ་བཞི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ལྡན་པའི་དབུས་སུ་ཧཱུཾ་ལས་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་འདབ་མ་སྟོང་ལྡན་པ་ལ་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་པ་ཡི་སྟོང་པོ་དང་བཅས་པ། མཆོག་གི་སྤྲུལ་དང་ཁྱ་ལས་སྣང་བ་ལྔ་གང་ཞིང་། སྔགས་པའི་ཁྲི་མ་དང་བྲལ་བ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད་ཏཱཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་ལས་ཨུཏྤ་ལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཞབས་བཞུ་ལ་ཏཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོས་མཚན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། འཕགས་མ་པ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱས། སླར་འདུས་ཤིང་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། རང་ཉིད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་དཀར་པོ་དཀར་པ། ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་ལ་ཕྱག་མེད་པའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོ། ཕྱག་གཡས་པ་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་གྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ། ཨུཏྤ་ལའི་སྡོང་བུ་ཐུགས་ཀར་འཛིན་པ། ལྷུན་སྡུག་པའི་ཞལ་འཛུམ་པ་ཅན། ཨུཏྤལ་འདབ་མ་ལྷུང་བར་བྱས་པའི་སྐུ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ། ཕྱག་གཡས་པས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་དང་གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་འཛིན་པ། ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྡོང་བུ་ཕྲ་བ་སྙན་གྱི་ཐད་དུ་སྐུ་མཐོང་བ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་དར་གྱི་ན་བཟའ་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་། སྐུ་ལ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལྷ་རྫས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། དཔྲལ་བར་ཨོཾ། མགྲིན་པར་ཨཱཿ། ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧཱུཾ། ཡུམ་ཅན་དཀར་པོ་རོལ་བའི་སྐུ་དང་བཅས་པ། སྐུ་དང་སྤྱན་དུ་དཀར་པོའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་བཏབ། ཧཱུཾ་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ། གཡོན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ལ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བཀླུབ་པ། ཐོད་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ།

དངོས་གཞི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྙིང་རྗེས་སྒྲོལ་བའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཡང་བཟུང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཟླ་བའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཏཱཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ་ལ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཕྲེང་བ་བསྐོར་བ། འདི་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་རྣམས་མཆོད། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་བཟླས་པ་བྱ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུཎྱེ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་བཟླས། ཐུན་གྱི་མཐར་ཕྱག་མཆོད་བསྟོད་པ་དང་། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་བགེགས་ལ་གཏོར་མ་སྦྱིན། བསྔོ་བ་དང་སྨོན་ལམ་བྱ། ཞེས་སོ། །ཞེས་བསྔོས་སོ། །

༄ མཚན་མ་སྤྱོད་དེ། ཞེས་གསུང་ངོ་། །མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བླ་མ་དཀར་པོའི་སྐུ་ཚད་བྱིན་རླབས་དང་མཉམ་པའི་ཚེ་མ་ཡུམ་ཅན་ཡོད། དེའི་མདུན་དུ་མཆོད་པ་དང་། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བསྐུལ་བས་ཞེན་པ་ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་གདབ་པ། མཆོད་པ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཚོགས་བསགས་པས། མཆོད་བསྟོད་ཀྱི་ཚེ་མཐུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་གཞན་པ་ལ། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཱ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་རྒྱ་ཡི་ཉི་ཟླའི་སེང་གེ་བཞི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཾ་ལས་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་འདབ་མ་སྟོང་ལྡན་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ། སྐུའི་དཔལ་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ལྷ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་སྒྲོལ་མ། མཆོད་པའི་ཚེ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཕྲེང་བ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཏེ། སླར་འདུས་པ་ལས་བདག་ཉིད་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐུ་མདོག་དཀར་པོ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ལས་གྱུར། ཞབས་གཉིས་རྡོ་རྗེ་དཀྱིལ་ཀྲུང་གིས་བཞུགས་པ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཟླ་བའི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་། རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མཆོག་དང་། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དང་། ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་བཞུགས་པ། ལྷ་ཡི་རྒྱན་དང་ན་བཟའ་ཅན། ཡིད་ལ་མཐོང་བར་བསྒོམ། རང་གི་ཕྱག་ཀྱང་ཚེ་ཡི་བུམ་པ་ཅན།

ནམ་མཁའ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱས། [illegible] མཆོད་པ་ཡང་དག་པར་སྤེལ་ལ། [illegible] བསྒོམ་པར་བྱ།

མ་ལུས་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་མགོན་གྱུར་ཅིང་། ཞེས་པ་ནས། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འཁོར་བཅས་གནས་འདིར་གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ།

ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་ནུ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ཀ་མ་ལཱ་ཡ་སྟྭཾ། [illegible] ཞེས་པའི་ཚིགས་སུ་བཅད་པས་མཆོད། ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། [illegible]

[illegible] ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ [illegible] ཞེས་བརྗོད།

[illegible]

མ་ལུས་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་མགོན་གྱུར་ཅིང་། ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་འབྱོར་ [illegible] གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ།

ཨོཾ་ [illegible] ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ཀ་མ་ལཱ་ཡ་སྟྭཾ། [illegible] མཆོད་པ་འབུལ་བ་ནི། ཨོཾ་ [illegible]

[illegible] ཨོཾ་ [illegible]

[illegible] གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ། [illegible]

[illegible] །[illegible] །[illegible] ། །

[illegible] ཨོཾ་ [illegible]

[illegible] ཨོཾ་ [illegible] འཕགས་ཀྱི་ [illegible]

[illegible] ཨོཾ་ [illegible] བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ [illegible]

[illegible] ཨོཾ་ [illegible]

དགེ་བ་ཅན་མ་ག་ཞི་བ་ཞིང་ཡུན	།	།དཔའ་མ་ཅན་མ་དང་ཚེ་རིང་ཕྱི་བདག	།
ཕྱག་ལ་ཡོ་ལ་ལེགས་སྤྱན་ལ་མཛད	།	།སྨན་མོ་བྱིས་པ་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ།	།
གང་གི་ཕྱག་ལ་ཞེ་བའི་དོན་དགའ་རབ་ཕྱིས	།	།མགུལ་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་ཅིང་།	།
མགོན་མེད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མགོན་དང་སྐྱབས	།	།རྒྱལ་བ་གསུམ་དང་བཅས་ལ་འདུད།	།
མཆོད་སྦྱིན་གཏོར་མ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ	།	།ནམ་འབྱོར་བདག་ཅག་འཁོར་བཅས་ལ།	།
ཞེས་པས	།	།ཡིད་ལ་འདོད་པ་ཀུན་འགྲུབ་ཤོག	།

ཅེས་པ་ཞེ་བར་བསྟོད་ཅིང་། [illegible] མི་གི་ [illegible] ། [illegible] ཞེས་པ་ [illegible] ། །

༄ ཞེས་གསུངས་པ། [illegible] ། [illegible] ། [illegible]

[illegible] ། [illegible] ། [illegible]

[illegible] ། [illegible] ། [illegible]

ཀྱེ་ཆོས་མཐུ་གཅིག་ཀ་ལ་ཤགས་མ་སྐྱེས་མ་ཡིན་བཞིན་བསྐོར་ལོང་དངོས་སུ་མོས་ལ་དེ་བི་སྒྲིང་བེ་ཙ་ལ་བརྒྱུད་པ་རི་བྲམ་ཡི་དམ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆོགས་
པང་མཐུ་མཐོང་ལེ་སྨས་བྲམ་མས་ཙད་བརྒྱུགས་པའི་རྡུང་ཏུ་སྤྲུབ་མས་བགྲོ་སྟོན་ཏུ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཁྱང་རྒྱུ་བ་ཀྱི་སེམས་བསྒྲུང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཀྱེད་སྐུ་མ་པའི་ལམ་
པས་བདེ་བ་རྟེན་སྐྱོར་མཛོད། དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་མཆི། སོགས་ལ་ཕྱག་གསུམ། རྗེས་གནང་དངོས་ལ་དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། སྤྱོན་དྲོང་
ཀྱེ་ཧྲུལ་གཞན་ལོང་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཕྱུ་ན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྒྱུ་བསྒྱུལ། དེ་ནི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་ཡོག་པས་རྣམ་སྨིན་
གཏྲག་རྡོལ་བ་ཙམ་ཀྱི་མཆོད་པའི་མ་དག་པའི་སྣང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་དམིགས་ཏེ་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ལས། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷ་སརྦ་དྷརྨ་སྭ་བྷ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པའི་
ངང་ལས་ཕད་སྐུ་ཉིད་གདན་ཐེར་རང་རྣམས་ཀ་ལས་སྐུ་མི་སྦྱིལ་མ་ཡིན་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུ་མདོག་ཐབ་ཕྱ་ར་དཀར་བའི་ཕྱུ་ཟླ་བེ་ལ་ཕྱ་ར་དབྱུང་ལ་བྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་
ཚོད་ཟེར་ཕྲ་ཕྲ་ཏུ་འཕྲོག་པ་ཏུ་ལིས་ཅེད་པོ་བཞི་ལ་སྨ་ཤགས་ཙན། ཕྱ་སྒྲ་ལ་ཞི་འདྲ་བ་མ་ཕྱ་ར་ར་བ་ཏུ་ཆུ་ས་པའི་ཕྱུ་བ་དྲུ་དང་ལྡན་མ། ཕྱག་གཡས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་
དང་གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོའི་སྡོང་བུའི་ཅུ་བ་ཐུགས་ཀར་འཛིན་ཅིང་། རས་ཀྱུ་ཆུས་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཤྲི་ཆ་ཀ་ར་བ་ཅན། ལྕོག་ཅེང་ཆགས་པའི་
ཉམས་རྒྱན་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་ཤོད་ལེ་མ་ལོ་ཤེས་པ། ཧྲེག་དཀར་པོ་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་རྒྱན། སྙན་ཆ། མགུལ་རྒྱན། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། དཔུང་རྒྱན།
ཕྱག་གདུབ། ཞབས་རྒྱན། ཞབས་གདུབ། གཡེར་ཁ་ཞི་སྒྲ་འབྱིན་པ་དང་། ལྷ་རྫས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱས་མཛེས་པ། དར་དཀར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་། སྣ་ཚོགས་
དར་གྱི་ཤམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། དཔུང་སྟུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཕྱག་པར་བཅིངས་པའི་རུ་རྒྱ་རྣམ་པར་གཡོ་བ་ཅན། གཡོན་སྒྲའི་ལུས་ཅན་དུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་གིས་བཞུགས་པ་ཤོང་སྟུ་ཀྲུ
བཞུགས་པ། འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་། རི་བོང་ཅན་གྱི་ཉིན་པར་ཕྱེད་པ་ཅན་དུ་རྒྱུ། སྤྱི་བོར་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཨོཾ་དཀར་པོ། མགྲིན་པར་པདྨ་ལ་ཨཱཿ
པོ། ཐུགས་ཀར་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཧཱུྃ་སྔོན་པོ། ཧཱུྃ་གི་ཡོད་ཙམ་ཏུ་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་བཞི་པ་ལ་ཉི་དཀར་པོ། དེ་ལས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཏུ་བ་ཐམས་པས། སྤྱན་དྲང་ཅི
ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲོལ་དཀར་པོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་
ལ་ཐིམ། སྤྱི་བོར་ཞིང་རིན་ཏུ་ལ་ནས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་མ་བབས་མ་སྐྱོང་མ་དཀར་མོལ། བྲམ་ཡི་དམ་བསམ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའ་བཀོད་བསྒྲུ་ཕྱག་
ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ལ་ཐིམ། སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་དང་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས། སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོའི་སྐུ་ཚེ་བ་རི་རབ་ཙམ།
རྒྱུ་བ་ཕྱུང་བ་ཁྲུ་ཙམ། ཡང་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུ་བ་ཚམ་ཆེས་མ་ཆེ་ས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཁ་བསྐྱུ་ཕྱུགས་རྒྱུ་བ་པ་བཞིན་ཏུ་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་
ཐིམ་ཐིམ་བ་མ་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད་ཁྱེད་ལ། རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡི་བི་སྤྲུམ་ཏུ་དང་། རྩ་བ་ཕྲེང་མ་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ཐིམ་པ་ས་ཅིག་ཏུ་དགས། སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་ཉིད་སྐྱིས་རྟེ་བྱིན་གསོལ་
བྱིན་ཏུ་བརླབ་པ་བཞུགས་པས། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་བཛྲ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ་ཨ་བེ་ཤ་ཡ་ཨཿཨཿ ཞེས་བརྗོད་ལ་རང་ཕྱི་བཤད་པས་བརྒྱུད་རི་བ་བར་གང་ཚོས་པ་བརྗོད་དོ། །དེས་སྤྲུལ་སྒོ་
གསང་གསུམ་ཕབས་ལ་མས། ཡང་དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་གར་རང་དཀར་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་དཀར་པོ་རྩིབས་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ་བུར་ཤར་བ
གསུམ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཐེ་བར་ཕྲུམ་ཤིང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྙིང་ཏུ་ཏཾ་ཡིག་དཀར་པོ། མཐར་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུཿ་པུཎྱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཅེས་པ
བསྐོར་བ། ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ། ཞེས་པའི་ཕྱག་ནི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་རྣམ་པ་ཚར་དུ་བཀོད་པ་སྐོར་མོས། སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་དང་མཉམ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་
ཕྱུགས་བསྡེང་དང་བཅས་པ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཤིང་ཙམ། བབ་པ་གསོན། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཞུགས། སྐྱེད་གཞི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྲུགས་སྤྲེད་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ
ཐིམ་པར་བསམ་ལ། འདི་ནི་རྗེས་སྐྱོར་མཛོད་ཚུལ་ལ། ཉེ་བ་ཞེ་ལ་སྐྱེད་པོ། སྐུ་ཡི། བྱུ་ཡི་རྣམས་ལ་ཚོ་རབ་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་མ་མ་ཨཱ་ཡུཿ་པུཎྱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་པུཥྚིཾ་
ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་བཟླས་ཤིང་ཐུན་བཞུག །དེས་ཕྱག་ཁ་ཅིག་གཟུངས་རྒྱུན་ཞེས། ལོ་ཁྱོང་བརྒྱུས་བརྗོད་མཐའ་ཡས། ཕྱང་ཡོག་པ་ཙམ་ཅིས
དགོས་སྦྱིན་མཛོད་པས། བརྒྱུད་པ་ཀྱི་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་མ་འཚལ་བའི་ལྟུང་བ། ཕྱག་གིས་ལས་བཞུང་སྟེ་སྦྲེལ་ཤང་རྒྱུ་མཆོག་པ་ཏུ། རྗེས་ཤུལ་མ་ཡམ་ཐམས་ས་སྐྱོར་གང་
ཡོད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡི་དམ་ཀྱི་ལ་ཞུ་ཏུ་ཡས། དེ་ནི་རྒྱུང་ཐུགས་ཅེ་ཕྱི་ལ་སྒྲོན་ད་ཆམས་པ་བདེ་ཙམ་རི་མ་ཆགས་བར་བརྒྱ་རྣམ་པས་འདི་དེ་རྗེས་སྐྱོར
མཛོད། ཚོགས་ལ་རྒྱུ་བ་བརྒྱུགས་པའི་བང་ལ་རྒྱ་ནད་ཁྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའ་བཟམ་ཙད་དང་། སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་གདན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་སྡུན་སོ། བདག་ཅིང་བཞི་ཞེས

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ནམ་འབྱུང་སྟེ། ངེ་ཡིད་ཁྱང་རྒྱུ་བ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ། སྨྲ་ལ་དགའ་བ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལ་ཆེར་ལོ་ཡོད་མཆོག་ལྟར་འབྱུང་ནས། དེ་ལ་གནས་
སྐབས་གཅིག་ལ་ཅི་སྐྱེ་རིགས་བར་དུ་འཆའ་ལག་མ་སོ།། ལན་གསུམ། དེ་ལྟར་སྐབས་བརྒྱལ་པ་ཁྱང་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཚམ་མཆིས་པ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཡིན་མོད་ཀྱི། ཡོད་
ལོ་དང་སྨྲ་མང་པོར་སྒྲུབ་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་། ཇུ་མ་དང་སྦྱིན་ཆེན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་ཆེས་ཅི་ནས་བཀའ་བཞིག་ཙམ་ཆེས་ཁྱང་འབྱུང་
བའི་ཕྱིར། ཅི་ནས་བརྟན་པ་བའི་ལུང་ཕྱག་བསྐོར་པས། སྨོན་ལམ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་འཆོར་བཞིན་དུ་འདི་དེ་ཉེས་སྨྲས་མཛོད། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་ལ་གནས་སྐྱུར་
དེ་ལྟར་ཕུལ་བའི་མེ་ཏོག་དེ་ཉིད་སྐབས་སྤྲོད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཆེས་བརྟན་ནོ། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བོ་མ་གཏོང་བས། སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཏུ་བཞེས་ཤུགས་སོ། སྙིང་གར་སྐབས་
འཕྲེང་བ་ཕྱི་མ་ཞིང་། ཅི་ནས་བརྟན་པ་པར་ཡོད་པ་མཛོད། སེམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོ་བ་གཏོང་ངོ་། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་བཏགས་ཤུམ། སྙིང་གར་གཏོང་ངོ་།

སྐབས་ཕྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྐྱ་དུ་གསོལ། །ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་ལ་བརྟན་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ།།

དེ་ནི་ཕོ་མ་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཞེ་སྡང་མ་ལ་ལས་མ་སྐྱེས་མ་དགར་མོ་ཞིག་ཡུང་ལོ་སྐབས་ཅི་ལྟར་མཐུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་ཁྱང་
གི་ཉེས་གནང་ཐོབ་པ་ལགས། སྔོན་དང་ཆེན་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བའི་སྐབས་འབོར་ཆེ་ཡོད་ཅིག་ཞེས་བཏག་བསྒྲུབ། ཕྱག་གི་ཕྱུང་བ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་སྤྱོད་པ་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་
བརྒྱད་བསྐུལ་ནས་ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོར་སྒྲུབ་དེ། སྙིང་གི་སྐབས་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ཕྱི་མ་པར་མོས། འདི་ནི་ཉེས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྦྱར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆེན་སྐབས་ཕྱག་མཆོད་
ཅི་ནས་པར་བཀུག་ནས་བཞི་མ་པ་སྤྱི་བོ་ལྟར་ཆ་རྒྱལ་བཀོད་དུ་མེད་ཁྱང་ཕྱག་ལེན་པ་ཡོད་པས་སྤྱོད་དུ། དེས་ཕྱག་ས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་གནང་ཐོབ་པ་
ལགས། ཞེས་སོགས་སྐྱེ་ལྟར་འོ།། ॥

༄ བཟང་ས་ཅན་མ་དཀར་མོ་ལ་

ཕྱག་ལ་འཁོར་མི་མངས་བསྐྱེད་ཚོད་མེད་བཞི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དང་མཐུན། ཇ་མ་ཡི་དམ་ལ་ངས་རྒྱལ་ཁྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་མདུན་དུ་བཞུགས་
པར་སྒྱུར། དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི། སོགས་པ་ནས་ལམ་འབྲུས་ཚད་མེད་གསུམ་བ། ཨོཾ་ཤཱུ་ནྱ་ཏཱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་བཛྲ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཨཱཏྨ་ཀོ྅ཧཾ།
སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་སྟོང་ཉིད་བཞི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་དང་ཁྱང་གྲོང་ཁྲི་ཟ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་གནས། རི་བོ་ཤོག་ཅན། ཕྱན་སྒྲོང་
ཀྱི་མ་དགའ་བ་བཞི་རྩུས། ཚོ་མའི་རྒྱུ་མཚོ་དཀར་ལ་དྲུས་པ་ཞེ་རང་དུ་ཡོ་ལས་པ་བཞུགས་རང་པོ་འདར་མ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་རྒྱལ་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཐུ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་
ལས་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་སེམས་རྗེ་དཀར་པོ་ཡིག་ལས་གྱུར་པ་ལས་རང་ཉིད་སྦྲ་ཁྱང་ལས་སྐུ་མདོག་ཅན་མ་ཕྱུ་མདོག་དཀར་མོ་
ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས། སྤྱན་ཀྱང་ཆེད་པ་ཚོག་ཕྱུའི་འཕྱག་ལྟ་ངས་ཅན། ཞལ་རས་སྨྲ་བ་ཞིག་ངང་བ་ཕྱུ་བུ། ཕྱུ་དྲ་ལ་ཀྱར་བཀྲ་བའི་སྤྲུལ་བུང་བ་ཡོ་བས་
མཛེས་པ། ཕྱག་གཡོན་པས་བཞི་ཉུ་ཉེ་སྤྱུད་མང་ལོ་ཤིང་། གཡས་པ་འི་ཕྱག་མེ་རྡོ་འཕྱ་ཀྱེད་ཀྱིས་བསྐུལ་བས་སྒྲ་དུ་ཁྱང་ཀྱི་མཆོ་མཆོག་པ་རྒྱུ་ག
ཁྱང་ལྟར་གནག་པ་བཞི་སྨྲ་ཚོགས་ཀྱེད་ཕྱག་པར་བཞི་ངང་མ་ཤིང་། ཁྱེད་བཞི་དུ་མཆོག་བས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེད་ཕྱགས། ཕྱུད་གར་པོ་ཡིན་ཁྱེད་བཞི་ཡོད་བཙེ་ལས་དང་།
རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྟ་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་ཀྱི་མཆོག་ལྡན། བརྒྱུད་ཀུག་ཞབས་ཞི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཅན། ཤ་འབྱུང་མཚོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པ། ཐེད་སྐབས་ཕྲ་ཞིང་ཕྱག་པ་འཛུམ་པ་བཞི་ཤས་
ཅན།། ལྷ་རྫས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲོན་པ་ཡོག་མ་དགའ་རབ་ཀོད་དང་། སྤྱད་གཡོན་ལས་དཔང་པོ་ཡི་གཞུང་རྣམ་གྲུ་བཞི་ཕྱང་ཕྱུག་ལོ་ཡིན། ཞོ་ཟླ་ཞིབ་པོ་ཆེ་ཞི་རྒྱུ་ཆུ་མས་རྣམ་
པར་བརྒྱུན་པ། གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུ། ལྷན་ཅན། མཐུལ་ཅན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། ཞབས་གདུབ། ཨོར་གདུབ། སྐ་རགས། དོ་ཤལ། སེ་མོ་དོ། གཡོ་དགག་གི་ཕྲེང་བ
ལ་སོགས་པས་བརྒྱན་པའོ།། རང་གི་སྙིང་ཁ་ཤེལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་དུ་ཕྱག། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཆེན་དུ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཕྱག་ལ་དར་མ་ཤར་ལོ་ཀྱི་འབྲུ་མ་བ་བཞིན་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་

ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་འི་ཞབས་ཏུ་ཨོཾ་དཀར་པོ། སྣང་བ་བཟང་ཁྲིད་རབས་ལ། ཨོཾ་ཁྲོ་བྷྲུ་དཔལ་འདོད་རྩེ་རྡོ་རྗེ་དཀར་པོ་འཕྲེས། སྒྲ་ཕྱག་གཡས་ནས་བཞེད། སྙིང་ཁ་ནས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་འབྱམས
རེག་པ་འི་རྡོ་རྗེ་དབང་བའི་ཚོགས་ནས་བཟླ། མཆོད་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་བཞག་པའི་ཞིང་ལ་ཕྱག་གཡོན་ནས་ཕྱུག། ཕྱག་གཡས་མཐའ་ཡས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལ་སེམས་དཔའ། ཐམས་ཅད
དབྱིངས་ཅན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འབོད་རྡོ་རྗེ་དབང་བ་སྐུ་སྣང་བ་སྟེ། ཞལ་ཕྱག་གཡས་ནས་བཞེད། སྙིང་ཚིག་གི་ས་བོན་ཏེ་རང་གི་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ར་བཞུགས་པ
ལ་སྒྲོན་མ་རུ་རྒྱུ་བའི་མཆོད་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་བས་མཆོད་པ་ར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྲ་ཏི་ཙྪ་ཡེ། གནྡྷེ། ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ།
ཤབྡ་ཡེ་ཀེ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པས་མཆོད། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བཅིངས། ཕྱག་བཅད་ཏུ་བཏབ།
འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲ་ཕྱག་གཡོན་ནས་ཕྱུག། འདོད་དུ་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་ཁྲོ་བྷུ་ཀ་ཞེས། ཨོཾ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐུ་རྒྱུ་པ་ལས། དབྱིངས་ཅན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་མཆོད་ཀར་པོ་འཕྲེས་བསྐྱེད།
ཤེས་རྒྱུ་ལས། ལྷ་བ་སྣང་བ་རྒྱ་ཞིང་ར་ཤར། དེའི་སྙིང་དུ་ཐབ་རྣམ་གསལ་བྱེད་ཞབས་རྗེས་སྔགས་དཀར་པོ་སྐྱེད་དང་བཅས་པ། འཕགས་མ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་
གཉིས་རིག་པ་ལ་སྤྲོད་དུ་འཁོད་པ། མར་མེ་དཀར་པོའི་ཁྱོད་པ་ལྷ་ཤུབ། འཁོར་ལོ་ཡིག་འབྲུ་དང་བཅས་པ་འི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས། ལུས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་བར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ། ཞེས་
པའི་སྒྲུབ་པ་དག །ཞེས་བཅུག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཆ་ལས་གྲོལ་ལ་མེད་པ་འི་ཐིག་ལེ་གྱི་སྣང་བ་རྒྱལ་བ་ར་གྱུར། ཞེས་བརྗོད་ཅིང་བསྒོམ།

✤ སློབ་མ་རྗེས་བཟུང་རྗེས་གནང་དགོས་ལ་ལས་སྦྱོར་གྱི་ཞིང་རྩེ་དོན་ཡིན་ན་ཀུ་མ་ན་མ་པ་འི་ཉིང་ཁྱད་ཀར་གསུམ་མདང་གསུམ་བཞི་མ་ན་མ་རྒྱ་ར་བ་འི་རྒྱུ་ལས་
[illegible]
ཐམས་པའི་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལྷ་བཞིན་པའི་ཁྲལ་ལ་ཚད་དང་མཉམ་པ་བཞག །བཞི་མ་ན་མ་འི། ཤཱནྟི། སྨར་སུམ། རུ་ཅི། སྟེཾ་ཕྱུར་བའི་སྤྱི་དཀྱིལ། དེ་ར་སྟེང་དུ་མཉམ་བཞི་ཁར
མི་འབེབས་ལ་བདག་དང་དམར་བཟང་དུ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་དཀར་གསུམ་ཁྲ། ལྷུང་ཅི་སྤྲུ་ར་ལ་བཞི་མ་ན་མ་པ་བ་སྐྱེ་ལས་བརྒྱུད་ཆགས་བརྟུད་ཡིག་འབྲུ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྐྱེང་གིས
སྣང་བ་འཁོར་ལྷ་ཁྱབ། དེ་ལ་བསྒྲུབ་དཀར་སྤྱ་རྟེ་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྣམ་ཤེས་ལ་ཡིད་ཡོད་པ་བཞག །ཡིག་གི་རིང་ཏེ་ལ་འཁོར་མ་ཁྱབ་ནི་ཚེ་མ་དུ་ཚེ་མ་ཉིས་བསྡུ་རྒྱུད་
བཅས་པ་ཞེས་རྒྱ་ཏུ་ཤེས་ལྷུ་བཟླས། མདངས་དུ་དཀར་མཚོ་རི་ཚེ་རྒྱང་གཞི་མ་དང་། མཆོད་པ་བརྩེ་བ་འཕེབས་བཟང་པོ་ལེ་རྒྱུ་ར་ཚད་བ་གཞུས། ཆ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཏེར་མ་དང་བཅས།
དེ་ནས་བདག་གསྐྱེད་བཟླས་པ་དང་བཅས་ཚར་གཅིག་བསྒོམ་པ་ཏེ། མདུན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལ་འཁོར་ལ་ཐུགས་བསམས། སྔ་སྒྲ་ཕྱག་ཕྱུགས། སློབ་མ་འི་ངང་ལས་སྐྱེད་ལས
རྒྱུ་བའི་སྒྲུང་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ་འི་དབྱངས་སུ་ཨོཾ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱུར་པ་ལས། དབྱིངས་ཅན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལ་སྤྲད་དཀར་པོ་ཡས་ཀ་རྒྱུ་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་ལས། ལྷ་བ་སྣང་བ་རྒྱ་ཞིང་ར
ཤར། དེའི་སྙིང་དུ་ཐབ་རྣམ་ཀྱི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁྱབ་ཀྱུ་སྙིང་ཀ་དཀར་པོ་སྐྱེད་དང་བཅས་པ། འཕགས་མ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཉིས་རིག་པ་ལ་སྤྲོད་དུ་འཁོད་པ། མར
མེ་དཀར་པོའི་ཞིང་ལྷ་ཤུབ། འཁོར་ལོ་ཡིག་འབྲུ་དང་བཅས་པ་འི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞི་བར་འཕྲོས་པས། སྙིང་ཁ་ནས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་འབྱམས་རེག་པ་འི་རྡོ་རྗེ་དབང་བའི་ཚོགས
བཟླ་མཆོད་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་བཞག་པ་འི་ཞིང་ལ་ཕྱག་གཡོན་ནས་ཕྱུགས། ཕྱག་གཡས་མཐའ་ཡས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལ་སེམས་དཔའ། ཐམས་ཅད་དབྱིངས་ཅན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འབོད་
ཞིང་ཁམས་སུ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཞལ་ཕྱག་གཡས་ནས་བཞེད། སྙིང་ཚིག་གི་ས་བོན་ཏེ། རང་གི་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ར་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་སྒྲོན་མ་རུ་རྒྱུ་བ་འི་མཆོད
པ་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་བས་མཆོད་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྲ་ཏི་ཙྪ་ཡེ། གནྡྷེ། ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ། ཤབྡ་ཡེ་ཀེ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱ
ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ འཁོར་ལ་ཐིམ་ཅིག་པ་དང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པ་ར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥིཉྩ་ཧཱུྃ། ཨ་ཨཱཿ ཨི་ཨཱི། ཨུ་ཨཱུ། རི་རཱི།
ལི་ལཱི། ཨེ་ཨཻ། ཨོ་ཨཽ། ཨཾ་ཨཿ ཞེས་བརྗོད་ཅིང་བརྗོད་བསྒྲུབ། འཁོར་ལོ་དེ་ཉིད་གཞན་ལ་མེད་ཁ་དང་བཅས་པ་ལྷ་མོ་ཡི་སྐུ་ར་གྱུར། མཆོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲོ
ཏིས་བསྐང། ཤབྡ་ཕྱས་ཕྱུགས། སྐྱེད་པ་འི་ངང་ལས། ཨོཾ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་འི་སྒྲོན་ཡང་ལས་སོང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་དུ། ཧཱུྃ་ལྷུན
ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མཆོད་ཡོན། ཞབས་བསིལ། མེ་ཏོག །བདུག་སྤོས། མར་མེ། དྲི་ཆབ་ཞལ་ཟས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་པ་ར་གྱུར།
ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨརྒྷཾ་སྭ་སྟི་སྭཱ་པཱུ་ཛ་ཧཱུྃ་ཞེས་པ་འབྲེལ་ཅན་སྤྱི་ལ་བཀྲམས།

ཡེ་ཤེས་འདི་བཞེན་པོ་ནི་དགོས། །མཆོད་པ་ཡོན་བཙུན་ཆེ་རི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནི། །དཔལ་ཆེ་ལྷ་མོ་ཚོགས་ཅན་མ། །ཕྱག་བསྒྲུབ་བཅས་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག།
ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི་ཤྲཱི་ནི་ཝཱ་ས་པ་དེ་སྭཱ་ར་མཾ་སྐྱོབ་སེམས་ཏེ་རང་བྱིན་འདོད་ཡོན་སྣང་བ་བཅས་ ཞེས་ གཏོད། མཉམ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་གཟུང་ཀར་བའི་ངང་ལས་མཆོད་ཀར

ཡོན་དབང་བསྐུར་བ་ཞིབ་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ལས། ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་ཟབ་མོ་ཡང་མེད། དེའི་སྙིང་པོ་ཐུབ་པ་བསྡོམས་[illegible] དཀར་པོ་སྐྱོང་དང་བཅས་པ། འདུག་མ་འབྱུང་ལ་
[illegible] གྱི་ཡི་གེ་གཉིས་གཉིས་ཏེ་གཡས་སྐོར་དུ་བཀོད་པ། མར་མེ་དཀར་པོའི་ཕྲེང་བ་སྦྱར། [illegible] ཆད། ཞལ་
ནས་མཛད། [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] |
[illegible] |
[illegible] |
[illegible] |
རྗེས་སུ་ཆགས་བཅས་རོལ་པའི་ཡོ་ནི་བརྟུད་གཞི་ལ་ལོངས་པའི་ཉམས། |
[illegible] |
དྲི་ཟའི་བུ་མོས་མངོན་པར་སྒྲོད་ཉིད་ཀྱི་[illegible] |
གང་གིས་ཡིད་ལ་དྲན་རྗེད་དེ་ལ་ངག་གི་དངོས་[illegible] |
དེ་ལྟར་[illegible] གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཉིད་ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན། |
[illegible] |
[illegible] |
[illegible] |

[illegible]
[illegible]
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[illegible] | [illegible] |
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[illegible] | [illegible] |

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

ཀྱཻ་ཀ་ཆེན་ཐལ་ཀློང་ཞལ་བའི་སྐུ་རྒྱན་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཞད་ཚོད་བྱོན་པ་ལ་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པའི་སྒོ་གྲོལ་བསྐྱེད་དུ་གསོལ། །གཞན་ཡང་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་པར་ཆད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བ་དང་ཏིང་ངེ་
སྒྲུབ་མ་ལུས་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་དུ་སྒྲུབ་པ་དུ་གསོལ། །གཏོར་མ་གཞིས་ལ་ཡང་ཆོས་བཞིན་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་པ་བརླབས་ཏེ། ཉེར་སྤྱད་མ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མཱ་ཛཿ
ཞེས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་ཀཱ་རོ་མུ་ཁཾ། ཨོཾ་པུ་ཀ་ར་ཛ་མེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་ལན་བདུན་གྱིས་ཕུད་ཀྱི་གཏོར་མ་ཕུལ། བདག་མེད་མའི་ཞེས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་སོ་སོའི་ཕྱག་ནས
ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་བ་ལ་བཟླ་དོན་དང་བཅས་མཆོད་པར་བརྗོད་བཞིན་པ་བར་མཆོད་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་གདབ། མཆོད་པའི་གཏོར་མ་ལ་བཞི་བཞིན་ཉེ་བར་སྦྱར་བ་བཅས
ན་མཿས་མནྟ་བུདྡྷཱ་ནཱཾ། ན་མཿས་མནྟ་དྷརྨ་ཀཱ་ཡ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཏེ་ཨོཾ་ས་རྦ་ར་ས་རྦ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་ལན་བདུན་གྱིས་འབྱུང་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྦྱིན། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཞེ་སྡང་བ་གཞི་
མཚན་བརྗོད། སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་འབྱུང་པོའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་མཆོད་སྦྱིན་གྱི་གཏོར་མ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ་སྤྲུལ་པ་ལ་བཟའ་རུ་གསོལ་ཞིང་མ་མཛད་ཅིག །དབང་ཕྱོགས་
ཕྱོགས་མཐུ་ལྡན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བར་ཆད་བསྐུལ་ཞིང་དེས་ཕྱུག་སྐྱོང་བའི་མཐུ་ཆེན་མཐོང་ཅིག །ཅེས་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟླ་པ་ལས་མང་དུ་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཡཀྵ་ཧཱུྃ།
གཏོར་མ་བསྔོ། །ཕ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། །ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཟོད་པར་གསོལ། ཨ་ཧཱུྃ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཆོད། ཕྱག་གཅིག་མ་ཕྱག་མཚན་དཔལ་ཅན་
པའི་ཆུ་ལ་བཀང་བ་ལ་དམར་ཐིག་ཅན་གྱི་དཀར་གསུམ་དང་མངར་གསུམ་སྦྱར་བ་དུག །མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཕྲེང་བ་བཀྲམ་པ་ལ་བརྟགས་ནས་སྤྱི་བོར་བཞག་ལ།
ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་ཀཱ་རོ་མུ་ཁཾ་སརྦ་དྷརྨཱ་ཎཱཾ་ཨཱདྱ་ནུཏྤནྣ་ཏྭཱཏ་ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་ལྷག་མ་ཆུ་བོར་བསྐུར།

༄ མཇུག་སྨོན་དུ་འགྲོ་བ།

སྒོན་དཔོན་བདག་ལ་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ།	།སྤྱན་དྲངས་ལྷ་མོ་དགྱེས་ཅན་མའི།
སྐུ་དང་གསུང་དང་ཐུགས་ནམ་ཀྱི།	།ཞིང་སུ་གཏན་བ་བདག་ལ་སྩོལ།

ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་གསོལ་བ་གདབ།

འགྲོ་ནམས་བསྒྲལ་བཏོད་བཀས་མ་པ་ཡིས།	།ཁམས་རྒྱས་ཆོས་དང་དགེ་བ་བསྒྲལ།
ཕྱང་རྒྱན་ཕྱིང་པོ་མཆོག་གྱི་ཐར།	།རྟག་པར་བདག་གི་ཕྱག་སུ་མཆི།
ཤེས་རབ་སྙིང་རྗེ་དང་བཅས་པའི།	།བརྩོན་པས་སེམས་ཅན་དོན་དུ་བདག
སངས་རྒྱས་མདུན་དུ་གནས་བཅས་ཏེ།	།རྫོགས་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དོ། །

ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཆན་མོ་ངེ་སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དོ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི། །ཐོགས་རྒྱུན་བཤགས་ལ་བཞི་གསུམ།
སློབ་དཔོན་དང་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་འཇིག་རྟེན་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱང་རབ་ལ་བ་ཡི་ཕྱག་ལ་གདེ་སྐྱོ་བས་འདོད་ཟེར་འགྲོ་སྐྱོབ་མའི་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཀྲང་མཐིལ་གྱི་བར་ཡང་
ནས། ཐིག་ཕྲེང་ཐམས་ཅད་དག་སྟེ། མ་དག་པའི་སྣང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་ངང་དུ་ཞིམ་པར་ཤེས་སུ་བསྒྲུབ་ལ། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཿསརྦ་དྷ་
རྨཱཿསྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་སྣོད་ཅེ་བཞི་ནི་ཤར་དང་སྒོ་འཁོར་ཞུགས་པའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་གནས་ཀྱི་བཞིན་ཙམ་སྐྱིན
སྐྱོང་ལ་ཐམས་དག་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མའི་ཟླ་མཆོད་པར་འདུས་པའི་ཕྱག་དུ་ཕྱག་ལས་ཕྱུག་དག་པར་ཡོངས་བ་བཞུམ་ཕྲག་རྒྱུ་བ་པའི་སྟོང་པ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཨ་ལས་ཟླ་
བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཨ་ལས་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཕྱིར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཀྱི་དཀར་པོ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། སློབ་མ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་རས་
གཟིགས་དཀར་པོ་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས། ཕྱག་གཡས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཨུཏྤལ་དཀར་པོ་ཆུས་འཁྲུངས། ཞབས་རྐང་ཟུང་ཡང་ཀྱུར་ཏེ་བསྐྱིལ། ཁམས་སྤྱན་རས་
གཟིགས་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་ཕྱག་གཡོན་མཉམ་བཞག །ཕྱག་གཡོན་པས་ཤྲཱི་ཐོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱིལ་མོ་ཀྲུང་ཕྱིར་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། གཡས་པའི་ཕྱག་སྒྲོལ་མའི་ལྟེ་བ་ནས་བསྐུལ་བ་
སྐྱེ་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཆོད་པར་བཞུགས་པ། སྤྱན་སྔ་ཚོགས་པ་སྦྱོར་ལུགས་ལ་སྦྱར་བ་ཞིང་ངེས། ཕྱིར་བསྒོམ་པ་དྲུང་འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས་སྤྱན་ཕྱོགས་དཔའ་བ། པདྨ
དཀར་པོའི་ཕྲེང་བའི་ཐོད་པ་ཅན་དང་། སྙིང་པོ་ཡི་གེ་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་སྦྱི་བཞིན་ཟླ་ལ་མཛེས་པ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཡིད་བཞིན་པ་ལ་ཆོས་ཅན། སྤྱན་རས་མཛེས་པ་རྒྱ་མཐར།

མེད་ལྷ་ལས་ཕྱི་ཞིང་ཞེན་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཉམས་ཅན། ལྷ་རྫས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཡོལ་ཡོངས་དཀར་པོ་ཞིང་། སྲིད་ཡོངས་པ་དབང་པོའི་གཞུ་ལྟར་བཀྲ་བའི་སྣང་བ་སྤྲུལ་ཡོལ། ནོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འི་རྒྱན་དུ་མ་སྣམ་པར་བརྒྱན་པའི་གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུ། སྙན་ཆ། མགུལ་རྒྱན། ཕྱག་གདུབ། ཞབས་གདུབ། སོར་གདུབ། སྐ་རགས། དོ་ཤལ་ལེ་མོ་དེ། གཡས་ཕྱེ་ཞིང་བཞི་སྐྱིལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པས་བརྒྱན་པའོ།། ཞེད་རང་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་རྩ་ཤིང་གི་མེ་ཏོག་ལ་སོགས་ལྷུ་རྩ་དུ་ལྷུང་བ་དེ་ཉིད་ཞེན་དུ་ཡལ་ལས་པས་སྤྱ་ཀྲུ་ལ་དམར་པོ་ཁ་བརྒྱལ་པའི་ཉམས་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་ཞང་དུ། ཨོཾ་དཀར་པོ་གསལ་བ་བརྡབ། དེ་ནས། སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ནས་གནས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་དཔག་པོ་འཕྲོས། ཐུགས་ཀ་ཡས་ནས་ཐིམ། ལྷ་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་འཁྲུམ་རིག་འཛིན་དཔའ་བོ་ཆོས་བཅུ་ལྷ་མོ་ཁྲོ་ཅན་མ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཐུགས་གཡོལ་ཉུང་། ཐུགས་གནས་ཚོགས་ཡེ་ཤེས་སེམས་དཔའ། རྣམ་པ་དབྱེར་མ་ཅན་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འདོད་ཟེར་བསལ་བསྟན་གྲུབ་ཏེ། ཤངས་ཐུགས་ཡས་ནས་ཐིམ། སྣང་ཞེག་གི་མཚོན་ཏེ་ཐེད་རང་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་ཀྱི་ཞིམ་ཁམ་བཟུགས་པ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྒྲུབ་བའི་མཚོད་པ་ཞེམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཁྱབ་བའི་མཚོད་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་སྤྲ་ཏི་ཏེ་སྤྲི་ཕྱེ་ཞེ་ཧཱུྃ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྦྱར་ཏེ། པུཥྤེ། དྷཱུ་པེ། ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ། གནྡྷེ། ཨོཾ་སྤྲི་ཏི་ཏྲི་ཕཱ་ནི་ལ་པ་ཏི་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པས་མཆོད། ཡང་བཟླ་བསྐྱེད་བསྟིམ་སྤྱི་དང་སྦྱར་པར་བྱས་བཀྲང་སྟངས་བ་ར་གསུང་ལས་སོ།། ཨོཾ་སྤྲི་ཏེ་དེ་སྤྱུ་མ་སྟཱ་ཕྱེ་ཏེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་དབུག་རྒྱ་བརླས་ཤེ་ངོས་མེ། འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱོང་མའི་སྙིང་བའི་ཨོཾ་ལ་བསྟིམ། སྤྱི་རྗེས་བཟང་ངོ། ནམ་མཁའི་མཐིལ་པར་འཁོར་ལོ་གར་པོ་རྒྱས་བསྡུ་སྐྱོབ་པའི་སྐྱེ་བ་རྗེས་དཀར་པོ་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ལ་ཨཱུ་ཡེ་བསྟུ་བྱུག །དེ་ལས་དེ་བདུད་རང་སྤྲུ་སྤྲོག་ཚད་འོད་རྣམ་རྒྱ་ལ་སྤྱོབ་མའི་ལུས་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་། འཁོར་ལོ་མཐའ་ཡས་པར་ཐིམ། སྟ་ཉེར་གཅིག་དང་། དབྱངས་ཡིག་གི་ཐུགས་ལྡན་གསུམ་རྗེས་སྐྱོང་ཅེར་དུ་བསྒྲུག་སྟེ། གསུང་གི་རྗེས་གནང་ངོ།། ནམ་མའི་སྙིང་གའི་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས། སྐྱོབ་མའི་སྙིང་གའི་ལ་འོད་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་མོས། དེང་ལོ་ལྟར་ཏེ་མེད་དུ་གནས། ཕྱག་གི་རྗེས་གནང་ངོ། མཐུན་ཀྱི་མཐུ་ལ་བབ་ལ་འདྲ་ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བ་ཞིན་དུ། ཐུམ་པའི་རྒྱལ་བཀྲས་པའི་ཁྲུ་བ་སྐྱོབ་མ་འབྱུང་དུ་བསྟུག་ལ། ཕྱུམ་ཀའི་ཡིད་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲི་མ་དག །ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ལྷུག་རྒྱལ་པས་མོས་སྤྱ་བསྟུག །ཡོན་ཏན་བསྒྲིན་པས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་གནང་ངོ།། རྗེས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་འདྲ།། ༎

༄ གཉན་སྐྲོ་བ་ཡན་ལག་དྲུག་པ་ལ།

སྐྱབས་སེམས་རྒྱས་བསྡུས་གང་རིགས་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་གྱི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཡན་ཆད་སྔོན་དུ་བཏང་ནས། རང་སྐད་ཅིག་གིས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་རང་གསལ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་པད་ཟླ་ལས་པ་ལྟ་དང་ཨ་ལས་སྣ་བའི་དེ་ཁེ་ལ་འཁོར་ཀྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཡི་གེ་ཧཱུྃ་ལྗང་ཁུ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་སྣ་མ་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་རྒྷཾ། ཞེས་པས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། དེ་ནས་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་དྷཱུ་པེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་གནྡྷེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཏོར་དང་བཅས་པས་མཆོད། ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་ཏེ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི།། ཞེས་སོགས་ཡན་ལག་གསུམ་བརྗོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བ་དང་བདེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཅེས་སོགས་ཚད་མེད་བཞི་བསྒོམ། ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་པར་དག་པས་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་པས་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་ཤཱུ་ནྱ་ཏཱ་ཛྙཱ་ན་བཛྲ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཨཱཏྨ་ཀོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་པད་མ་དང་ཟླ་བའི་གདན་ལ་ཨཱ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་གྱུར་པ་ལ་ཡུང་ཏཱ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་མཚན་པ་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་འཕགས་པ་མཆོད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་བྱས། སྐྱར་བསྡུས་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། རང་ཉིད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་སྐུ་མདོག་ལྗང་གུ་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་པས། གཡས་པས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་གྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད་ཅིང་། གཡོན་པའི་མཐེབ་སྲིན་གྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་སྔོན་པོའི་རྩ་བ་ཐོགས་པ་གར་བསྣམས་པས་མེ་ཏོག་ཉན་ཀྱི་སྙིང་གར་ཐབ་པ། ཞབས་བསྐྱུམ་བརྐྱང་། རང་རྒྱུ་ཅན། དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་དང་སྨད་གཡོགས་ཅན། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཕྱོགས་

ཀླུ་ཡི་ཆ་ལུགས་བཟང་བ་ལ་སྐུ་བརྒྱན་པ་ཞིག་ནས། དར་སྣ་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་གཡོན་གྱིས་སྐུ་མ་ཐག་འཛིན། དར་སྔོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། ཞབས་གཡས་བསྐུམ་ཞིང་བརྐྱང་བའི་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས། གཡོན་བསྐུམས་པའི་རོལ་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་པ། དེའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་པད་ཟླའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཨ་ལས་ཟླ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་སྔགས་ཕྲེང་། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་པོ་ཏ་ལ་ནས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཞེས་པས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད། ཨོཾ་ཨ་རོ་ལིཀ་ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ས་མ་ཡ་སྟྭཾ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ཞེས་ཐིམ་པ་ནས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་ལྷག་པ་བདུད་རྩིས་ཁྱད་པར་དབང་བསྐུར། སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ་དག། རྒྱུ་ཕྱག་མ་ཡར་འཕྱུད་པ་ལས་དོན་ཡོད་གྲུབ་པས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། དབང་གི་ལྷ་དེ་རྣམས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཞི་བ་ལྷར་གྱུར་ཏེ་རང་ལ་ཐིམ། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་བའི་མཛུབ་མོ་གཉིས་ལ་བསྐོར་བའི་རྒྱ་བརྟེན་བསྟོར། ཕྱིན་མཛུབ་གཉིས་བསྒྲེངས་ནས། མཛུབ་མོ་མཐའ་པ་སྐུ་ལ་བའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་དམིགས་མཆིན་སྟེང་གཞུང་པ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཏེ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ངང་ལས་ཡིད་ཀྱིས་བཟླས་པ་ཏེ། སྤྲུལ་པ་འཕྲོ་འདུ་བཞིན་མེད་པ་ལ་སེམས་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནད། སྒྲོལ་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཟླ་བའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་གི་མཐར་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་གཡས་སྐོར་དཀར་པོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲ་ནམ་མཁའ་བ་བཞུགས་པ་བསམ་ལ། དེ་ལ་བློ་གཏད་པའི་ངང་ལ་ཏུ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་ཇི་སྙེད་ནུས་བཟླ། སྔོན། ན་མོ་རཏྣ་ཏྲ་ཡཱ་ཡ། ནམཿ ཨཱརྱ་ཨ་བ་ལོ་ཀི་ཏེ་ཤྭ་ར་ཡ། བོ་དྷི་ས་ཏྭཱ་ཡ། མཧཱ་ཀཱ་རུ་ཎི་ཀཱ་ཡ། ཏདྱ་ཐཱ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སརྦ་ཤ་ཏྲཱུན་ཨ་ཀ་ཏུ་ཧཱུྃ། ཕཊ་ཧཱུྃ། ཧཱུྃ་ཀྱཱ་ཡ། ཧྲཱུྃ་ཀྱཱ་ཡ། མོ་ཀྵ་ཡ། མ་རྟྱཱ་ཡ། ཧཱུྃ་ཧྲཱུྃ་ཧཱུྃ་བཛྲ་པཱ་ཎི་པ་ཎ་ཧཱུྃ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་ཕཊ་ཧཱུྃ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་གཟུངས་རིང་ཡང་ཅི་ནུས་བཟླ། མཐར་ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱ་པ་དང་། ཁ་སྐོང་ཞིང་ཡིན་རྒྱས་བཏབ་པར་བྱ།

༄ འདིའི་རྗེས་གཞང་ནི། མཎྜལ་མཆོད་བྱིན་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་ལྷུང་འཇོག་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྲུལ་མ་མཆོག་ལ་སྤྱི། དེ་ཡང་མཎྜལ་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་སམ། ཚོམ་བུ་ལྔ་བཀོད་ལ། མདུན་དུ་སྐུ་གཏོར་དཀར་པོ། མཆོད་པ་རྣམས་བཤམས། སྔོན་དུ་ཞི་བའི་སྦྱིན་བདག་བསྐྱེད་བཟླས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་བྱ། དེ་ནས་མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་པདྨ་དང་ཟླ་བའི་གདན་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཡི་དམ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཏཱཾ་ལས་ཕྱག་མཚན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ལྷར་གྱུར་པ། འཁོར་བ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མཛད། སྐུར་འདུས་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་གི་ཕྱག་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཐིམ། དེ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཞེས་པ་ལ། ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཟླ་བའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་ལྷུང་ཞིང་ཕྱག་མཚན་པར་གྱུར། རང་གི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ས་བོན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ་ཡི་ཏ་ལ་ནས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ

བློ་ལྡན་ལ་ཡི་གནས་མཆོག་ནས། །ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་ལྗང་ཁུ་ལས་འཁྲུངས།།
ཏཾ་ཡིག་འོད་ཀྱིས་འགྲོ་བ་སྐྱོབ། །སྒྲོལ་མ་ཁ་དོག་ལྗང་ཅན་ཞབས་ལ་བསྟོད།

ཞེས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ཀ་མ་ལཱ་ཡེ་སྟྭཾ། ཞེས་གདན་ཕུལ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཉེར་སྤྱོད་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས་རིགས་ལྔ་བསྐུར་བ་ལས་ཞེས་པ་ནས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདུད་རྩིའི་བུམ་པས་དབང་བསྐུར་ཏེ་སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ་དག། ཆུ་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས་རིགས་བདག་གིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། མཆོད་པ་རྣམས་ཕུལ་ནས་བསྟོད་པ་ཅི་ནུས་བྱ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་ཚོགས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་བར་མཆོད། ཕྱག་དང་ཡོན་ཡོད་པས་བསྒྲུབས་པ་ལ། གཏོར་མ་ལ་སྦྱིན་ཅིང་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཡི། ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་སྤྱན་འདྲེན་ཞིང་། དང་འཇུག་ཞིང་ཞུ་བ་བཞིན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཡོངས་གཏོར་མ་བསྔོས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཕྲིན་ལས་བསྒྲུབ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། བདག་གི་གཏོར་མ་གསོལ་བར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ། ཨ་ཀཱ་རོ་མུ་ཁཾ་སརྦ་དྷརྨཱ་ཎཱཾ། ཨཱ་དྱ་ནུཏྤནྣ་ཏྭཱཏ། སྐུ་ཞི་བ།

སྤྱི་བོར། ཨོ་མ་བ་ཀིརྟི་བྷ་ཡ། ཐེ་ཙཱ་ཡ་ཧཱུཾ་ཧཱུཾ་ཕཊ་ཕཊ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་ལན་བདུན་སོགས། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ས་མ་ཡ་ཧཱུཾ་ཞེས་རྒྱུན་ཆགས་སུ་བཟླ་བས་
མཆོད། སྐྱབས་སྤྲུལ་མིན་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར། མཆོད་སྤྱིན་གཏོར་མ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ། ཞེས་སོགས་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཐུགས་ལ་མ་གྲོལ་མ་དབང་ལ་མཆོག་དང་བསྟོད།
མོས་གུས་དང་ལྡན་པས་ཡུལ་ལས་བསྐུལ་བར་བྱ་ཞིང་། འཇིགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བརྒྱད་དང་བཅུ་དྲུག་སོགས་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པར་ཆེད་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་སྒྲོལ་བར་གསོལ། འཁོར་བ་སྡུག་
བསྔལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལས་བསྒྲལ་དུ་གསོལ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་འདོད་དོན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་གདབ། མཐར་སྤྱན་ཆེན་ཕྱག་
ཀར་དྲལ་བའི་ཕྲེང་ཞུ་ཡི་གེ་མཐར་ཡི་གེ་ཚུལ་ཁ་དོག་དཀར་པོ་མཐོ་ཡིན་ན་ཕྲལ་ནས་བསྐོར་བར་བསམ་པ། ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟཱ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་
ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟླ། ཐོན། ཨ་མ་རཱ་ཡུ་ཥ་ཡ། ཞེས་སོགས་གཟུངས་རིང་ཡང་ཅི་ནུས་བཟླ། ཡིག་བརྒྱ་བཟློད།
༄ དེ་ནས་སྤྱན་མ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྟ་བུ་ཆོས་སྐུ་ཡུམ། གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་འདི་ཡིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཛོད། ཐུགས་གསུམ་ས་མའི་ཕྱག་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ནམ་མཁའ་མཐུ་
གསོལ། ལག་གསུམ་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་གདབ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི། སོགས་སྦྱར་བ་བཟང་པོ་གསུམ། མཐུན་གྱི་ཆོས་སྒྲུབ་ལ་སོགས་
ཀྱང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་གྲོལ་མར་དགོས་སུ་སོང་བ། ཞེས་རྗེས་བསྔོ་ཞེ་བཞིན་དོན་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། སྨོན་ལམ་ཡང་ལྡན་མ་དྲོས་པ་ཡིན་སྐུ་མ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་
དེ་ཉིད་ལ་གའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་མཆོད་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི། ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་སྣང་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་འཕྲོས་ཏེ་སྤྱིར་མའི་ཡུལ་ལ་སོགས་
སྡིག་སྒྲིབ་དང་། བར་ཆད་གཅོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱངས། ཡུམ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ནང་བཞིན་དུ་ཞུགས་པར་བསམ། དེ་སྐད་ཅིག་ལ་ཡུམ་ལས་མ་རྡུ་དང་ས་ལས་སྐུ་བའི་
དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྙིང་ཁར་ཧཱུཾ་ལས་ཐུབ་པ་ལ་སྐུ་ཐིམ་མཐའ་ཡས། དེ་ལ་མཆོད་ཅིང་འགྲོལ། དོན་གཉིས་ལྷུན། རྩ་དང་རྒྱུས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་ལས། སྤྱིར་མཆི་
བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་རྒྱུ་མདོག་ལྗང་ཁུ། ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས། ཕྱག་གཡས་པས་མཆོག་སྦྱིན་ཅིང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད་པ་དང་། གཡོན་པས་མཐིལ་གྱི་སྟེང་ནས་ཨུཏྤལ་
སྔོན་པོའི་སྡོང་བུ་འཛིན་པ་དང་བཞུགས་པ་མི་ནོར་སྤྱན་གྱིས་དཀར་ཞིང་ཞེ་བ། ཞབས་བརྐྱང་བསྐུམ། ཞལ་ལ་འཛུམ། དཔྲལ་བ་ལ་ཞབས་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་ཞིང་གདངས་ཀས།
གཡས་ངོས་སུ་བཅིག་པ་བཞིན་བཞུགས་པ། ལོ་ཟླ་དྲུག་ལོན་པ་དར་བུ་ཆ་ལུགས་ཅན། ཕྱག་ལ་རྒྱན་ཅིང་བརྗིད་པ། དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་ཀྱིས་
བརྒྱན་པ་བཀག་བཅིང་། དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཤམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། ཞབས་གཡས་བརྐྱང་ཞིང་གཡོན་བསྐུམ་པའི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་གིས་བཞུགས་
པ། སྐུ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུ་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར་པས། དེའི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་དང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྡེ་ཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཤེས་རབ་ཐམས་
ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་རྗེས་སུ་ཐིམ་པ་མཆོག་གི་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་ལྷ་དང་ལ་ཏེ། སྤྱན་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་བསམ་པས། ལྷུག་པར་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ལ་གསོལ་འདེ
བཞི་ལེ་དགོད་པའོ། །དངོས་ལ་གསུམ་ལས། དང་པོ་སྐུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བའི་ཚུལ་ནི། སྤྱན་དཔོན་ཀྱིས་བདག་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་མཚན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་
པའི་ཕྱུང་དང་། གསང་སྔགས་རྗེས་སུ་གནང་བ་མཐུན་པར་སྐྱེ་འཛུད་གསོལ། ཞེས་ལ་ན་གསུམ་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་གདབ། དེ་ནས་སྤྱན་དཔོན་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་
ཕྱག་མཚན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་དང་བཅས་པ་ལས་དེ་འདྲ་བ་ཐུ་མ་བྱུང་ནས་ཞལ་ནས་བསྡོ། སྤྱན་མའི་ཞལ་དུ་ཞུགས། རྒྱུ་མ་ཁར་སྦྱང་བ་ལ་ཧཱུཾ་ཡིག་གི་མཐར་
གཡོན་པར་བསྐོར་བ་ཕྱག་ལ་ཉི་སྐྱེད་གྱི་རྒྱན་ལ་ནུས་མཐུ་བཞག། མཆོད་བརྗོད་རྒྱ་བསྟོད་པའི་མགོ །

དཔལ་ལྡན་ཡིད་འོང་པོ་ཏ་ལར།	།སྣ་ཚོགས་ཁམས་ཀྱིས་ནམ་པར་བརྒྱན།
སྣ་ཚོགས་གཞོན་པས་བཀྲམ་པ་སྟེ།	།སྤྱི་གཅེས་རྟ་མ་སྤྲ་འཛིན་པ།
འབབ་ཆུ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀུན་ཅི་ཆེ།	།རི་དྭགས་སྣ་ཚོགས་འཁྲུགས་པ་སྟེ།
མེ་ཏོག་སྣ་ཚོགས་འཛོམ་ནམས་ཀྱིས།	།ཁུ་བྱུ་དྲི་ཡིས་བཀང་བ་སྟེ།
སྣ་ཚོགས་ཡིད་འོང་ཁྲམ་བུ་ཅན།	།ཀང་པ་དྲུག་པ་གླུ་ཡིས་སྒྲ།

མི་ནམ་མཚེ་ཡིས་སྒྲ་སྐད་ལེན །
རིག་བཞི་རྩེན་བླུང་བའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་དང །
སྒྲུབ་པ་འདོད་ཆགས་སྤྲུལ་རྣམས་དང །
ས་བསྟུ་མེད་བ་ལྷུག་རྣམས་ལ་དང་ནི །
རིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྨྱོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས །
ཕྲ་བོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོགས་གཞན་དང །
སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་པར་བརྩོན །
བཞུགས་ནི་དེ་ཕྱིར་དཔལ་དང་ལྡན །
དཀའ་བསྒྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ལྡན་པ །
སྐུ་ཡི་འཁོར་ནི་ཆེན་པོ་ལ །
དེ་རྣམས་ནི་ར་འདུག་ཡང་དག་ལངས །
མཆོག་ཏུ་སྙིང་རྗེ་དང་ལྡན་པས །
ཀུན་པོ་སྒྲུ་ལ་དང་ལེགས་ཏེ་དང །
ཞེ་མཛེད་སྒྲུབ་པས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས །
འཁོར་བའི་ཞགས་པས་བཅིངས་པ་རྣམས །
གང་གིས་སེམས་ཅན་གྲོལ་འགྱུར་པ །
དེ་སྐད་ཞུས་ནས་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས །
དཔལ་ལྡན་དེ་ནི་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས །
སྨན་པའི་ཚིག་ནི་འདི་སྐད་གསུངས །
སྒྲོལ་བ་འོད་དཔག་མེད་པ་ཡི །
ང་ཡི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མཐོང་གིས །
འགྲོ་བ་འདོན་པར་བརྩོན་པ་མོ །
སྒྲ་བཀའ་འདྲ་ཚད་ཀྱི་བོད །
མི་རྣམས་བྲམས་ལས་ཤ་ས་ལ་བར་བྱེད །
གདོད་སྦྱིན་སྤྲིན་ནོ་གཟིགས་ལས་ཐར་བྱེད །
མ་བཞིགས་ས་མ་ཞིགས་ཞེས་བཟོད་མ །
འགྲོ་བ་ཡང་དག་བསྒྲུང་དོན་དུ །
འཇིགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ལ་བསྒྲགས་དོན་དུ །

།སྐང་ཆེན་སྦྱིན་པ་ས་ཡང་དག་ཁེངས། །
།དྲི་ཟ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྒྲ་ཡིན་པ། །
།བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་ལ་གཞན་དང། །
།འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་སྐྱ་མོ་རྣམས། །
།རྟག་ཏུ་ལེགས་པར་བརྟེན་པའོ། །
།རྟ་མགྲིན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ། །
།བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ནི་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས། །
།པདྨའི་སྙིང་པོ་སྤྲུལ་པའི་གདན། །
།ཐམས་ཅད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་ལྡན། །
།ཚེ་ལ་གསུང་པོའི་ཡང་དག་བཞུགས། །
།ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྟོབས་པོ་ཆེ། །
།སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་ཞུས་པ་སྟེ། །
།སྲང་པོ་སྐད་དང་རྒྱུ་འཛིགས་པས། །
།འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚོར་བྱིང་བ་རྣམས། །
།ཆགས་སྡང་གཏི་མུག་དྲི་མ་ལས། །
།དེ་གསུངས་བདག་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ། །
།འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོས་འདི་སྐད་གསུངས། །
།ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རབ་རྟོགས་བྱེད། །
།ཉོན་ཅིག་གསང་བའི་རྒྱལ་དགའ་པོ། །
།སྨོན་ལམ་སྨོན་པས་ཀྱིས་བྱུང་བསྐྱེ། །
།སྙིང་རྗེ་ཆེ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡིས། །
།ཀེ་མ་ཤ་ར་བ་དང་འདྲ་བ། །
།སྨྲ་བཅས་མེད་དང་ལྷ་མིན་དང། །
།འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་པོ་གཡོ་བར་བྱེད། །
།ཕྱག་ན་ཡུ་རྣལ་སྒྲོན་པོ་སྦྱི། །
།བར་སྣང་དུ་ནི་འཕར་བར་གནས། །
།མཚན་ཉིད་བསྐལ་པ་བཞུང་བ་དང། །
།རྒྱལ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདག་བསྐྱེད་དེ། །

མིང་རྣམས་དྲན་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ནི | |སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་གིས་བསྲུངས། |
སྣ་ཚོགས་འཇིགས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས | |སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་གིས་བསྒྲལ། |
དེ་ལྟར་བདག་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ | |རྒྱལ་བའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་སྨོན་ལམ་བསྒྲུབས། |
ཐབ་མོ་སྦྱར་བར་ཆུམ་ནས་ནི | |སྨན་སྔ་རབ་འདུག་སྐྱེ་བདེ་སྐད་གསོལ། |
གསུང་ལ་ཤིག་མཆེད་བཅུ་ཚུ་བརྒྱད་པ | |ས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡི་དབང་ཕྱུག་མགོན་རྣམས་དང་། |
ཆུང་རྒྱུན་སེམས་དཔའ་རབ་རང་དགའ་བའི | |ཕྱི་ག་པ་སྦྱོར་བྱེད་བསོད་ནམས་དང་། |
བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒྲུབ་པ་བགེགས་བར་བྱེད | |གཏེར་དང་ནོར་རྣམས་སྤེལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི། |
བདུད་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཏུག་པར་བྱེད | |དཔལ་ལྡན་ཤེས་པ་བརྩོན་པར་བྱེད། |
ནད་མེད་ཚེ་ནི་འཕེལ་བར་བྱེད | |སེམས་ཅན་ནམ་ལ་ཕྱམས་བསྐྱོམས་ལ། |
དེ་དག་སྤྱོགས་ཤིག་ཕྱུག་ཆེན་པོ | |སྐུ་ནས་གཟིགས་དབང་རབ་ཏུ་བཀད། |
མཆོག་རྣམས་རབ་ཏུ་ནམ་གཟི་གསལ་ནས | |འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ཡི་ཐམས་པ་སྒྲུ། |
ཕྱག་ནི་གཡས་པས་ཕྱག་ཐབས་མཛད | |བསོད་ནམས་མཆོད་དེ་ཉིད་ལྡན་པ་ཡིས། |
དེ་གསུངས་ཤིས་རབ་གསེར་རྒྱ་ཆེ | |ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་སོད་ཀ་ཡ་བུ་ཆེ། |
སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བརྩེ | |བསྐལ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་ནུས་དོན། |
མི་རྣམས་གང་ཞིག་འདི་སྒྲོགས | |རྩོར་ཞི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཡང་དག་འགྱུར། |
ནད་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡང་དག་སྒྲོལ | |དབང་ཕྱུག་ཀུན་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན། |
ཏུས་མེད་འཆི་བ་ངེས་པར་སྤོང | |འཆི་བ་བདེ་བ་ཅན་འགྲོ་བ། |
དེ་རྣམས་བདག་གི་བཤད་པར་བྱ | |སྐྱེ་ཡི་དགེ་འདུན་བདག་ལ་འོན། |
འདི་ལ་རྗེས་སུ་ཡི་རང་གིས | |ལེགས་པ་པར་བསྔམས་པ་ཉར་འགྱུར་ལ་བསྟོད། |

ཞེས་པ་ཡམ་སྨོན་དབོན་ཞུས་ཚར་གཅིག་གློག |

ཨོཾ་དགེ་བ་ཅན་ནི་གཞི་བརྟེན་ཅེ | |འཇིག་རྟེན་གསོ་བྱེད་སྨན་པ་ཆེ། |
དབྱངས་ཅན་མ་ནི་སྙན་ཡངས་མ | |ཤེས་རབ་དཔལ་ལ་ལྡན་གྲོ་བཞེལ་མ། |
གསོ་སྦྱོར་མ་དང་རྒྱལ་འདེབས་མ | | སྭཱ་ཧཱ། |

ཞེས་ངང་རྗེས་སྨོན་ལམ་གསུམ་བྱེད་དུ་གསུག |

ཨོཾ་ཞི་བ་རྣམ་པ་བདེ་འདྲེན་གཟུགས་མ | |སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་པར་བརྩོན། |
གཡུ་ལ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་བྱེད་རྒྱལ་བ་མོ | |སྨན་མོ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀར་པོ་ཕྱིན། |
འཕགས་མ་སྨོན་མ་ཡིད་འོང་མ | |ཐེང་ཏུ་ཅན་གྱི་པ་མོ། |
རིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཚིག་སྣ་མ | |སྨན་པའི་གདོང་ཅན་དཀར་མོ་ཆེ། |

ལྷ་མ་ཆེན་མོ་དཀར་མོ་ཆེ། །སྦྱིན་པ་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཕ་རོལ་ཕྱིན། །
སྒྱུ་བ་མོ་ཆེན་མོ་གཏུམ་ཆེན་མོ། །སྣང་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་བསྐྲག་བྱེད་མ། །
རབ་ཏུ་ཞི་བ་ཞི་བའི་གཟུགས། །རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཟ་བར་བཞེད། །
སྒྲོག་གི་ཕྲེང་བའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཅན། །རལ་གྲི་འཁོར་ལོ་གཞུ་སྒྲོགས་མཚོན། །
འཚོལ་བྱེད་རེངས་བྱེད་ནག་མོ་ཞི། །མཚན་མོ་ཞག་མོ་མཚན་སྤྱོད་མ། །
སྐུང་བྱེད་སྐོངས་བྱེད་ཞི་བ་མོ། །མཛེས་མ་དགེ་མ་འདྲ་བའི་ལྡིང་། །
ཚངས་པ་མོ་དང་རིག་བྱེད་མོ། །གསང་བ་མོ་ནི་ཐུག་ཕྱུག་གནས། །
བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་བྱེད་ཞི་བ་མོ། །སྐྱེ་ནས་རིག་བྱེད་ཡིད་མཆོགས་མ། །
ཕྲོད་པ་ཅན་ནི་ཕྱུགས་ཆེན་མོ། །ཚངས་མ་བདེན་མ་གཞན་མི་རྒྱལ། །
དེ་དང་ལྡན་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱོང་རིག་ནས། །རྒྱུད་བཟློས་པ་ལ་ལམ་རབ་སྟོན། །
མཆོག་སྤྱིར་སྤྱིར་བྱེད་སྤྲིན་པ་མོ། །ཁྲོད་མེད་གཟུགས་ལ་དཔག་མེད་གཞོན། །
རི་ཁྲོད་མདང་ནས་འཚེར་མ། །ཡུམ་ལ་གཏུམ་མ་བདུད་རྩི་མ། །
ངེས་མཐོང་མ་བསོད་ནམས་མ། །ཀླ་ཆེན་སྦྲུལ་བཟང་མཛེས་སྟོན་མ། །
མཐར་བྱེད་འཇིག་བྱེད་འཇིགས་བྱེད་མ། །དྲག་དང་བརྒྱལ་ཞུགས་ཆེན་མོ་མ། །
འགྲོ་བ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཕན་པར་བརྩོན། །སྐྱབས་བྱེད་སྐུལ་བྱེད་གསོད་པ་མོ། །
ངག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་ཡུམ། ཁྲག་མ་ཀུན་འགྲོ་རྗེས་བགྲོ་མ། །
དོན་ཀུན་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་བཟང་མོ་མ། །གསང་བྱེད་གསོ་བྱེད་བོར་སྦྱེར་མ། །
མི་འཇིགས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་གོ་ཏ་མ། །སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་བདག་ཉིད་སྐྱེས། །
ཞེས་པ་ལན་གཅིག་རྗེས་སྙོམས་བྱེད། །མཚན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་འདི་དག་ནི། །
ཕན་པ་བྱེད་པར་གྲགས་པ་སྐྱེ། །མཆོག་ཏུ་རྣ་ད་ཁྱུང་གསང་བ་པོ། །
ཨཱ་ཡུ་ལྡན་ཡང་ཉིད་དཀའ་བ། །སྐལ་བཟང་སྐལ་བ་དང་ལྡན་བྱེད། །
དུག་རྣམས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཉམས་བྱེད་པ། །ནད་ནི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི་བྱེད་མ། །
སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་བདེ་སྦྱེར་མ། །ཚོ་ལྡན་གང་ཞིག་ལན་གསུམ་བཀློག །
ནད་མ་གཞན་གཅོང་སྒྲ་བྱས་པ་ཡིས། །དེས་ནི་དུས་མི་རིང་པར་རྒྱ། །
རྒྱ་ས་སྲིད་དཔལ་ཡང་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར། །ཀ་ཏྟ་སྡུག་པ་འང་བདེ་བར་འགྱུར། །
བགྲེན་པ་སྡུག་པོར་འགྱུར་པའི། །རྔོངས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཆེན་པོར་འགྱུར། །
ཡིད་གཞུངས་འགྱུར་བར་རྩེ་ཚོམ་མེད། །བཅིངས་པ་བཅིངས་ལས་གྲོལ་བར་འགྱུར། །
ཟ་སྤྱོད་ལས་གཞུང་རྒྱལ་བར་འགྱུར། །དགྲ་བོ་ཤེས་པོར་འགྱུར་བ་སྟེ། །

ལྷ་ཆེན་དང་ནི་མཆེ་བ་ཅན། །དོགས་པའི་འཕྲང་མི་རྒྱ་ཡད་གཡང་དང། །
སྣ་ཚོགས་འཇིགས་པ་འཕྲོག་པ་པ་ལས། །མཚན་ནི་འདི་རྣམས་དྲན་པ་ཡིས། །
འཇིགས་པ་ཀུན་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད། །དུས་མིན་འཆི་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད། །
སྐྱེས་བུ་སྨན་པ་ཚོགས་པར་བྱེད། །མི་ནི་སྐྱེ་བ་དོན་དང་བཅས། །
དེ་ག་ཅིག་སྒྱུ་ཡིས་ཟབ་ཡོན་གྱིས། །གང་ཞིག་འདི་ནི་སྔར་ལངས་ནས། །
སྐྱེས་བུ་གང་ཞིག་སྦྱིན་བྱེད་པ། །དེ་ནི་དུས་རིང་ཚེ་དང་ལྡན། །
མི་ནི་དཔལ་གྱིས་དཀའ་བ་སྤྱད་དེ། །ཀླུ་དང་རྒྱུད་དང་གདོན་སྦྱིན་དང། །
དྲི་ཟ་དང་ནི་ལུས་སྲུལ་པོ། །འབྱུང་པོ་ཤིད་བྱེད་སྲིན་པོ་དང། །
མ་མོ་སྲུང་བ་པའི་སེམས་ལྡན་པ། །གནོད་སྦྱིན་མོ་དང་ཡི་དྭགས་བྱེད། །
སྐྱེ་བྱེད་དང་ནི་གདོན་ཆེན་རྣམས། །གྲིབ་གནོན་དང་ནི་བརྗེད་བྱེད་དང། །
ཤ་ཟ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང། །རོ་ལངས་ལ་སོགས་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས། །
བསྲུ་ལ་བྱེད་གཞན་སེམས་སྡང་བ་རྣམས། །གྲིབ་མ་ཡང་ནི་འགོ་མས་མི་འགྱུར། །
ཇི་སྲུར་སྐྱུར་ནི་མཆོད་པར་འགྱུར། །ཇི་སྲུར་སྐྱུར་ནི་མཆོད་པར་འགྱུར། །
སྣང་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་འཆིང་བར་འགྱུར། །ནད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གྲིབས་མི་འགྱུར། །
ཕྱུག་དང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཡོན་ཏན་ལྡན། །བུ་དང་ཚ་བོ་འཕེལ་བར་འགྱུར། །
བློ་ལྡན་སྤྱི་བརྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །རིགས་དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་མཛེས་དགར་འགྱུར། །
གཟི་བརྗིད་ལྡན་ཞིང་ཚིག་གསལ་བ། །བསྟན་བཅོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རིག་པར་འགྱུར། །
དཔོན་ཤེས་བསྙེན་བཀུར་ཡང་དག་བསྟེན། །བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ་དང། །
གང་དང་གང་དུ་སྐྱེས་པ་དེར། །རྟག་ཏུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་མི་སྟོངས། །

དཔལ་ལྡན་འཕགས་པ་སྒྲོལ་མ······རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱུག་གིས་གསུངས་པ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་མཚན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་པ་རྫོགས་སོ།། ཞེས་པ་ཕན་ཡོན་རྣམས་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ལས་གཅིག་གློག་གོ། །དེ་ནས་སློབ་མས་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་མེ་ཏོག་འཐོར་བཞིན་དུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་བདག་གིས་ཞེས་སོགས་ལན་གསུམ། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་བརྗོད་ཅིང་མེ་ཏོག་སློབ་མའི་མགོ་བོར་བཞག་གོ། །གཉིས་པ་དམ་བཅའ་བའི་ཚུལ་ནི། བྱང་ཆུབ་མ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡི་དམ་དུ་བཟུང་ཞིང་མ་པའི་བསམ་པ་ཡས་སློབ་དཔོན་དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ། བདག་མིང་འདི་ཞེས་བགྱི་བས་དུས་འདི་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཇི་སྲིད་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་མཆིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་བཟུང་བར་བགྱིའོ། །ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ། དེ་རྗེ་སློབ་མ་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་ལྷ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་མ་ཉམས་པར་སྤྱོད་པར་འགྱུར་ཅིག །ཅེས་བརྗོད་ཅིང་མེ་ཏོག་གཏོར། གསུམ་པ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། མཎྜལ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ལ། ཕྱག་འཚལ་དྲག་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་བསྟུགས་ཀྱང་དེ་འདྲ་བའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་མཐའ་ཡི་ཕྱོགས་མཚམས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་མ་ལ་ཕྱི་གཙུག་ནས་ཞུགས། ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་དང་སྙིང་ཁ་མེད

ཏུ་འདྲེས་པས་གླུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་བརྒྱངས་པ་རབ་ས་མས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་མི་རྟོག་གཏོང་དེ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མས་དྲི་རྫི་སློབ་མ་འདི་རྣམས་གཏན་སྐྱབས་སུ་བཟུང་བ་ཆེན་པོ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ལས་སྤྱན་དེ་འཁོར་བ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལས་བསྒྲལ་དུ་གསོལ། མཐར་ཕྱུག་མངོན་པར་རྫོགས་པར་འཚང་རྒྱ་བར་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབ་ཏུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་བརྗོད། རྗེས་གནང་མཇུག་མཁོང་བ་ནི། སྔོ་བོ་མང་པོ་བྱས་ན་གཞན་ནས་པ་བཟུང་བ་ལས་གཞུང་མེད་དང་། མཆོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་རྒྱབ་པ་ནི་ལུང་དེ་རོ་བ་སྐྱེ་དེ།། རྗེས་ཆོག་གི་དང་པད།། །།

༄ དམར་པོ་སྐོར་གསུམ་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་གི་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ལ།

སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་སྔོན་དུ་བཏང་། རང་ཉིད་སྐད་ཅིག་གིས་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེར་གསལ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཿ་དམར་པོ་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་བླ་མ་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་མཆེད་ཀྱི་ནམ་མཁར་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ན་མོ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཛཿ ན་མོ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿ ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། བཛྲ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུཾ། ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད།

དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི།

ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱང་རྣམས་བརྗོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཡན་ལག་བདུན་པ་ཕུལ། ཚད་མེད་བཞི་བསྒོམ། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཿ སརྦ་དྷརྨཿ སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་པདྨ་དང་ཉི་མའི་གདན་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་དམར་པོར་གྱུར་པ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཏེ་ཚོགས་གཉིས་བསགས་ཤིང་སྒྲིབ་གཉིས་སྦྱངས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྡུས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་པདྨ་དམར་པོ་ཧྲཱིཿ་གིས་མཚན་པ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་སྤྲོས་ཏེ་འཕགས་པ་རྣམས་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་གོ་འཕང་ལ་བཀོད། སླར་འདུས་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་གཞི་ལ་བཀོད་པ་ལས་རང་ཉིད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་སྐུ་མདོག་དམར་པོ་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་བཞི་མ། དང་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་ལ་དམར་པོའི་མདའ་གཞུ་ཐོགས་ཤིང་མི་རྟོག་པའི་གཞུ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བར་དུ་འགེངས་པ། གཡས་འོག་མ་ལྕགས་ཀྱུ་དང་གཡོན་འོག་མ་སྐུ་མདོག་ཆགས་པ་བཞིན་པ་ལས་རྒྱུ་འདྲེན་པ། མཆེ་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་གཙིགས་ཤིང་། སྤྱན་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པ། ཤུ་དག་རྒྱས་པ། ཡོ་ལང་རྒྱ་ཡི་ལྷ་དང་གཟུགས་ལྡན་པ་དང་ཉེར་ཉེར་སྟོན་པ། ཁྲོ་སྐྱེ་དགུ་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་བ་ཅན། རྒྱ་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། སྟག་གི་པགས་པའི་ཤམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། མི་རོ་ཅན་གྱི་གདན་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཞབས་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་བའི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་བྱེད་པའི་གར་སྟབས་ཅན་འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོ་ལ་དཔུང་འབར་བའི་དབུས་ན་བཞུགས་པའོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཨོཾ། མགྲིན་པར་ཨཱཿ ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧཱུཾ། ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཉི་དཀྱིལ་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་དམར་པོ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་རང་འདྲ་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ལ་ཡང་དག་པར་གྱུར་པ་ལྷ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁར་བཞུགས་པར་བསམ་ལ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཞེས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པ་ལ། ཛཿཧཱུཾ་བཾ་ཧོཿ རང་ལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། སླར་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་འོད་འཕྲོས་པས་དབང་གི་ལྷ་རིགས་ལྔ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མཱ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་པཉྩ་ཀུ་ལ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨ་རྒྷཾ་པྲ་ཏཱིཙྪ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་པ་ནས་ཤབྡ་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བདག་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཀ་ལ་ཤཱ་བྷི་ཥི་ཉྩ་ཧཱུཾ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་དབང་བསྐུར། སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ་དག །ཆུ་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་མེད་པས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨ་རྒྷཾ་པྲ་ཏཱིཙྪ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་པ་ནས། པཉྩ་ཀུ་ལ་ཧྲཱིཿ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་མཆོད།

བརྩེ་བས་རྗེས་ཆགས་པདྨ་རཱ་གའི་མདོག ། །ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་བཞི་ཞབས་གཉིས་མཛེས་པའི་སྐུ། །
མདའ་གཞུ་ཨུཏྤལ་ལྕགས་ཀྱུ་ཞགས་པ་འཛིན། ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་རིག་བྱེད་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

ཞེས་པས་བསྟོད། ཞང་མཆོད། ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ས་བ་སང་ལ། སྐུ་སྤྱན་ཞལ་སྤྱན་སྒྲུབ། ༀ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཀ་ཀཱ་ཁཱཿཧི་ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་བརྗོད། ཀྱེ་རྡོར་ཞིན་ཞེས་བརྣབས་པ་ནས། ཡང་ན་སྤྱི་དང་མཐུན་པར་ཕྱིན་ཅིས་བརྟགས། འབྲུག་སྒྲ་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། ཕྱག་ནི་བདེ་བས་མཉམ་པར་བཞག་ལ། བསྒྲུབ་པ་རྒྱུ་ནི། སྙིང་ག་ནི་མར་སྒྲིཿ དམར་པོ་ལ་ཕྱག་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་གསལ་བས་སྤྱན་སྐྱོང་བ་ལ་ས་བསྐྱང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སེམས་རྣམས་ལ་ཀྱི་ཅིན་རླབས་དང་། གསོར་འདས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོའི་མདངས་ནི་ལྷ་བསྡུས་ཏེ་རང་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་བསམ་ས་ཞིང་། ༀ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿསྭཱཧཱ། ཞེས་མ་ཡི་ལས་པ་ཙམ་རྣང་དམར་པོའི་སྲིང་བ་མི་ང་མ་ཀྱི་
སྒྲ་ནས་དབང་ལ་སྡོང་བ་རང་གཞོ། །སྐྱན་འདྲོག་པ་ན། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་བདག་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཆོག་དང་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་
ཐམས་ཅད་སྩལ་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། རང་གི་སྙིང་ག་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཏེ། སྣང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་གྱུར་ཏེ་རང་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་
བསམ།

༄ འདི་ནི་རྗེས་གནང་བཅུ་བའི་ཚུལ་ནི། མཐུན་མོང་བ་སྒྲུབ་དང་འབྲལ་བ་ལས་གཏོར་བ་བ་ཙམ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ལ། མཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་ནི། གཞི་དམར་པོའི་སྙིང་དུ་ཚོན་པར་
ཡོངས་སུ་ཕྱག་པའི་མཎྜལ་ལ། མེ་ཏོག་དམར་པོ་ས་ཚོམ་བུ་བཀོད། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་མཆོད་ལ་རྟེན་གྱི་གཏོར་མ་དམག་སྦྱིན་གྱི་དཔེའི་བ་ཅན་དམར་པོ་རྒྱན་དང་ལྡན་པ་བཀོད།
རིག་བྱེད་མའི་ཐེལ་སྐུ་ཡོད་ན་བཞུགས། རྒྱ་བཞི་ཤར་སྦྱོར། འབྲུ་ལྔ་ཡི་ཕྲུམ་གཏོར་དམར་པོ་དང་། གློག་དམར་གྱི་མཐུག་ཀྱུ་བར་མཆོད་རྫས་གྲ་ལ་དུ་མ་ཏྟེ་མེ་ཏོག་རྣམས་
བཤམས། གློག་དམར་གྱི་ས་བདག་བརྩེད་བཟླས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྔོ། མདུན་བསྐྱེད། ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ས་བ་སང་ལ། སྐུ་ཏྲྀ་ལྷ་ས་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པ་ནི་ངང་ལས་དུ་གསོ་
བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་དབུས་སུ་པད་ལས་པ་ལྡན་མ་ནས་པོ་གླེ་ར་རཾ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཿཡིག་དམར་པོ་ཤིང་ཙ་ཅོག་དྲག་དང་བཅས་པ་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར
ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དང་ཞགས་པ་ལྷ་ཀྱུ་འགྲོ་ལ་ཁ་ཐགས་ལ་མཆོད། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡིའི་གོ་འཕང་ལ་བཀོད། སྒྲུབ་ཧྲཱིཿཡིག་ལ
ཐིམ། དེ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཞེས་པ་ནས། ཤེས་ལ་སྙིཾ་དམར་པོས་མཚན་པར་གྱུར། །ཕྱག་ལ་ཀཱ་ལི་ས་བཞི་ལ་སོད་
ཟེར་འགྲོས་པས་རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ན་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ལ་ས་ལས་རྒྱ་ས་ཕྱང་སེམས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ས་མི་ཕྱེ་པ་ས་བསྐོར་བ་ༀ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཞེས་པས
སྤྱན་དྲངས་ལ། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། སྤྱར་ཡང་ཕྱག་ས་གཞི་སྙིང་ལས་འོད་དགྲིན་རབ་སྒྲོག་པས། དབང་གི་ལྷ་རིགས་ལྔ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས
པ་ༀ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ༀ་པཉྩ་ཀུ་ལ་ས་པ་རི་ཝཱ་ར་བཛྲ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥིཉྩ་ཧཱུྃ་ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བས་མཆོད། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བདེ་ལས་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར
བ་སྐུ་ལ་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། ༀ་བཛྲ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥིཉྩ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་དབང་བསྐུར་སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ་དག །ཆུ
ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས། འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་ས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། མཆོད་པ་ཕྱིན་ཆེན་ས་བརྒྱབ་པའི། ། ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ས་བ་སང་ལ། སྐུ་ཏྲཱ་ཐས་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད
དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཨཱ་ལས་ཐོད་པ་ཡངས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ནང་དུ་ཧཱུྃ་ལྔ་ལ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མཆོད་ཡོན། ཞབས་བསིལ། ཞལ་
བསིལ། མེ་ཏོག །བདུག་སྤོས། སྣང་གསལ། །དྲི་ཆབ། ཞལ་ཟས། རོལ་མོ་རྣམས་རང་བཞིན་བདེ་སྟོང་རྣམ་པ་མཆོད་རྫས། བྱེད་ལས་དབང་པོ་དྲུག་གི
སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཟག་པ་མེད་པའི་བདེ་བ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་བསྐྱེད་པར་གྱུར། ༀ་ཨརྒྷཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་པཱདྱཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་པྲོཀྵ་ཎཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་པུཥྤེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་དྷཱུ་པེ
ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་གནྡྷེ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་ནཻ་ཝི་དྱ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ༀ་ཤབྡ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་མཆོད་པས་མཆོད། ༀ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་སཔ
རི་ཝཱ་ར་ཨརྒྷཾ་པྲ་ཏཱིཙྪ་སྭཱཧཱ། ཨརྒྷཾ་ཅི་གནས་སུ་པཱདྱཾ། པྲོཀྵཎཾ། ཨཱཿཕཱུཾ་ཧཱུྃ། པུཥྤེ་སྟོ། ཨཱ་ལོ་ཀེ། གནྡྷེ། ནཻ་ཝི་ཏྱ། ཤབྡ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་ལ་མཆོད། ༀ
ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿསྭཱཧཱ། ༀ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་ནང་མཆོད་ཕུལ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་རྗེས་ཆགས་པདྨ་རཱ་གའི་མདོག །ཅེས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྟོད། མཚམས་འདིར་བཟླས་པ་གང
འགྲུབ་བྱ། གཏོར་མ་ཞང་མཆོད་ལྟར་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་ལ། ཀྱིའི་ཕྱག་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་རབ་ཏུ་ཀླུ་ལུས་གཏོར་མའི་བཅུད་དྲངས་ཐམས་ཅད་དྲངས་ཏེ་གསོལ་བར

བསམ་ལ། ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུ་ལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿ སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿ ཀརྨ་སྤ་རི་ཤ་བཛྲ་ཧཱུྃ་ ཨཱ་ཀརྵ་ཡ་ཛཿ ཧྲཱིཿ ཨཱཿ ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་ལན་བདུན་གྱིས་གཏོར་མ་དབུལ།
མཆོད་པ་བསྟོད་བསྟོད་བཞིན་བྱ། ༈ སློབ་མས་ཀུང་མཉམ་ཕྱག་ཕྱུལ། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཕྲག་གི་ཚོམས་བཟབ་ནས། མི་རྟོག་དང་བཅས་པས་ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་ཏེ་གསོལ་བ་
འདེབས་པ་འདིའི་རྗེས་ཟློས་ལན་གསུམ་མཛོད།

ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐུ་ངང་པོ་ཅན། ཞེས་པ་ནས། སློབ་མ་ཚོགས་བདག་ལ་གནང་བར་མཛོད།།

ཅེས་པའི་བར་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ། ཚོམ་བུ་འདི་ཉིད་ལྷ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་དངོས་སུ་མོས་ལ། རྒྱུ་གང་བའི་སྐད་དུ་དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་མཛོད།
སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱེ་དགུ་ཆ་ལ་བཀུག་པ་པའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ལ་མངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ
སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པས་བསྐོར་བ་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁར་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཞེས་པས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ལ། ཕྱག་དང་མཆོད་པ་ཕུལ་བ་བར་སོགས་བཅས་
ཏེ། ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་ནས་འདི་ནམ་མཁའ་ཆེ་རྗེས་ཟློས་མཛོད། ནམོ་གུ་རུ་བྷྱཿ ནམོ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་བྷྱཿ ཞེས་པས་ཕྱག་ཙམ་བྱས། ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ས་མ་ཡ་སྟྭཾ་ཞེས་བསྒྲེ
བར་བྱེད་མཆོད་ལ། ཚེ་ཐོག་མ་མེད་པ་ནས་བསགས་པའི་སྡིག་པ་དང་ལྟུང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བདུན་པ་བཅོད་སྨོན་ལམ་འདི་ཡི་རྗེས་ཟློས་ལན་གསུམ
མཛོད།། ཐོག་མེད་དུས་ནས་བསགས་ཤིང་ཡུང་བསམ་ཅད་དང་བཅས་བཤགས་པས། བསྡོག་ལ་པས་བསྒྱུར་བ་དགེ་བར་བསྔོས་ནས། ཚོགས་གཞིར་རྣམས་མཆུ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་མོས་གྲོམ
པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད། དེ་རྣམས་རྗེས་གནང་གི་སློབ་འགྲོ་ཡིན། དངོས་གཞི་ལ་སྤྱི་རིམ་གནང་གི་སྐད་དུ་དམིགས་པ་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་མཛོད། མདུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཀ་ནས་
འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ་ཕྱེད་རང་གི་ཕུང་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ལས་ཚེ་ཐོག་མ་མེད་པ་ནས་བསགས་པའི་སྡིག་སྒྲིབ་བག་ཆགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ཀུན་རྫོབ
རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་སྦྱང་བའི་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྟོང་པར་སྒྱུར་ལ། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཿ སརྦ་དྷརྨཱཿ སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས
ཧྲཱིཿ ཡིག་དམར་པོ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར། ཧྲཱིཿ དེ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་ཟླ་དཀར་བཅས་ཅན་གྱི་པདྨ་དམར་པོ་སྒྲ་བ་རང་ལས་རྐྱེན་ནི་མཐོ་བའི་སྟེང་དུ་བྱུང་ཧྲཱིཿ ཡིག་དམར་པོ་ཞིག་ལས་འོད་
ཟེར་ཕྱོགས་བཅུ་འཕྲོས་པས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྲས་བཅས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱས་ཏེ་འདུས་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་གོ་འཕང་ལ་བཀོད། ཚུར་འདུས་ཧྲཱིཿ ཡིག་ལ་ཐིམ། དེ་ཡོངས
སྤྱན་སྔར་པ་ལས་ཐེད་རང་ཉམས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་སྐུ་མདོག་དམར་མོ་ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་བཞི་མ། དང་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཨུཏྤལ་དམར་པོའི་མདེ་ལྡན་ཅན་གྱི་གཞུ
དང་མདེ་གི་གཞུ་བཀང་ནས་འཕེན་དུ་འགེངས་པ། གཡས་འོག་མས་ལྕགས་ཀྱུ་བསྣམས་པ། གཡོན་འོག་མས་རྒྱ་ཁ་ཞགས་པ་རྒྱས་པའི་ཨུཏྤལ་ལ་བཟུང་
མཆི་བསྡུང་ཟན་གཅིག་ལ་ཞིང་། སྐུ་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པ། རྒྱུ་བརྒྱན་རྒྱས་པ། ལོངས་སྤྱོད་རྫོགས་ཕྱག་ཞལ་ཡ་ཕྱང་བ། དབུ་སྐྲ་དམར་སེར་གྱེན་དུ་བརྫེས་པ། ཞེད་སྨ་མ་བྱུས
དགུ་རྒྱན་ཅིང་ཆེན་པ་ཕྲ་བཅུ་པའི་དོ་ཤལ་ཅན། ལུས་པའི་རྒྱན་ཕྲ་མ་བརྒྱན་པ། ཞབས་གཡོ་བ་གཡས་པའི་ལྡེམ་ཐབས་གཡོན་པ། མེ་རི་མགོག་ཡོན་དུ་བརྟན་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་
ཞབས་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་བ་པའི་སྐྱིལ་ཀྲུང་ཕྱེད་པ་རིགས་པར་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་འབར་བ་རང་མེད་ཕྱུང་བ་འབར་བའི་དཀྱིལ་ན་བཞུགས་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་དང་བཅས་ཀྱང་
གི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿ ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ། སྔོན་མས་རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཕོག་པས་དེའི་ཐུགས་སྐུལ་བས་བསྐུལ་ཏེ་ཐུགས་ཀ་
ནས་འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོའི་ཕྲེང་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་དམར་ཞིག་ཞིག་གཅིག་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་ལུས་ལ་ཐིམ་པས་ལུས་འོད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར།
ཡང་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་བདུན་གཡོ་སྣོད་བཅུད་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕོག་པས་སྣོད་ཐམས་ཅད་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་དང་བཅུད་ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་སྐུར
གྱུར་ཏེ། སྣང་ཚུལ་བརྟན་ནས་ཁྱེད་རང་ལ་ཐིམ། ཡང་སྒོ་ཁ་དབོན་དང་མཐུན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་ཀྱང་རིག་ཁྱེད་མ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་འབྱུང་ཁྱེད་རང་
ལ་ཐིམ། ཡང་འདོད་ཆགས་འཁྲུལ་པས་ལྟ་ཕྲོགས་རིག་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་སྐུ་ལ་ཐོགས་པས། དེ་ལས་དེ་བདག་བའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཡི་སྐུ་
བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་སྤྲུལ་དྲངས་ཏེ་རང་ལ་ཐིམ་པས་རྒྱུད་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད། ཅེས་དང་། ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿ སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཞེས་སྔགས་
ཀྱི་མཐར། ཛཿ ཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ཞེས་པ་ཡང་ཡང་བརྗོད། དྲིལ་བུ་གསལ་ལ་ཞིང་། ཀུ་ཀུ་ལ་བྱིས་བཏུག །དེས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་སྐུ་དང་རང་གི་ལུས་དབྱེར་མེད
དུ་ཅིག་གྱིས་བརླབས་སྐུམ་དུ་མོས་པ་མཛོད། གསུང་གི་རྗེས་གནང་གི་སྐད་དུ། ཁྱེད་རང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མར་གསལ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧྲཱིཿ ལ

དང་ཉེ་བའི་སྙིང་དུ་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་གཅིག་བསམ་མ་ཐག་སྔོན་དཔོན་དང་མཚུངས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ལ་གུས་འདུད་དྲག་པོ་གདུང་བ་བྱས་པས། དེ་གཉིས་ཀའི་
ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་བསྐུར། ཞལ་ནས་གསུངས། ཁྱེད་རང་གི་ཞལ་དུ་ཐུགས་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧཱུྃ་ཡིག་གི་མཐར་གཡས་སྐོར་དུ་འཁོད་
པའི་སྔགས་བཅས། མེ་ཏོག་དང་བཅས་པས་ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་ཏེ་སྔགས་པ་འདི་ཞེས་བཟླས་མཛོད། བཅོམ་ལྡན་བདག་གིས་ཞེས་སོགས་ལན་གསུམ།
སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་མེ་ཏོག་གི་འཕྲེང་བ་སྔགས་སུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་ཏེ། ཁྱེད་རང་གི་སྤྱི་བོར་གདུགས་ཤིང་ཅན་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད།
བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདི་ལ་ཞེས་སོགས་ལན་གསུམ་གྱི་མཐར། རྡོ་རྗེ་སློབ་མ་འདིའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་མ་ལུས་པ་འཇུག་པར་གྱུར་
ཅིག། དེས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་གསུང་གི་རྗེས་གནང་ཐོབ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་གསུང་དང་རང་གི་ངག་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་སྙམ་དུ་མོས་པ་མཛོད། ཐུགས
ཀྱི་རྗེས་གནང་གི་སྐད་དུ་དམིགས་པ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་མཛོད། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས
དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་དང་སྟོབས་དང་མི་འཇིགས་པ་དང་མ་འདྲེས་པའི་ཆོས་ལ་སོགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས
ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་ཁ་དོག་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ཁྱེད་རང་གི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཐིམ་པས། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཞུགས་པའི་མོས་པ
མཛོད། སླར་ཡང་ཧཱུྃ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་འཕགས་པ་ཉན་ཐོས་དང་རང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་དང་མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས
ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་ཁ་དོག་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ཁྱེད་རང་གི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཐིམ་པས། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཞུགས་པའི་མོས་པ
མཛོད། སླར་ཡང་དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་ཚངས་པ་དང་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ལ་སོགས་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དང་དཔལ་དང་ཐང་ཐམས་ཅད
འོད་ཟེར་ཁ་དོག་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ལ་ཐིམ་པས་ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱས་པར་མོས་པ་མཛོད། སླར་ཡང་ཐུགས
ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། མཛེ་ཏ་དང་། སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུང་དང་མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་།
ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་འོད་ཟེར་ཁ་དོག་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། །ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ལ་ཐིམ་པས། ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས
དང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱས་པར་གྱུར་པ་ཡིན་སྙམ་དུ་མོས་པ་མཛོད། ཨོཾ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་ཧྲཱིཿཧྲཱིཿཧྲཱིཿ ཨ་བེ་ཤ་ཡ་ཧཱུྃཿཧཱུྃཿཧཱུྃཿ ཞེས་ཡང་ཡང་བརྗོད་ཅིང་།
ཀྲུ་ཀྲུ་ལ་ཕྱིས་བཏུག །དེ་ལ་ཕུའི་སྒྲ་རེས་འཛེག་ཏུ་ཕུ། དེས་རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་གནང་ཐོབ། རྗེ་བཙུན་མའི་ཐུགས་དང་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་སེམས་དབྱེར
མེད་དུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་སྙམ་དུ་མོས་པ་མཛོད། དེ་ནས་གཏོར་དབང་སྤྱི་དང་མཐུན་པར་བྱ་བ་ལ། གཏོར་དབང་མ་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཆོག་ལ། དེ་ལྟ་ན་ཅིག་གཅིག
ཡང་ཡི་དམ་སོ་སོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། གཏོར་དབང་བསྐུར་བ་བྱེད་ན་གཏོར་མ་འདི་ཉིད་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེ་དངོས་སུ་མོས། དེ་ལ་མོས་གུས་དྲག་པོ
བྱས་པས། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཕེབ། རྒྱུད་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་ཡིན་སྙམ་པ་བྱས། གཏོར་མ་མགོ་བོར་བཞག་ལ། ཚིགས་བཅད་འདི་གསུམ་བརྗོད་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་ཞུ
བ་དང་བརྒྱུད་པར་བཅས་པ་འདི་དཔལ་ལྡན་བླ་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་གྱིས་རློབས་ཤིག། སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བྱིན
གྱིས་རློབས་ཤིག། ཡི་དམ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་གྱིས་རློབས་ཤིག། དཔའ་བོ་དང་དཔའ་མོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་གྱིས
ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཡང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལླེའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་གྱིས་རློབས་ཤིག །རྡོ་རྗེ་སློབ་མ་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤ་ལ་རྒྱུན་ཅིག་བར་གཅོད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞི
བ་དང་། མཐུན་རྐྱེན་ཚེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལ་འབྱོར་པ་སྒྲུབ་ཐུགས་མ་ཚོགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཕེལ་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། མཆོག་དང་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐམས་ཅད
མྱུར་དུ་འགྲུབ་པར་བྱིན་གྱིས་རློབས་ཤིག །ཅེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། དགྱེས་པ་ཅན་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་ཐིམ་པར་གྱུར། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ ཞེས་བརྗོད། མཎྜལ་ཆོག
སྤྱི་དང་འདྲ།

༄། དཔལ་འདོད་རྒྱལ་ཡབ་དམ་ཚོགས།

སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་སྔོན་དུ་བཏང་ལ། རང་ཉིད་སྐད་ཅིག་གིས་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རག་ལག་པའི་ཕྱག་ནས་ཀ་རེ་མའི་དབྱིབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེད་དུ།
སྐུ་དམར་པོ་གཅིག་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས། རང་བཞིན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་ཁྲམ་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་དབུ་བརྒྱན་པ་དེ་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་
པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ན་མོ་གུ་རུ་བྷྱཿ ན་མཿ ཏྲི་ར་ཛཿབྷྱཿ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་སོགས་
ཀྱིས་མཆོད། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བདག་སྐྱབས་མཆི། ཞེས་སོགས་ལུས་ངག་བཞུགས་པའི་རྒྱུན་བཤགས་ཤ། ཚད་མེད་བཞི་བསྒོམ། ཚོགས་ཞིང་
ཐམས་ཅད་རང་ལ་བསྟིམ་ཞིང་གསལ་བར་བསྒྱུར། ཨོཾ་སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷཿ སརྦ་དྷརྨཱཿ སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝ་ཤུདྡྷོ྅ཧཾ། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་པཾ་ལས་པདྨ་
དམར་པོ་འདབ་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཟླ་གཞིས་པའི་སྟེང་བཱ་རཾ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཿ་དམར་པོ་ཡིས་མཚན་པའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བརྒྱ་རྩེག་པ་སྤྱན་ལེགས་ཞལ་
ཡས་ཁང་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་སྒོ་གཅིག་པ་དབུས་སུ་པཾ་ལས་པདྨ་དམར་པོ་འདབ་མ་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྟེང་དང་རཾ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་རང་སེམས་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་
དམར་པོ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕྱུ་ཐུ་བས་མ་ལུས་མི་ཕྱེད་པར་འཕྲོས། འཕགས་པ་མཆོད་སྤྲིན་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་ནས།
འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཚུར་འདུས་ཏེ་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལ་ཐིམ། དེ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་རང་ཉིད་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་མདོག་པདྨ་རཱ་ག་ལྟར་དམར་ཞིང་འོད་འབར་བ།
ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་སྤྱན་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པ། གཡས་ཁམས་གསུམ་འགུགས་པའི་ལྕགས་ཀྱུ་འཕྱར་ཞིང་སྙིང་ཁར་འཛིན་ཅིང་། གཡོན་སྙིང་གས་མཆོད་དང་བཅས་
པའི་ཞགས་པ་ཕྱག་གར་འཛིན་པ། ཞབས་གཡས་བསྐུམ་ཞིང་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་བའི་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་པ། དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཅོད་པན་དང་རྒྱན་ཅན། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་
དང་སྐུལ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། དར་དམར་པོའི་སྟོད་གཡོགས་ཅན། དར་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཤམ་ཐབས་གསོལ་བ། དེའི་པང་དུ་ཡུམ་བདེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཉིད་མ་སྐུ་མདོག་དམར་མོ་ཞལ་
གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་པ་སྤྱན་གསུམ་པ། གཡས་སྒྲ་ལྡན་ཅང་ཏེའུ་སྐྱབས་བསྐུར་ཞིང་། གཡོན་བདུད་རྩིས་གང་བའི་ཐོད་པ་འཛིན་པས་ཡབ་ལ་འཁྱུད་པ། ཞབས་གཡས་
བསྐུམ་ཞིང་གཡོན་བརྐྱང་བའི་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་ཡབ་ལ་འཁྱིལ་བ། ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀ་བཞད་པ་ཉེ་བའི་ཉམས་ཀྱི་མི་ཟད་པའི་དགྱེས་ནས་བཞུགས་པ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོར་ཨོཾ་
ཡིག་དམར་པོ་མགྲིན་པར་ཨཱཿ་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧཱུཾ་དེ་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧྲཱིཿ་དམར་པོ་སྔགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞིང་ནས་འདོད་པའི་
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པུཥྤེ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུཾ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་
མེད་པར་ཐིམ། སླར་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་དབང་གི་ལྷ་རིགས་ལྔ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་
པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བདག་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་བྷི་
ཥིཉྩ་ཧཱུཾ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་། བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་དབང་བསྐུར། སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ་དག །ཆུ་ལྷག་མ་ཡར་ལུད་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པས་
དབུ་བརྒྱན་པར་གྱུར། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཨོཾ་ལས་འཁོར་ལོ་ཨོཾ་གྱིས་མཚན་པ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་དམར་པོ་ཁྱབ་བྱེད་མཆོག་གི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད་
པ། མགྲིན་པར་ཨཱཿ་ལས་པདྨ་ཨཱཿ་ཡིས་མཚན་པ་ལས་འོད་དཔག་མེད་དམར་པོ་མཉམ་གཞག་གི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད་པ། ཐུགས་ཀར་ཧཱུཾ་ལས་རྡོ་རྗེ་
ཧཱུཾ་གིས་མཚན་པ་ལས་མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་གཡས་ས་གནོན། གཡོན་མཉམ་གཞག་གི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཛད་པ། དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱག་ཀ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས། ཕྱོགས་
བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་རིགས་གསུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཛཿཧཱུཾ་བཾ་ཧོཿ སྐུ་གསུམ་ལ་ཐིམ་
ཞིང་། དེ་གསུམ་འོད་ཟེར་དུ་ཞུ་ནས་རང་གི་ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་གྱུར་པར་བསམ། བཟླས་པ་ནི།
ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿ་ཡིག་གི་མཐར་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཕྲེང་བས་བསྐོར་བ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དབང་གི་འཕྲིན་ལས་དང་དངོས་གྲུབ་
ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་བསྡུས་ཏེ་ལྷག་པར་བསྡུས་ནས་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ལ་ཐིམ། ཡང་འཕྲོས་པའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཕྲུགས་ཀྱང་
ཞུགས་པ་ཞིག་པ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བྱུང་བས། ཁམས་གསུམ་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་བར་བསམ་ཞིང་། ཙཎ་ད་དམར་པོ་ལ་པདྨའི་ཕྲེང་བ་བགྲང་བ་ནི་སྔགས་

ནས་བྲུང་ནས་ཏེ། ཨོཾ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ཀུཎྜ་ལི༔ ཨོཾ་ཀུ་ལུ་ལུ་མ། སུ་ཡེ་ནི་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ༔ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཀུ་མཱ་རེ་ཀཱི་ལི་ཡ༔ ཧ་ཧ། ཨོཾ་གྲ་གི་མ་གྲི་ཏེ། བཀྲོ་བ་མང་པོ་
ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ཀུཎྜ་ལི༔ ཀ་ཀཎྜ་པ་ཀཎྜ་པ། ཁ་ཁ་ཡེ་ཁ་ཁ་ཡེ། ག་གརྫ་པ་གརྫ་པ། ནྲྀ་ནྲྀ་ཏ་པ་ནྲྀ་ཏ་པ། ཙ་ཙ་ལ་པ་ཙ་ལ་པ། ཚ་ཚ་ད་པ་ཚ་ད་པ། ཛ་
ཛ་བ་པ་ཛ་བ་པ། ཉ་ཉ་ད་པ་ཉ་ད་པ། ཊ་ཊ་ལ་པ་ཊ་ལ་པ། ཋ་ཋ་ག་པ་ཋ་ག་པ། ཌ་ཌ་ན་པ་ཌ་ན་པ། ཎ་ཎ་ག་པ་ཎ་ག་པ། ཏ་ཏ་ཕ་པ་ཏ་ཕ་པ།
ཏ་ཏཾ་ན་པ་ཏཾ་ན་པ། ཐ་ཐོ་ན་པ་ཐོ་ན་པ། ད་ད་ར་པ་ད་ར་པ། དྷ་དྷ་ར་པ་དྷ་ར་པ། ན་ནྲྀ་ག་པ་ནྲྀ་ག་པ། པ་པ་ཏ་པ་པ་ཏ་པ། ཕ་ཕ་ཏ་པ་ཕ་ཏ་པ།
བ་བྷྲུ་པ་བྷྲུ་པ། བྷ་བྷེ་ད་པ་བྷེ་ད་པ། མ་མ་ར་པ་མ་ར་པ། ཡ་ཡོ་ཏ་པ་ཡོ་ཏ་པ། ར་རོ་ཏ་པ་རོ་ཏ་པ། ལ་ལོ་བ་པ་ལོ་བ་པ། ཤ་ཤཱ་ཀ་པ་ཤཱ་ཀ་པ།
ཥ་ཥོ་ད་པ་ཥོ་ད་པ། ས་སྭཱ་ལ་པ་སྭཱ་ལ་པ། ཧ་ཧ་ཏ་པ་ཧ་ཏ་པ། ཀྵ་ཀྵོ་ཏ་པ་ཀྵོ་ཏ་པ། འཁྲོ་བ་མང་པོ་ཕ་མཾ་གྲི་ཏེ། ཕཊ་ཀུཎྜ
ལི༔ ཧཱུྃ་ཀུཎྜ། ཧྲཱིཿཀུཎྜ། ཧཱཾ་ཀུཎྜ། ཀྵཾ་ཀུཎྜ། ཨཾ་ཀུཎྜ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ། ཨོཾ་སོ་ཧཾ། སརྦ་སོ་ཧཾ་སརྦ་སོ་ཧཾ། སྭ་ཧཱ་ཨ་ཤཱ་ཏིཾ། ཤཱ་ཏི་ཀ་ར་ཏཾ། ཀྱཻ
བ་མང་པོ་ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏ་ཀུཎྜ་ལི༔ ཞེས་སྔགས་རེ་ལ་ཞེར་ཡང་རེ་བཟླ། ཐུན་བཟློག་པས། རང་གི་སྙིང་གནས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་གདན་དང་
བཅས་པ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཞུ་ནས་རང་ལ་ཐིམ།

༄ འདོད་རྒྱལ་འདི་ལ་རྗེས་གནང་ནི། མི་ཟད་པའི་ཕྱག་དང་ཟབ་མོའི་ཕྱག་དང་། སྔགས་ཚིག་གི་རྗེས་གནང་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། དང་པོ་ནི།
ཐུབ་ཐབས་བརྒྱུད་ཅིའི་ཚུལ་བཞིན་ཡིན་པ་ལས། གཏོར་དབང་ཙམ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ལ། གསུམ་པ་ནི། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལས་སོགས་ལ་ཉེ་བར
མཁོ་བའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཙམ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། གཞན་དུ་བཀའ་དོགས་པར་མཛད་པས་འདིར་མི་འབྲི་འོ། །གཉིས་པ་ནི། མཎྜལ་ཟླ་གམ་དམར་པོའི་ནང་དུ་པདྨ་
འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཚོམ་བུ་ཅན་ཞིག་བཀོད། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་མཉྫི་ལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྦྱོར་དུ་ཟབ་ལེབ་ཟླུམ་པོ་གྲུ་བཞི་གྲུ་གསུམ་ཟླ་གམ
རྣམས་བརྩེགས་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་གཏོར་མའི་སྟེང་པོ་བཞག་ལ་སྨུག་སྟེང་བསྐྱུར། མཐར་མཐེབ་ཀྱུས་བསྐོར་བཞིན། ཏེ་ན་གཏོར་དུ་བཀོད།
མདུན་དུ་འབུལ་གཏོར་དང་མཆོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བཤམས། སློབ་འགྲོ་གཏོར་མ་བཏང་། མཆོད་པ་ཕྲ་མེད་ལྟར་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས། བདག་བསྐྱེད
འདོད་རྒྱལ་ཉིད་དམ་ཡི་དམ་གང་ཡང་རུང་བ་ཞིག་བསྒོམ། ནང་མཆོད་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་ནི། ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏས་བསང་། སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝས་སྦྱངས།
སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཨཾ་ལས་ཀ་པཱ་ལའི་ནང་དུ་འབྲུ་གསུམ་ཞུ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་བདུད་རྩི་འོ་རྒྱ་མཚོར་གྱུར་པར་བསམས
ལ། ཨོཾ་ཨཱཿཧཱུྃ། ཏ་ཏྲ༔ ཞེས་ལན་གསུམ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས། མདུན་བསྐྱེད། ཨ་མྲྀ་ཏས་བསང་། སྭ་བྷཱ་ཝས་སྦྱངས། སྟོང་པ
ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར། སྟོང་པའི་ངང་ལས་ཧྲཱིཿལས་པདྨ་དམར་པོ་འདབ་མ་སུམ་ཅུ་རྩ་གཉིས་པའི་ལྟེ་བར་རཾ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང
དུ་ཧྲཱིཿདམར་པོ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པདྨ་རཱ་ག་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་ནང་བཀོད་མ་རྫོགས་ཅིག་པ། དབུས་སུ་ཧྲཱིཿལས་པདྨ་དམར་པོ
འདབ་མ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལྟེ་བར་རཾ་ལས་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཧྲཱིཿཡིག་དམར་པོ། དེ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་སྤྲོས་ཀྱིས་དང་ཞགས་པ་ཕུ་སྦྲ
བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་འཕྲོས། འཕགས་པ་མཆོད། སྡིག་བཙུད་ཐམས་ཅད་དག་བར་དུ་བསྡུས་ནས། འོད་ཟེར་དམར་པོའི་རྣམ་པར
རྫུར་བརྟུལ་ཏེ་ཧྲཱིཿལ་ཐིམ། དེ་འོད་དུ་ཞུ་བ་ལས་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་མདོག་པདྨ་རཱ་ག་ལྟ་བུར་དམར་ཞིང་འོད་འབར་བ། ཞེས་པ་ནས།
བརླབས་བྱའི་ཕྱག་ལ་ཁ་དོག་དམར་པོར་གསལ་བས་སྐོར་བ་ཞེས་པའི་བར་བདག་བསྐྱེད་ལྟར་གསལ་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས
པས་བདེ་བ་ཅན་ནས་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་འཁོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་དམ་ཚིག་པ་དང་བཅས་པ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨཱ་ཡུ་ཥེ་
སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཆོད། ཛཿཧཱུྃ་བཾ་ཧོཿ གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་ཐིམ། སྐར་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཀའི་ཧྲཱིཿལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པས་དབང་གི་ལྷ་རིགས་ལྔ
འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ། ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ས་མ་ཛཿ དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐུར་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསོལ
བ་བཏབ་པས། སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཨ་བྷི་ཥིཉྩ་ཧཱུྃ། ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་། བུམ་པའི་ཆུས་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་དབང་བསྐུར་སྐུ་གང་། དྲི་མ

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SANSKRIT STUDIES IN CLASSICAL INDONESIA

In March 1972 a Balinese scholar Tjokorda Rai Sudharta came to New Delhi to attend the International Sanskrit Conference convened by the Government of India. He presented a paper on « Sanskrit in Bali », wherein he cited the so-called Sanskrit chrestomathy *Svara-saṁhitā* as an example. This manuscript was copied for the Arts Faculty of Udayana University, Denpasar (Bali) in 1885 Saka (1963 A.D.). It consists of 98 palm leaves (lontar) written on both sides. Each page carries four lines with approximately 32 to 34 Sanskrit words and their meanings.

« *Kṣatra* ṅa saṅ ratu (the king), *anvayah* ṅa vka-vkanira (his sons), *paṅktiratha* ṅa saṅ Daśaratha (king Daśaratha), *abhidhānaḥ* ṅa yawakani ṅaranira (is called his ownself), *bharttā* ṅa ratunya (his king), *bhuvoḥ* ṅa lmahnya (his earth), *bhanudinah* ṅa hyaṅ Āditya (the god Sun), *prabhāvaḥ* ṅa viryya (dignity), *akhaṇḍa* ṅa tanpiyak (indivisible), *wanoh* ṅa kahaṅkaranira (his selfishness), *manujeśvarāṇām* ṅa saṅ ratur (the king), *manyah* ṅa pinujanira (worshipped by him), *manojñai* ṅa konaṅunaṅ (happiness), *guṇajñeḥ* ṅa kasaktyan (power), *guṇajñaḥ* ṅa pujajnanati, *cakāra* ṅa gave, etc. (ṅa means is') »[1].

Evidently it is not a « vocabulary », but a fine specimen of an ornate Sanskrit *kāvya*. Reading through the ensuing folios it became clear that it is a *kāvya* of Rāma, recalling the mellifluous stanzas of the *Jānakīharaṇa*. Eagerly glancing through the *Jānakīharaṇa*, it turned out to be the second half of the twelfth stanza and the first half of the 13th.

kṣatrānvayaḥ paṅkti-rathābhidhāno bhartā bhuvo bhānu-nibhaḥ
[prabhāvaiḥ // 12 //
akhaṇḍa-māno manujeśvarāṇāṁ mānyo manojñaiḥ guṇajaiḥ
[guṇajñaḥ /

* International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi.
1. *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, New Delhi, 1973, vol. 2, pp. 217 ff.

To our great joy and amazement here, at last, was the discovery of a Sanskrit *kāvya* on Indonesian soil, whose faded memories lingered on in fragments in the *Svarasaṁhitā*, an eclectic collection of stray bits of grammar, *kāvya, bīja-mantras*, synonyms and the like. The first eleven and a half stanzas were missing in the Balinese lontar. We started a search for these lost stanzas in the *Kṛtabhāṣā* lontars kept at the Leiden University. Cod. Or. 5089 began: *avighnam astu // 0 // asitya dadi / davanyam lmah / mati atiśaya /* etc. So here we were in the beginning of the *Jānakīharaṇa*. Cod. Or. 5089 is a cakĕpan, 45 cm. in length, 11 folia, written in two lines, with interlinear translation[2]. It stems from the Lombok collection, which is distinguished by the degree of accuracy of its lontars as well as their unique contents. The Lombok codex unfortunately ends abruptly in the middle of the 28th stanza of the first canto. The text of the *Jānakīharaṇa* from the Lombok codex is reproduced as an appendix to this article.

Interlinear Sanskrit and Kawi texts were used by aspirants for proficiency in Sanskrit to improve their Kawi diction. This has been the tradition in Indonesia down to our times when men of culture studied Daśanāma and allied lexica on synonymy to better their knowledge of Kawi. When Rabindranath Tagore visited Indonesia, his host the Sultan astonished the poet by reciting several synonyms for a river, while they were driving past a river: two hearts reincarnating a common cultural milieu. In the study of modern Indian languages as well, the learning of Sanskrit is a must for elegance of style and for the creation of words for new ideas. It was an established practise not so long ago that « the *Jānakīharaṇa* was one of the texts studied by those in Ceylon who desired to obtain a proficiency in the Sanskrit language. This is indicated by the fact that a word for word paraphrase (*sanne*) in Sinhalese, was produced about the twelfth century, by an unknown scholar, for the whole poem. Manuscripts of this Sinhalese *sanne* of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, though incomplete, are still extant »[3]. We may conclude that in Indonesia of the Classical period the *Jānakīharaṇa* served a similar function of enriching the Kawi poet's repertoire of literary refinement.

The Classical curriculum of a poet's training comprised grammar, metrics, dramaturgy, lexicography, and poetics. This tradition of five subjects has been preserved in Tibet and they are known as the « Five Minor Sciences »: Tib: *sgra-rig-pa* (*vyākaraṇa*, grammar), *sdeb-sbyor* (*chandas*, metrics), *zlos-gar* (*nāṭaka*, dramaturgy), *mṅon-brjod* (*abhidhāna*, lexicography i.e. for synonyms), *sñan-ṅag* (*kāvya*, poetics for

2. H. H. Juynboll, *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden, 1911, 2,211.
3. S. Paranavitana, C. E. Godakumbura, *The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa*, Colombo, 1967, introd. p. 51.

alaṅkāra)[4]. The training of Kālidāsa comprised proficiency in grammar, *nighaṇṭu* (lexicography), prose-writing (*padya-racanā*) which corresponds to dramaturgy in the foregoing enumeration, and poetics (*kāvya-śāstra*) which is metrics and *alaṅkāra* in the previous list. The life of Kālidāsa is inscribed on the slab Ep. Zey. 1:20, Elleväva Pillar Inscription of Dappula (Ep. Zey. 5:35), Slab no. Mll in the Anuradhapura Museum, Bō Maluva Pillar, and Rock Inscription at'Rājagala. It reads: *Kālidāso 'cirenaiva saṁskṛta-bhāṣāṁ ca saṁskṛta-vyākaraṇa-śāstrañ ca nighaṇṭūṁs ca... padya-racanā-śāstrañ ca kāvya-śāstrañ ca ... adhītya mahāpaṇḍito bhūtvā sthitaḥ*[5].

Does Indonesia still preserve texts pertaining to these Literary Arts? Yes, it does. The Chinese pilgrim-scholar I-tsing attests the study of Sanskrit grammar in Indonesia: « Before sailing twenty days the ship reached Śrīvijaya, where I landed and stayed six months, gradually learning the *śabdavidyā* (Sanskrit grammar) »[6]. Miss Shashibala of the International Academy of Indian Culture, who is working on Sanskrit grammatical texts from Indonesia, has discovered to the great surprise of the scholarly world, that major systems of Sanskrit grammar like Pāṇini, Sārasvata, Vararuci, Kāśakṛtsna and Kātantra are represented in Indonesia, mostly their sections on *sandhi*, nominal compounds (*samāsa*) and some declensions and conjugations. The *kārikās* of Kātantra on the cases are known under the title of *Kāraka-saṅgraha*[7]. Its purpose is stated at the end to be the authoritative interpretation and appropriate comprehension of the metaphysical or spiritual precepts of the guru:

Parātma-tattvam saṁyujya yuktitaś cintyam ātmasāt /
pramāṇī-kṛtya vākyāni gurūktāni manīṣiṇā //

Bali has preserved to this day two different commentaries on the *Kāraka-saṅgraha*, one from the grammatical and the other from the philosophical view-point.

Sanskrit lexicography is richly represented by the Amaramālā, Daśanāma, Adiśvara, Ekalavya, Samūha-vacana, lists of mono-syllabic words, and several other texts without titles. The main purpose was to extend the dimensions of vocabulary by providing large number of synonyms.

Alaṅkāra or literary embellishment is known from a solitary (so far!) text which commences with the words: *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu. *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ tiṣṭhati* lagiya di. *tat kānanam* ikaṅ alas. *kusumitam* makambaniya. *tasmin kānane kusumite* naṅkana lagi ya. *sā latā* ikaṅ udvad.

4. J. Terjek, *Tibetan Compendia Written for Csoma de Körös by the Lamas of Zaṅs-dkar*, New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture), 1976, introd. p. 21.

5. S. Paranavitana, *Traditions about Kālidāsa that were prevalent in Śrīvijaya*, Añjali (O.H. de A. Wijesekera Felicitation Volume), ed. J. Tilakasiri, Peradeniya, 1970, p. 109.

6. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671-695) by I-tsing, Oxford, 1896, introd. p. 30.

7. Sylvain Lévi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Baroda, 1933, p. 88.

saḥ vṛkṣaḥ ikaṅ kayu. *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ sā latā saṁśritā* an parāśraya ya. How do we know that it is a text pertaining to *alaṅkāra-śāstra*? During a visit to Indonesia in 1976, I had the pleasure of consulting its lontar whose cover palmleaf had the word *Lĕṅkṛta*, inscribed insignificantly in a corner which could easily escape notice. It is significant that such a title does not appear in any of the catalogues of the collections at Leiden [8] and Singaraja (Bali) [9]. This text represents a faithful record of the oral teaching on *ars poetica*, with the constant repetition of the phrases, as if it were a live tape recording of a class-room lesson. It is an interesting document of ancient pedagogics. In India too a teacher sitting under a tree would commence his lessons in *alaṅkāra-śāstra* with the « tree » itself, for it was the immediate environment of the taught. There is a traditional anecdote about the Sanskrit writer Bāṇa, who is renowned for his classic prose-*kāvya* entitled *Kādambarī*. He had hardly reached halfway in this work, when he felt that his days were at end. He summoned both sons to his bedside to find out the one who could complete it in all brilliance of descriptions, vivid similes, and resplendent phraseology. He asked his learned grammarian son to put in words: « here is the tree ». He put it in terse and grammaticised exactitude: *vṛkṣas tiṣṭhaty agre* « the tree stands in front »; hard and stiff with every word in the brace of *sandhi*. The second son trained in flowing and rhythmical prose expressed it as: *tarur iha vilasati purataḥ* abjuring harsh *sandhis* and syllables, each word gracefully flowing into the next. Bāṇa decided that his second son Bhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭa should complete the remainder of *Kādambarī*. Such is the legend from the vast traditions of India's literary heritage, still recounted by a teacher to his disciples. One fact stands out that the motif of the « tree » was a starting-point and index-mark in *alaṅkāra* studies and Indonesia portrays in her lontars a fragment of this vanished oral tradition in vivid detail.

In the domain of metrics, we have the *Chandaḥ-kiraṇa* (or *Caṇḍa-kiraṇa*) [10] which is the earliest known chrestomathy giving metres, synonyms of the *Amara-mālā* and homonyms. It belongs to the genre of literary textbooks or reference-works which were studied by aspiring writers as well as consulted by accomplished authors. Another text is the *Vṛtta-sañcaya* [11] by Mpu Tanakung. These works were not merely theoretical expositions but they provided standards for metres extensively employed in *kakawins*. The exemplification of these metres could

8. THEODORE G. TH. PIGEAUD, *Literature of Java: catalogue raisonné of Javanese MSS in the Library of the University of Leiden...*, Leiden, 1970, volume III.

9. *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk*, Singaradja-Solo, 1929 ff., Afl. 1 ff.

10. H. KERN, VG. 9,273-282.

11. H. KERN (ed.), *Wṛtta-sañcaya, Oudjav. leerdicht over versbouw*, Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, Leiden, 1875 (VG. 9,67-190).

be seen in Sanskrit *kāvyas* like the *Jānakī-haraṇa* and *Rāvaṇa-vadha alias Bhaṭṭikāvya* which were prevalent in Indonesia.

The *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* and its relationship with the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* deserves a detailed analysis. The opening verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* can be compared to the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* thus:

hana sira ratu dibya rĕnön,
abhūt nṛpaḥ vibudha sakhaḥ
praśāsta riṅ rāt, musuhnira praṇata,
paran- tapaḥ
jaya, paṇḍita riṅ aji kabeh
śrutānvitaḥ
saṅ Daśaratha nāma tā molī //
Daśaratha ity udāhṛtaḥ

We can see that the Sanskrit text has been reproduced in Kawi, word by word:

abhūn nṛpo vibudha-sakhaḥ paran-tapaḥ
śrutānvito Daśaratha ity udāhṛtaḥ /

The Kawi author was a genius who could transcreate each and every word with a minimum of addition and subtraction, in amazing simplicity of structure and limpid flow of words in Kawi, as compared to the elaborate recondite style of Bhaṭṭi. The *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* has the refinement of austerity of words, like a Zen painting where the empty white spaces are beauty (*śūnyatā rūpam*), in contradistinction to Bhaṭṭi's academic exultation in grammar and figures of speech providing joy of erudition to his commentators. In the Kawi stanza, there are two clauses which are not found in the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*: *praśāsta riṅ rāt* « renowned throughout the world », *jaya* « victorious ». *Jaya* can be a clarification of the preceding *musuhnira praṇata* « his enemies were subdued ». The two additions can also be an echo in the poet's mind of *Jānakīharaṇa* 1.12-25 which is prolix in its eulogy of the virtues and glory of king Daśaratha, specifically 1.14 *cd jigīṣur abhyasta-samasta-śāstra-jñān-oparuddhendriya-vegaḥ*. Here it may be recalled that several *Rāmāyaṇa* texts were prevalent in Indonesia and even the Sanskrit alphabet was taught through this epic. The *Jānakīkāvya* [12] in 51 stanzas was meant for this purpose and each stanza containing one letter of the alphabet must have

12. Edited in Sylvain Lévi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 89-93 as *Kavi-Jānakī*. Sylvain Lévi omitted all Kawi prefixes and suffixes, and in this process *ka-an* of *ka-kavin* was eliminated, and a ghost-word *kavi* was created. *Kakavin* would be *Jānakī-kāvya* in Sanskrit syntactic order. Prof. Lévi also failed to discern that every stanza contained a letter of the alphabet: this could have avoided wrong allocation of lines and it could also lead to a better text. The whole text is being re-edited by the author. The last stanza should commence with the last letter of the alphabet, namely, *ha*. In Lévi it begins *ātta-śatru-mahendrāṇi*. It has to be emended to *hata-śatrur mahendra-bhih* « he had vanquished his enemies and was a terror even to Mahendra ».

been accompanied by illustrations in ancient times to allure the young students, as the *Rāmāyaṇa* comics in Bahasa Indonesia published by the Tan Kun Sri Bookshop at Kediri are a delight for the Indonesian children today. The *Caritra Rāmāyaṇa*[13] is another example of a *Rāmāyaṇa* text used to teach nominal compounds. In India too, creative writing was taught in an integral manner combining grammatical rules, figures of speech, metres, vocabulary, and cultural imagery of Classical myths and legends. This integrative approach can be discovered in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* where all these elements are abundantly illustrated in a refined and elaborate art. For example the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* has been explained from the standpoint of different systems of Sanskrit grammar, namely, those of Kalāpa, Mugdhabodha and Pāṇini in Gurunatha Vidyanidhi Bhattacharya's edition published from Calcutta in 1893. While a *kāvya* was aesthetic joy in its lucid charm, it was a holistic system of education embracing at once the five basic disciplines mentioned earlier in this paper.

The kingdom of Śrīvijaya was an international centre of Sanskrit studies and the efforts of the kings of Śrīvijaya for the conservation of Sanskrit literature are attested by the Simhalese chronicle *Suvarṇapura-vaṁsa* said to have been written in the eleventh century. S. Paranavitana[14] has summed up the situation so clearly that it bears citation: « The ancient Suvarṇṇapura, better known as Śrīvijaya (the modern Palembang), was a great centre of Sanskrit studies. The library of the Maharaja of Śrīvijaya is said to have contained, in the fifteenth century, many famous Sanskrit books that were not available at that time in India itself. Among the pandits of Suvarṇṇapura, there were prevalent many traditions about the history and literature of India, either preserved orally or in writing on palm-leaves ».

« The ancient kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura was on the decline in the fifteenth century, and was maintaining itself with great difficulty against the threat of Muslim Sultanates that had arisen all around it. Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, who was a scion of the Kāliṅga, i.e. Śrīvijaya, branch of the Sinhalese royal family, was able to read the portents of the times, and was anxious to preserve for posterity, something of the rich historical traditions that the land of his birth was heir to. He had copies of many of the rare books brought to Jayavardhanapura (Kōṭṭe), and preserved them in his own library ». The Indonesian scholars of Suvarṇṇapura had preserved on palmleaves an account of the life of Kālidāsa which has been found engraved on stone-inscriptions in Srīlanka (Ceylon)[14]. An ancient precursor of modern « oral history projects »!

Even the *Jānakīharaṇa* was brought to Srīlanka (Ceylon) from Indonesia. S. Paranavitana[15] says: « Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe (1410-1465)

13. Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-107.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.
15. *Op. cit.*, introd. p. 70.

having learned that the original Sanskrit text of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was nowhere procurable in Ceylon, inquired from the members of his academy whether it was possible for any one of them to recompose the stanzas of the poem with the words given in the Sinhalese Sanne (word-for-word paraphrase). Rājasundara-paṇḍita, a learned Brahmin, told the king that he could do so, and Parākramabāhu made the provision necessary for him to undertake and carry out this task. When Rājasundara-paṇḍita had completed the re-composing of the stanzas up to the end of Canto X, information reached Parākramabāhu that a copy of the full original poem was available in the Puṇḍra country (Malabar). A copy of this manuscript was obtained for the king's library. In the meantime. the original poem had also been found in the possession of a pandit at a village close to Suvarṇṇapura (Palembang). A copy of this was also obtained for the library of Parākramabāhu VI.

« The two manuscripts were also found to be at variance with regard to certain verses. The manuscript from Suvarṇṇapura also contained a large number of verses which were not found in the Sinhalese Sanne, nor in the manuscript from the Puṇḍra country. It was contended by Ānanda-sthavira, a learned monk from Suvarṇṇapura, that the variant readings in the manuscript from that country were emendations made by Kumāradāsa himself, who is said to have sojourned for a prolonged period there, after the completion of the poem in Ceylon. The additional verses were also taken by Ānanda-sthavira to be compositions of Kumāradāsa himself. Buddharakṣita sthavira, on the other hand, was of opinion that the variant readings in the Suvarṇṇapura manuscript had been deliberately introduced by some one in Suvarṇṇapura, and that the additional verses found therein were the laboured composition of a poetaster, who lived long after Kumāradāsa ».

Indonesian lontars have conserved some early versions of Sanskrit texts, for instance, Cod. Or. 5110 [16] in the Leiden University Library has the earliest known version of Bhartṛhari's work, with the captions *lokayātrā, saṁsāra-nindā, viṣaya-heyatā.* It is a *cakĕpan* in 20 folios which are 46 cm long. It is from the Lombok collection which continued traditions of the libraries of the Śrīvijaya kingdom.

In conclusion, we can say that the Indonesian literati had access to all branches of Sanskrit learning and they put these disciplines to the best of use in the emergence of their own creative literature, as it happened in later centuries in India when Sanskrit provided models for modern Indian languages both of the north and south. The adventure of new discoveries of the Classical world and Sanskrit texts in Indonesia awaits fresh and keen minds.

16. H. H. JUYNBOLL, *op. cit.*, 2,215 no. 5110.

JĀNAKĪ-HARAṆA FROM INDONESIA *

1.1 *Āsīt* dadi. *avanyāṁ* (*davanyāṁ*) [1] lmah. *ati* (*mati*) atiśaya. *bhoga* bhinukti. *bhārāt* bvat makveh. *divo* (*dvivoḥ*) viśeṣa. *sam* sira. *'vatīrṇṇā* manura [*na*]*garī* kaḍatvan. *iva* kadi. *divyā* rahayu. *kṣatra* saṅ ratu. *anala* (*nala*) apuy. *sthāna* uṅgvan. *śamī* rampada. *samṛddhyā* kavṛddhyan. *taḥ* ika. *purām* pura. *nidharana* pagĕh. *(m)ayoddhyā* ṅayoddhyā. *iti* maṅkana. *purī* kaḍatvan. *parārddhyā* lĕvih.

1.2 *Yat* [2] nyan maṅkana. *syām* [2] riṅkana muwah sira vtu. *saudha* prasāda. *śṛṅga* puñcak. *agra* tuṅtuṅ. *sarojarāga* maṇik padmarāga. *ratna* [3] maṇi. *nāṁ* [4] ika. *prabhā* teja. *ya* ika. *cchuritaḥ* cinihnan. *śaśāṅkaḥ* vulan. *jagāma* kalivali. *roṣāt* glaṅ. *iva* (*diva*) paḍanya. *lohita* abāṅ. *an* ika. *tatvam* bhāvaḥ [4] dadi. *sya paurāṅganā* strī. *nāṁ* ika. *vaktraiḥ* mukhanya. *kṛta* ginave. *avamānaḥ* kasampayanira.

1.3 *kṛtvā* an gave. *api* muvah. *sarvva* kabeh. *sya* muvah. *mudaṁ*. bhāvasya dadi ika. *samṛddhyā* hetu kavṛddhyan. *harṣāya* mukha. *nābhūd abhisārikāṇāṁ* vinilañji. *niṣāsu* kana vṅi. *kāñcana* mās. *toraṇastha* pagĕr. *ratnāṁśubhiḥ* maṇik. *bhinnatamisra* binlah ptaṅ. *ni* ika. *nāṁ* ikaṅ. *rāśiḥ* samūha.

1.4 *cīna* deśa riṅ cīna. *'ṁśukaiḥ* ṿahavṛddhi. *abhra* dodot. *abhralihāṁ* megha. *udagra* (*muda*). *śṛṅga* puñcaknya. *'gra* tuṅtuṅnya. *sya* muvah. *bhāga* ekadeśanya. *upahitair* kaglaranya. *gṛhāṇāṁ* umah. *viṭaṅka* nya layaṅ-layaṅan tuṇtuṅ. *koṭiskhali(ta)* kasandun. *indu* hyaṅ vulan. *nā sṛṣṭa* limpasakĕn. *nirmoka* kalambi. *paṭṭairiva* blablahnya paḍanya. *yā* ika. *babhāse* (*vabhaṣe*) mahalĕp.

1.5 *didṛkṣuḥ* ranta. *draṣṭum icchuḥ* (*dṛṣṭumiñjuḥ*) mahyun kavulatanya. *sarasīm* talaga i jro dalĕm. *alaṅghyam* tan vnaṅ linaṅghyanan. *yat* (yyatka) puryyām. *khātahaṁsaḥ* (*tehhaṁsaḥ*) baṅak. *samudīkṣya* anton. *bapraṁ* bapra. *sasmāra* (*saṁsmara*) aṅĕnaṅĕn. *nūnaṁ* maṅkana tarkka niṅhulun. *dṛḍha* tĕguh. *kauñca* gunuṅ kokoñja. *kuñja* pārśvanya. *bhāga* avaknya. *cchido* (*citdoh*) tinugĕl. *bhārggava* saṅ Rāmaparaśu. *mārggaṇasya* varayaṅ nira.

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* Edited from the palmleaf manuscript in the Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 5089, described in Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 2,211.

1. Readings of the manuscript are given in parantheses. The Svara-saṁhitā 22a-28a (Balinese palmleaf ms.) was not accessible and its variants could not be recorded.

2. *yat syām* (= yasyām) = *yat* in the Sanskrit text.

3. *ratnā nāṁ* = ratnānāṁ.

4. *Lohita tatvaṁ bhāvaḥ*, here *bhāvaḥ* is from a commentary.

1.6 *vimbaṁ svaṁ* vayaṅvayaṅan. *ālokya* (*mālokya*) avulatī. *tataṁ* kahatur. *(n)gṛhāṇāṁ* umah. *ādarśa* (*mādarśśe*) cṛmin. *bhittau* (*bhito*) *nayuktaḥ tavam*. *kṛtaṁ vandhyaṁ* turuṅ ya vkasan ginave ya pūrvvaka. *ghātāḥ* sinimbat. *rathyāsu* avaṅegöṅ. *yasyāṁ* puryyāṁ. *radinaḥ* liman. *pramāṇaṁ* pinakapaṅavruh. *(ñ)cakruḥ* an gave. *madāmodaṁ* moda ambĕknya. *ari-dvipānāṁ* (*aradvipanāṁ*) liman musuh.

1.7 *lagna* (*lagnai*) tumanĕm. *ekabhāgaṁ* avaknya savaneh. *sita* maputih. *harmya* (*hamya*) prasāda. *śṛṅge* puñcaknya. *vikṛṣya* mamatĕk. *mandena* alon. *samīraṇe* hyaṅ aṅin. *na* samaṅkana. *dīrgghīkṛta* pinahadavā. *bāla* hanvam. *mṛṇāla* iva sulur. *śubhraṁ* maputih. *karoti* an gave. *yatra* kana puryyāṁ. *dhvaja* yukti. sya *kṛtyaṁ* kagavaya. *abhram* (*mabhram*) megha.

1.8 *pravāla* vulvānvam. *śīrṣā* gluṅan. *vadanaṁ* mukha. *suvarṇṇam* rahayu. *muktā* hilaṅ. *mayāṅga* lara. *'vayavāḥ* avayavanya. *vahantyaḥ* vata. *yasyāṁ* puryyāṁ kaṅa. *yuvatyaḥ* vini. *vihitāḥ* kadi ginave. *saḥ vidhātrā* hyaṅ Brahmā. *ratnair* (*ratne*) maṇik. *iva* (*riva*) paḍanya. *āpuḥ* (*adhuḥ*) dhāraṇa. *vapuṣaḥ* (*bapuḥṣaḥ*) avak. *prakarṣaṁ* hayunya.

1.9 *āliṅgya* kolakĕn. *tuṅgaṁ* mavan. *vvalabhī-viṭaṅka(ṁ)* layaṅ-layaṅan vinehakĕnya denya. *vviśrāṇitātma-dhvani* śabda. *puṣkareṣu* kana tatabuyan. *vavre* malaku. *sitaṁ* aputih. *śāradaṁ* lahru. *abhra* (*mabhra*) megha. *vṛndaṁ* samūhanya. *yatsaudha* prasāda. *kāntiḥ* tejanya. *iva* paḍa. *savibhāgaṁ* kadumanya.

1.10 *tatāna* pahavṛddhi. *toṣaṁ* sukhanya. *śikhināṁ* merāk. *(m)udagram (m)āsanna* maparö. *jīmūta* samūhanya. baṅ *ghaṭāsu* megha. *yasyāṁ* puryyāṁ. *vidyun* kana kilat. *nibhā* paḍa. *kāñcana* mās. *iva* kadi. *piñjarāsu* aṅāṅ. *kṣipraṁ* kṣighra. *patākāsu* kana tuṅgul. *tatā* kahatur. *vivṛttiḥ*.

1.11 *raktāśmani* maṇik padmarāga. *nīlopala* maṇik indranīla. *toraṇāni* pagĕr. *nārī* strī. *janasya* samūhanya. *bhramato* maputran. *niśāsu* vṅi. *krodha* glĕṅnya. *pramodau* sukha. *vidadhuḥ* glarakĕn. *vibhābhiḥ* śiṣṭa lĕvih teja. *yatra* kana puryyāṁ. *kṣato* inilaṅakĕn. *tāmasāni* tāmasānām vṛndaṁ.

1.12 *tatra* kana puryyāṁ. *abhavat* (*bhava*) dadi. *bibhrat* (*dvibhrat*) dhāraṇa. *(d)alaṅghya* tan vnaṅ linaṅghyakĕn. *anyatkṣmānātha* saṅ ratu len. *mānaṁ* kāhaṅkāranya. *jayamānaṁ* sorakĕn. *ojaḥ kṣatra* saṅ ratu. *anvayaḥ* vkavkanira. *paṅktiratha* saṅ Daśaratha. *abhidhānaḥ* yavakaṅaranira. *bhṛttā* ratunya. *bhuvo* lmahnya. *bhānunibhaḥ* hyaṅ āditya. *prabhāvaiḥ* vīrya.

1.13 *akhaṇḍa* tan apiyak. *māno* (*vanoḥ*) kāhaṅkāranira. *manujeś-varāṇāṁ* saṅ ratu. *mānyo* pinūjanira. *manojñaiḥ* konaṅunaṅ. *guṇajaiḥ* kaśaktyan. *guṇajñaḥ* pujajnanati. *cakāra* gave. *rājā*. *rajata* kadi pirak. *'vadātāḥ* śuddha. *diśo* deśa. *yaśobhiḥ* hetu yaśa göṅ. *śaradi* lahru. *abhra* megha. *śubhraiḥ* aputih.

1.14 *ājau* palagan. *(v)ajayyān* tan alah. *ajanandano* saṅ Daśaratha. *asau pūrvaṁ* tambayan. [*ṣa*]*dante nam dviṣato vijigye* kaṇa sorakĕn. *jigīṣu* kalahanya mahyun. *'bhyasta* inabhyāsa denira. *samasta* (*samanta*) kabeh. *śāstra* aji. *jñāno* sakavruhnya. *uparuddhe* tinahĕnan. *'ndriya* cakṣurādi. *vāji* kuda. *vegaḥ* dṛsnya.

1.15 *bali* śaktinya. *nṛpāṇāṁ* saṅ ratu. *pratāpāpaha-vikrameṇa* katri-vikrama. *trailokya* triloka. saṅ śūra kaniṣṭha-maddhyamottama. *dur-laṅghya* pinakewĕh. *sudarśśanena* kotonanira paḍa paḍa nira. *nānta* tan pahiṅan. *bhoga* bhinukti. *śrayituṁ* parāśraya. *api* nihan maṅkana. *tene* an pahavṛddhi. *tenālasatvaṁ*. *puruṣottamena* hyaṅ Viṣṇu saṅ Daśaratha.

1.16 *Daṇḍaḥ* vadva. *tataḥ* nira. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *bhuvaṁ* bhūḥ. *jigīṣoḥ* (*ñjigiśuḥ*) jetum icchuḥ mahyun malahakna. *kampaṁ* calani. *vitanvan* [pahavṛddhi]. *vanvayyaṅga nvihita* [ginlarakĕn]. *tāpaikasya* panas niṅ vanvayaṅga. *hetuḥ* nimittanya. *tridaśādhipasya* saṅ hyaṅ Indra. *diśaṁ* jvaras lara. *tīvra* atyartha. *iva* kadi. *āviveśa* (*viśeṣa*) kĕndat.

1.17 *samudraṁ* sāgara. *ullaṅghya* laṅghyane. *gataḥ* kalivat. *tadīyas* Daśarathasya. *tejo 'bhidhānaḥ* kaśaktin eva. *gurur*. *agni* apuy. *rāśiḥ* sa-mūhanya. *nitānta* atiśaya. *santāpita* pinanasan. *pūrva* vetan. *kāṣṭhaḥ* deśa riṅ *protsvedayāmāsa* (*prochedayāmāsa*) an panasi. *nṛpaṁ* saṅ ratu. *kaḍāhe* deśa riṅ Kaḍāha.

1.18 *bhujaṅgaiḥ* ula. *samprārthita* (*samprasita*) pinunagyakĕn. *sevya* sinevita. *velā* tambin. *kāñcī* lwah si kāñcī. *guṇa* hayu. *ākarṣita* vinatĕk. *sārttha* sambanyagapur saṅ sugih pag. *lokā* samūhanya. *dig dakṣiṇā* kidul *karkaśayatnena* atiśaya, *bhogyā* bhinukti. *veśyeva* vinilañji ika kadi. *bhuktā* bhinukti. *nṛvareṇa* saṅ Daśaratha. *tena* de.

1.19 *labdhvā* paṅguh ya. *asura* daitya. *'supraghasa* inarasnya. *āyu-dhasya* śabda ta nira. *ghātaṁ* panimbat. *śareṇa* de hrunya. *'sya* Daśa-rathasya. *vinirjita* (vinirjito) alah byakta ya. *api* hihan. *ātmānaṁ* avak. *anyaiḥ* nṛpaiḥ de len. (ṛ)*asamāna-mānaṁ* tanpinaḍan. *mene* aṅhiḍĕp. *manasvī* asthi. *yudhi* kana. *yāvanendraḥ* saṅ ratu.

1.20 *teja* dilah. *cchalena* yāvaknya. *hutāśanena* kāraṇa apuy. *śrīvā-saramyaṁ*. saḥ Daśaratha. *dahan* gsĕṅi. *Turuṣkam* deśa riṅ Turuṣka riṅ Malaya. *dhūpair* asĕp. *iva* kāraṇa. *āsakta* lana. *gataiḥ* kalivat. *yaśobhiḥ* *āśīyam antaṁ* deśa. *surabhīcakāra* an pahavaṅi.

1.21 *para* musuh. *iṣu* nāñ hrunya. *vātyā* hañin. *parivṛṅhito* pinakavṛddhi. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *krodha* galak. *'bhidhāno* ya ta kapaṅguhanya. *yudhi citrabhānuḥ* apuy nira. *anāyi* nvava. *śāntiṁ* paḍam. *ripu* śatru. *kāminīnāṁ* strīnya. *ātāmra-netra*. *cyuta* bhyuh. *vāri* vvai. *varṣaiḥ* kaharanudana.

1.22 *tasya* de Daśarathasya. *ekavāṇa* viśeṣa. *āsana* laras. *bhagna* alah. *śatroḥ* musuh. (*r*)*āloka-bhūmau* hamula hana ratu bhakti. *caraṇa* suku. *aravinde* yāvakaniṅ padma. *āsedatuḥ* arkalagyani. *sarva* kabeh. *narendra* ratu. *mauli* glunan. *ratna* maṇiknya. *prabhā* teja. *'laktaka-maṇḍanāni* yāvakaniṅ pahyas.

1.23 *lokas tadīye* Daśarathasya. *bhuvi* kana lmah. *hāra* mutyahāra. *gaure* (*ghoram*) śuddha. *kīrtti* yaśa. *pratāne* samūhanya. *parijṛmbhamāṇe* vṛddhi. *abhinna* tan skar. *kośa* kucupnya. *kumudaṁ* tunjuṅ. *nirīkṣya* ar vvulati. *mumoca* lpasakĕn. *candra* hyaṅ vulan. *udaya* vtuṇira (v.l. vtunya). *śaṅkitāni* sandeha.

1.24 *samasta* kabeh. *sāmanta* sāmanta. *nṛpa* ratu. *uttamāṅgāni* hulu. *addhyāsya* kalagyani. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *unnata* dadinya. *tejaḥ* śaktinira. *jajvāla* dumilah. *cūḍāgata* kalivat. *padmarāga* maṇik padmarāga. *rāgacchaṭā* samūhanya. *visphuraṇa* larapnya. *cchalena* hetu avaknya.

1.25 *narendra* saṅ Daśaratha. *candrasya yaśo-vitāna-jyotsnā* yavakaniṅ teja niṅ vulan. *mahī* lmah. *maṇḍanasya* bhūṣaṇanya. *tasyāri* musuh. *nārī* strī. *nayana* mata. *indukānta* yakan maṇi candrakānta. *niṣyandahetu* hiliṅ ya nimitta. *bhuvam*. *ātatāna* ?ti.

1.26 *tena* Daśarathena. *upayeme* pinakabhakti. *vidhivad* yajñapūrvaka. *vidheyā* vinava. *vahneḥ* hyaṅ apuy. *samakṣaṁ* samata. *indradviṣad-bhartṛ-niṣūdanasya mātā* ibu-nira. *bhavitrī* yaṅkan dadya bhaṭāra *bhava-tulya-dhāmnaḥ* paḍa śaktinira.

1.27 *sphurat-mayūkhā* lumarap. *saraṇiḥ* samūhanya. *nakhānāṁ* kukunira. *Mahendra* hyaṅ Indra. *kalpasya* Daśarathasya. *mahāya* tadarttha. *devyāḥ* saṅ Kauśalyā. *pāda* suku. *dvaya* parvarvanya. *ante* tuṅtuṅ. *jita-padmakośa* sinorakĕn kucupnya. *muktā* kinanakĕn. *iva* muktā kadi mutyahāra. *vitatiḥ* samūhanya. *vireje* mahalĕp.

1.28 *līlā* vajiknya. *gateḥ* laku. *atra nisargasiddhā matto* darppa. *dantī muṣito* tiniru. *haṁsaḥ* baṅak. *itīva*. *jaṅghā* vtis. *yugalaṁ* parvarvanya. *tadīyaṁ* Kauśalyā. *cakre* an gave. *tulā* glaṅkaki. *koṭyaḥ* tuṅtuṅnya. *adhirohaṇāni* kanekanya.

IN SEARCH OF BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS IN EASTERN SIBERIA

by

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(This a short preliminary report of the first Indian Cultural Delegation to the Buryat ASSR. A detailed scientific report will come out in 4 volumes)

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Beyond the placid and shimmering blue waters of Lake Baikal in the heart of Eastern Siberia lie the fabled lands of the Buryats, known as the Buryat ASSR and the Chita Autonomous Region. They are the dreamland of a Buddhologist with their richly endowed monasteries, studded with icons of rare charm, resplendent with silken scrolls of thaṅkas and stacked with xylographs and manuscripts of historic value—preserved with loving care by the savant lamas under the guidance of the ecclesiastical department of the Government of the USSR. For years on end, we had dreamt of seeing these historic treasures. Long last, in February 1967, Bandida =(Sanskrit Paṇḍita) Hambo Lama, J.D. Gomboev, Chairman of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR, sent an invitation which read:

"The Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR is happy to invite you to visit our Buryat Republic and be a guest of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union. You may visit us at any time convenient for you.

"We shall be also very glad to receive together with you two of your colleagues in science and Buddhism.

"Your visit to our country will make great contribution into the cause of consolidating peace and friendship between our countries."

Meandering through different post offices, the invitation reached me on the 10th of April, 1967. I acknowledged receipt of the gracious invitation of the Bandida Hambo Lama and the three-man delegation was composed of Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, Mr. Kailash Chandra and myself. Various formalities took nearly two months while cables flashed back and forth. Ours was the first Indian Delegation to visit the "closed-door republic" of the Buryat ASSR. Finally, on the 7th of June, 1967 we left by the Aeroflot to Moscow, en route to Ulan-ude. Moscow was exceptionally chilly, but a warm welcome awaited us at the airport

where the eminent Buryat scholar Prof. Phurbu Baldanzhabov and two officials from the International Office for Foreign Relations of the Department of Religious Affairs were present to receive us. The two officials were: the Uzbek Mr. Rajabov, the Chief Referent in the International Office, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. Zakirov, the Referent, a Tatar by birth. We passed through the Customs without any formalities as all delegations to the Soviet Union do. A fine vegetarian meal awaited us at the hotel. Prof. Baldanzhabov told us that he is writing a history of Mongol culture and is currently working at the Philological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic (MPR) at Ulanbator, to supplement his source-materials from the Institute at Ulan-ude. He told us that there are over 300,000 Buddhists in the Buryat ASSR and a number of research projects on Buddhism are in progress at the Institute of Social Sciences at Ulan-ude to which we shall revert later on.

The whole morning of 8th Ju:: was spent in visiting the Mausoleum of Lenin and the Kremlin. The unending queue of visitors to the Lenin Mausoleum was forbidding but with traditional Soviet hospitality we were permitted to go in the front. Inside the Mausoleum, Lenin the greatest figure of the twentieth century, lay alone, in lifelike semblance. We paid silent homage to him, Revolution Incarnate. The row of tombs of other leaders of the Revolution besides the wall of the Kremlin bear busts of the entombed. At the end of the line lies the tomb of Stalin without a bust, but fresh flowers had been placed on it recently. In the afternoon, we paid a visit to our Ambassador, H.E. Shri Kewal Singh for finalising our visit to the Mongolian People's Republic. We drove through the gigantic Exhibition of the Economic Achievements of the USSR. Our guide talked Hindi and was an ardent admirer of our great poet

Rabindranath Tagore. She wanted to read the Gitanjali in the poet's own English. At tea, Prof. Baldanzhabov introduced his charming son Sogto Purboyev who is specialising in Chinese and English at a Moscow Institute. Sogto is the Buryat pronunciation of Čogtu. Prof. Baldanzhabov hastened to tell us that Sogto is Sanskrit <u>śrī.</u> We found in our consequent travels that a Buryat takes delight in being able to tell a Sanskrit equivalent of his name. We talked on several aspects of Buryat life and the strides it has taken after the Revolution. We were told of a rare manuscript of about a 1000 folios compiled by a Buryat scholar. It gives corrections in seven editions of the Kanjur, namely, Narthang, Derge, Peking, Chone, Lithang, Urga and Lhasa.

Late in the night at 22.30 we left Moscow for Ulan-ude, a city which was founded in 1666 by Russians. It celebrated its 300th anniversary last year, and a special volume was published to commemorate the occasion: <u>Ulan-ude 300 Lyet</u> (180 pp.) by V.V. Inkizhinov and others (Ulan-ude 1965). Next year in 1966 a short historic sketch by N.V. Kim appeared: <u>Očerki Istorii Ulan-ude</u>. After a short stay at Irkutsk, we reached Ulan-ude in the afternoon of 10th June. We were received by the Buddhist Patriarch Bandida Hambo Lama, Mr. Ochirzhabov Dandin the Chairman of the Religions Department in the Ministry of Culture of the Buryat ASSR, Mr. Badma Tserin, Deputy Director of the Ivolginsky Datsan, interpretor Mrs. Vera Andreyeva and others. On the way, Mrs. Vera told us that she was a Buryat from the Irkutsk region, and hence her Russian name. The Buryats born here have Russian names, and occasionally they have two names. For instance, the name of the father of Mrs. Vera was Qanqal in Buryat and Nikolai in Russian. We were taken to the only hotel at Ulan-ude, the Odon Zbezda (<u>odon</u> 'star' in Buryat). As we sat at tea, we were presented with an album of modern Soviet Buryat painters

(Khudozhniki Buryatii, Leningrad 1960). A few artists paint in the traditional style: the most outstanding among them is Mrs. Sakharovskaya. Mrs. Gerasimova is a historian of Buddhist art from the atheistic point of view. Her research work will appear in the coming years. We were told that there are direct descendants of Russians of the 17th century who came to lay the foundations of Ulan-ude. They are known as simeskiya or staroabratsi among the Buryats. The whole of Buryatia as well as the Mongolian People's Republic get their electricity from the gigantic electric station at Irkutsk. In the last fifteen years three more hydroelectric stations have been erected at Bratsk, Angarsk and Irkutsk. The Bandida Hambo Lama welcomed us with the words: "We love and respect your culture". He told us that mineral water is aršan in Buryat, which is a Sanskrit word. We were welcomed with "white food" as is the national custom. Milk products are offered when an honored guest arrives. Asked about the milk yield, we were told that a cow gives 5-20 litres of milk per day, depending upon the season. The conversation drifted on to the etymology of the Transbaikalian toponyms, most of which have hardly been explained. Prof. Baldanzhabov told us that an old tribe lived on the shores of Baikal which spoke a Turkic language. As the folk etymology goes Baikal is split up as bai 'existing, being, having' + kal 'fire'. He was unable to correlate the connection of 'fire' with a water expanse and he proposed that in Turkic it should mean 'standing water'. In this context we may recall the Sanskrit concept of vaḍavānala, the submarine fire or the fire of the lower regions, fabled to emerge from a cavity called the 'mare's mouth' under the sea at the South pole. Mahābhārata 1.6802 relates the whole legend in details. It would be interesting to compare it with the Buryat legends collected by Dr. Ilyasov in his article "About Toponymic

Legends". The River Anggara is said to be the daughter of Lake Baikal whence she flows. Anggara is again a Turkic word meaning 'a hole through rock walls'. Recently, Birtagayev has written on the classification of the ten Buryat dialects. Asked if the Classical Buryat script is still taught in the schools, we were told only the Teachers Training Institute at Ulan-ude and the Universities of Irkutsk and Leningrad teach the Classical Script. We were further informed of the great strides in modern Buryat literature in the post-Revolutionary period. A short history has been compiled by a committee consisting of L.E. Iliasov, V.A. Abramov, A.A. Belousov, Ts.-A. Dugar-Nimaev, G.O. Tudenov and published from Ulan-ude in 1959 by the Buryatskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo under the title of Očer: Istorii Buryatskoi Sovietskoi Literatury. In the evening we went for a stroll in the campus of the vast Agricultural Institute which faces the Hotel 'Odon'. There we met the daughter of Prof. Baldanzhabov Mrs. Svetlana Sirgye and her husband Mr. Sirgye. Mrs. Svetlana spoke fluent English. She teaches English at a Russian school. In the Buryat ASSR there are two types of schools: Buryat schools and Russian schools. In the Buryat schools the Buryat language is the medium of instruction with Russian as a compulsory language. These are found mostly in the country-side. In the towns and cities Russian schools are prevalent. Russian is their medium, with Buryat as a compulsory language. The Buryats are proud of their language and literature. They point out that they have preserved the classical structure of words better than Khalkha, eg. narhan for Classical naransun, whereas Khalkha has nars. The Soviet policy of promoting their culture helps them to preserve their linguistic and literary heritage.

Early in the morning of 10th June we left for Ivolginsky Datsan, the headquarters of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the

USSR and the seat of Bandida Hambo Lama, its President. The town of Ivolginsk is about 40 kilometres from Ulan-ude. It derives its name from the Russian iva 'willow'. In former times when it was founded by the Russians willows grew here aplenty. The Monastery was constructed here in 1948. At the Monastery we were received by the Bandida Hambo Lama, the Deputy Hambo Sibirnov Tsiden, Lama Badmayev Yishidorje, Lama Zhimba-jamso (Representative of the Aginsky Monastery), several other lamas and a large crowd of devotees. We were welcomed with yoghurt mixed with honey and other ingredients - corresponding to Sanskrit madhuparka. A feast of 'white dishes' of milk awaited us — dried cream of milk called ūrm, a national dish of cherries and butter which has medicinal properties of prolonging life, milk-rice pudding (Sanskrit pāyasa) and others. As we sat in the guest room, the Bandida Hambo Lama told us that the Central Relig[illegible]s [illegible] of the Buddhists of the USSR was headed by him and there were two Deputy Chairman from the Ivolginsky and Aginsky monasteries. The Ivolginsky was represented by the Deputy Hambo Lama and the Aginsky by its Hambo Lama. In the Board there are other learned lamas, layman, scholars and government representatives. After the formal reception we were taken to the main hall of the Ivolginsky which has the Tibetan name [illegible] bo dge rgyas bkra śis chos ḥkhor gliṅ. This name is inscribed on top of the entrance in Tibetan letters. Worship is held in this temple. A special service was conducted in our honour for one hour in full aura of the sonorous instruments. Fifteen lamas took part in the recitation of the Stotra to Sixteen Arhats and other holy texts in Tibetan. An innovation is the introduction of the recitation of the Pali Maṅgala-sutta because of the several Ceylonese, Nepalese and Cambodian Buddhist leaders and delegations that have visited [illegible]d continue to

visit the USSR. Since the tenure of office by Prof. Malalasekera as the Ambassador of Ceylon to Moscow, the Buryat Buddhists have had intimate relations with Ceylonese Buddhists. Modern Ceylonese and Nepalese prints of dagobas, scenes from the life of Lord Buddha and other Buddhist representations hang at both the monasteries of Ivolginsky and Aginsky. The interior is gorgeously decorated in traditional style. I would like to refer the readers to the photographs at the end of this paper. Out in the precincts are two stūpas constructed recen.ly. There is a commemorative stūpa to the f er Bandida Hambo Lama, Venerable Sharapov Yeshedorje. Sharapov is the russified form of ś s-rab 'prajñā'. His Sanskrit na e was Prajñā-jñāna-vajra (प्रज्ञाज्ञानवज्र). The stupa w s completed in 1963 and consecrated as the Dge ḥdun mchod rten (the spelling is not certain). The second stūpa is the Dpal ldan ḥbras spuṅ mchod rten (श्रीधान्यकटक-स्तूप) or the Drepung stūpa. The Buryats belong to the Gomang yig-cha of the Drepung Monastery at Lhasa. It is a charming edifice, founded in 1958.

We again went to the central temple on top of which is the blos bslaṅ gi khaṅ pa or the Mandala Hall. It has the architectonic maṇḍala of Śaṁvara (Bde mchog gi blos bslaṅ) depicted as an architectural edifice. There were a number of scrolls painted with maṇḍalas, the most exquisite among them was the maṇḍala of Sarvavid (Kun rig gi ras bris dkyil ḥkhor). Around the blos bslaṅ is the library of the Ivolginsky Datsan. It is the proud owner of a rare Yisün erdeni-yin Ganjur or nava-ratna Kanjur, written in nine inks prepared from silver, mumin, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearls, iron and conch. It was scribed about 80 years ago from the Narthang tion. The monastery has the complete set in 101 volumes. The initial folios are miniatured in color with the images of deities. There are several thousand

manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. They are arranged and kept subject-wise with their short titles written on <u>kha yig</u> cloth sticking out. Most of the sumbum (opera omnia) are available in stray volumes. The librarian is a venerable old lama of 80 years, Prof. Balchinov Lobsang-yeshe who is endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge in all branches of Buddhist learning.

In 1956 when the Bandida Hambo Lama attended the Buddha Jayanti in India he brought seeds of the Holy Tree from Bodhgaya. He planted it in a special wooden temple in 1957. It is a glasshouse with heating arrangements. Fertilisers have been used liberally. The Bandida Hambo Lama told us with filial affection how he had cared for the Holy Tree which is eleven years old now. He could hardly restrain his overflowing emotions as he talked of the loving care which he had bestowed to nourish the Tree. It was going to outgrow the temple ceiling. To survive the extreme cold of Buryatia it had to be in the warmth of an interior. What could he do for it. A Burmese delegation had visited the temple and they had suggested that the Japanese technique of miniaturisation be applied. The Bandida Hambo Lama desperately wanted me to send a book on this technique. He was also keen to have the seeds or saplings of the sandalwood tree -- <u>čandan</u> is an auspicious tree of Buryat tales and legends.

Like the yurts of old, there were a number of separate house-units for various purposes, eg. a storehouse for old images, a hall for preparing <u>baling</u> (बलि), summer house of the Bandida Hambo Lama, a room for heating the central temple through pipes, etc. A new guest-house was under construction. Most of them are simple wooden structures, in vivid contrast to the central temple whose picturesque architecture, sweetly tinkling bells, and melody of colour lends an overall charm and

casts an enchanting spell over the entire monastic complex.

At noon, we were given special Buryat dishes of raisins and the plant saranta which has a curious taste as if the Indian khir and mohanbhog had been blended into a single flavor. The milk dishes were served in wooden utensils, and the spoons too were wooden. The milk dishes pertain to the holy and honored. In Indian homa also, the utensils and spoons are preferably wooden. The juice of oblipekha was served. It is an indigenous Buryat drink from Ayurvedic medicine, a tonic for he lungs. The Bandida Hambo Lama opined that modern medicine should research its properties for heart diseases. Outside, the sky was overcast and a light drizzle lent chill to the breeze. When rain accompanies a guest, it is auspicious, so goes the Buryat saying. The lamas, scientists, officials and interpretors who accompanied us were happy that our visit to the monastery was bl ssed by rain. The meadows were enlivened by tiny yellow flowers of nezabutka or forget-me-nots. These innocent flowerlings reminded us not to forget the inspiring hours spent at the Monastery. The Monastery ever spreads before our eyes and surges ever anew into the deeps of our soul, as Bandida Hambo Lama's smiling face and humour breaks us into peels of laughter.

Besides the Ivolginsky Monastery there are four other monasteries. Guzinozersky is hallowed as the first monastery of Buryatia. It is an architectural monument without any xylographs or manuscripts. So also the Tsagolsky Monastery. In Kiakhta too, there is a monastery which is not functioning now. The Aginsky Monastery is most highly venerated as the former seat of Buryat scholarship and learning which gave to the world scholars like Zamcarano, Tsybikov and Baradiin.

The town of Ivolginsky has a Sovkhoz where tomatoes, cucumber

and other vegetables are grown all round the year. Its annual yield is high -- it produces 7000 kilograms of cucumber in every season. All the produce is supplied to the State, which distributes it to the villages, towns and cities. The glass-houses were unbearably hot inside and the soil virtually consisted of a thick layer of fertilizers.

As the watch reminded us of the vanishing afternoon, we rushed back to Ulan-ude, a distance of about 40 kilometres from the Monastery. In the evening, we saw the modern Wedding Palace near the Opera Theatre. In 1940 Buryat artists went to partake in a festival at Moscow. They were highly applauded and it was decided to start a regular theatre at Ulan-ude. The theatre was opened in 1952. Today, there are 400 artists and artistes. Two of them, both Buryats, are the proud recipients of the award of "Peoples' Artists of the Soviet Union": Mr. Linkhavoin, an outstanding singer and Madame Sakhianova, the perfect ballerina. Both of them will come to India in September 1967. The Theatre is embellished with the national symbol of zargule noitom or the Eternal Bind of Happiness, the śrīvatsa of Sanskrit, one of the eight auspicious emblems (aṣṭa-maṅgala). The Buryat theatre had gone out of town. That evening a guest troupe of the Komsomolska on Amur Theatre was presenting a Russian show, directed by Mrs. Ivanova Vasilyevska Aliftina. The Amur city has been inhabited by the Russians since 35 years. Late in the evening we visited the College of Music, with the Deputy Minister of Culture. It trains teachers for schools. There are 25 children's music schools in the Buryat Republic. The College will turn out 36 graduates during the current year. Its students took part in competitions in the East Siberian Zonal Festival and they (the Buryat group) won the first place. Even late at 10.00 p.m. the students were practising and they all scrambled around us to

talk about music education in India. They were astonished to hear of the predominance of Classical Indian Music over the modern, inspite the fact that India had the latest musical fads of the West.

On the morning of 11th June we visited the "Kolkhoz Communisma" whose chairman Mr. Lubsanov gave a detailed account of its activities, took us round the secondary school, the dom kulturi or House of Culture, and introduced us to the political secretary Mr. Nikolayev Georgievich Kakorin who was a fine gentleman. We went to a wooden house where lamps were lit to an altar of Burkhans. We had the pleasure of visiting the house of a middle-aged lady who had a good number of rare Mongolian Buddhist texts. She knew the importance of every xylograph and discussed with us the merit of every edition. She showed us the Mongol translation of the Bodhi-caryāvatāra by Agwang Zhimba alias Vagindradāna of the Tsugolsky Monastery. She kindly presented us a bilingual Tibetan-Mongolian edition of the Lam rim dmar khrid, and the Aginsky print of the biography of Tsoṅ kha pa.

In the afternoon we went to inspect the Pioneer Camp "Tuya" (Dawn) belonging to Secondary School No.1 at Ulan-ude. It was situated by the side of the Zaghata Lake and presented a fascinating setting (Zaghata means "much fish"). In he evening we had dinner with Prof. & Mrs. Baldanzhabov. The Professor showed us several xylographs and manuscripts, including the oldest version of the Čaγan teüke of which he is preparing a critical edition. We saw the Mongol alphabet-book xylographed at Aginsky and the list of printing-houses of three monasteries. There were the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries of Vagindrakalpabhadra of the Aginsky Monastery and Rol paḥi rdo rje's Mkhas paḥi ḥbyuṅ gnas. There were manuscripts of Sum pa mkhan po's Buddhist cosmology, laws of lamaseries, Buryat marriage customs, Mongol

grammars, and Mongol chronicles. It was a chance discovery that there was a Yeke Quriye (Urga) edition of the sumbum (collected works) of Bu ston. Prof. Baldanzhabov had the chojung (complete with the Kanjur-Tanjur Catalogue) of this edition.

On the 12th of June we visited the Buryat Branch of the Siberian Section of the Academy of Sciences. The Buryat Branch is guided by a Presidiun whose Chairman is Prof. Dr. ʋ.V. Makeyev. The geologist Mr. S.A. Gurulyov is the Vice-C airman. It is divided into four major institutes: Institute of Social Sciences, Institute of Natural Sciences, Institute of Biological Sciences and the Institute of Pedagogics. The Institute of Social Sciences **also** works on the cultures, history, languages and literatures of the E st. We were warmly welcomed at the Buryat Br h by its Vice-Chairman Mr. S.A. Gurulyov. Among those present were Mr. Zandanov, Vice-Director of the Institute of Biological Sciences, the mathematician Mr. Alexander Vasilyevich Bulgadayev the Vice-Director of the Institute of Social Sciences, the Sinologist Mr. E.V. Maltseva, the Tibetanist Mr. R.E. Pubayev Head of the Department of History and Culture of the East, Mr. Tsybikov an expert on the modern culture of Mongolia, and others. The researches of the Buryat Branch a e published from Ulan-ude, Novosibirsk, Leningrad and Moscow. While most of the publications are in Russian, some of them are also in Buryat and Mongolian languages. We were also taken round the Institute of Biological Sciences by the Director himself, Mr. Bulgadayev. A new building of the Institute of Natural Sciences is under construction. Surrounded by taiga forests, its calm and quiet setting will be an ideal place for research.

In the afternoon we were taken to the Institute of Social Sciences, where Prof. R.E. Pubayev the Head of the Department of

istory and Culture of the East, received us in a most cordial manner. He is a specialist on the history of Buddhism. He is translating and annotating the Chronicle of Sum pa mkhan po. He was sorry that he could not obtain my edition of the final portion of Sum pa mkhan po's chojung. Welcoming us he said: "Our best greetings to you on your visit. It will be a step in strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. We are still more pleased to receive such outstanding scholars like you from India. And we feel yet more happy for since long we have known about the work of Prof. Raghu Vira, your father. We are glad to know what is being done at the International Academy of Indian Culture and to establish relations with your Academy." Mr. Zandanov the Vice-President of the Institute was also present. He is an economist, specialising in the "production power of our economics". Over-looking us was the portrait of the great Buddhologist the late Prof. G.N. Rumyantsev who worked with equal ease in the fields of Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit. At the Institute several scholars are engaged on the history, language and culture of the Buryats. According to Prof. Pubayev, the Institute is investigating "five problems" in orientalistics:

(i) Archaeology: Before the consolidation of the Buryat people, their ancient tribes were in close connection with Central Asian tribes. These inter-tribal contacts are under study. Mr. Konovalov, an archaeologist, is busy on the early nomad tribes of Buryatia. Mrs. Khamsena is continuing researches on the late nomad tribes of Buryatia. This work on the history of Buryat tribes from the oldest upto the latest period was begun by Prof. Rumyantsev.

(ii) Mongolistics: A history of Mongolian culture up to our day is being compiled. Prof. Baldanzhabov is busy on it. Two parts on the

history of Mongolian culture from the 12th to the 17th centuries will come out in 1968. A project on the history of Inner Mongolia has been initiated this year. Mrs. Maltseva, an expert on mode n Chinese literature, is in charge of it. Mr. Tsedenov is collecting data on the contribution of Japanese scholars to Mongolian studies. He is an Aspirant (postgraduate) in the Japanese language. Mr. Bimbadorje Tsybikov, who is the author of a history of the USSR, is preparing a history of Buryatia and the Mongols. Mrs. B.D. Daksanova is surveying the Mongolian dialects. Mr. Urzhanov is another mongolist. Mr. Saktoyev is working on Buryat literature. Dr. Ulanov and Mr. Khomanov are engaged on the Buryat versions of the Gesar epic. Mr. Mikhailov has taken up Buryat shamanism. Dr. Asalkhanov is a leading expert in the field of social and economic structure of Siberia. Mr. Naidakov is in charge of the department of the art and culture of Buryatia. Mr. Budayev is a philologist.

(iii) Buddhology: It is a new field added to the research activities of the Institute. The first project wou ld e the publication of the Buddhist terminological dictionary of Lcah s'kya qutuγtu Rol pahi rdo rje, used for translating the Tanjur into Mongolian. It is in eleven sec ions. The first two sections on Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamika were being readied for photomechanic print. We saw the press-copy written by hand. Dr. Semichov who has studied Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan under Prof. Stcherbatsky is busy on it. Another Buddhist lexicon on which work is progressing is the quadrilingual Mahāvyutpatti in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese, brought by Vasilyev from Peking and now preserved at the Leningrad University Library. Dr. Smirnov is engaged in translating it into Russian and English. Mrs. Gerasimova is translating the iconographic tracts from Tibetan. They will be

accompanied by illustrations. Mr. Pubayev is tra slating the chronicles of Sum pa mkhan po into Russian.

(iv) Tibetology: Mr. Semichov and Badarayev are assi , the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Moscow in completing the Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary (with Sanskrit equivalents) started by the late Prof. G.N. Roerich. They urgently need my Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary for the purpose. Mr. Badarayev has almost completed the Russian translation of the Tibetan gramm of Gser tog. He is also devising a system of transcribing Tibetan into the Cyrillic script. We have already referred to the work of Mr. Pubayev.

(v) Historical Monuments: Among them will be published the rich notes of expeditions to the distant parts of the Buryat ASSR and adjacent regions. They will include folklore, which is still being collected by teams of Buryat scholars. The most precious of them, however, are the manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. The Buryat collections of blockprints in both these languages is unusually large. It is estimated that there would be about 7000 xylographs, excluding the Kanjur. The major project of the department for the preservation of historical monuments is the compilation of a descriptive catalogue. During the year, the Institute will concentrate on this project. The Government has evinced great interest in providing funds and additional staff. New scientists will be occupied mainly with the catalogue, under the dance of Mr. Semichov. Two fascicules of the Opisanie Tibetskikh Rukopisei i ksilografov by B.D. Dandaron appeared from Moscow in 1960 and 1965. The second fascicule comprises the sumbum of Sum pa mkhan po. Further work on the scientific catalogue of Buryat and Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs is continuing. After completing the cataloguing of Tibetica and Mongolica the Institute will be aware of "the treasures

we have" and it will take up the most important and unique works for publication. The Director expressed hope that they will be able to enlist the close cooperation of Indian scholars. He presented us several publications of the Institute and informed us that the 4th volume of the Trudi Buryatskovo Kompleksovo Naučno Issledobatel'skovo Instituta, dedicated to Stcherbatsky, will appear within this year. The 5th volume, devoted to Vasilyev, is under preparation. We were shown several representative manuscripts, including a Tibetan Prajñāpāramitā written in gold (gser yig). The 8 volumes of the sumbum (collected works) of Čaqar Lobsang Tshulthim are also preserved. A unicum at the Institute is a complete set of the Mongolian Kanjur written by hand in black and red inks. The alternation of black and red lines differs on various pages. One page had 5 lines of black, followed by 4 lines of red, 6 black lines + 4 red lines + 5 black lines, giving a total of 24 vertical lines per page. This Kanjur was written in the second half of the 19th century.

In the evening we were taken to a 30 minute film on Buddhism in the USSR. It was shown at the Party Committee House, besides the colored musical comedy "Shepherd's Song." The national ballet "Angara Beauty," with the outstanding Buryat Ballerina Sakhianova in the leading role, was also screened.

On the 13th morning we paid a visit to the Republican Hospital with 20 clinical departments, more than 600 beds, and half a dozen of their own helicopters to rush medical help to distant villages in cases of emergency. At 11.00 a.m. our delegation was received by His Excellency Mr. Alexander Sergeyevich Tsirinov, the Vice-President of the Supreme Council of the Buryat ASSR and the Mayor of Ulan-ude. He gave us a most cordial welcome and related the astounding progress made by

post-Revolutionary Buryatia. The development of Ulan-ude is phenomenal in all modern aspects. One is wonderstruck that even remote villages share the advantages of electricity, schooling, clothing, medicare, housing, agriculture and other benefits of modernisation.

In the afternoon we paid a visit to the Ethnographic Museum where pre-Revotionary Buryat life is contrasted vividly against that after the Revolution. A complete yurt of a poor Buryat with its indigenous utensils, dresses and household articles provides a sharp contrast to the yurt of a rich man gorgeously dressed, surrounded by the finest indigenous handicrafts, colorful furniture, and an altar with exquisite burkhans. An itemwise description of the two yurts can provide a peep into nomadic life. The Museum has a huge pot (perhaps an urn) belonging to the third century B.C. and other early objects which are of historic interest. Gigantic images of Āryāvalokiteśvara and Lcam srin, and an enamelled image of Tson kha pa brought from Tibet are some of the attractions of the Museum. On the first floor, modern development is illustrated through hundreds of photographs, including those of X. Namsaraev the founder of Buryat literature and Tsedenjabov Gombozhab who became the first Peoples' Artist of the USSR on 1 Nov. 1940. At Ulan-ude, there is also the Historical Museum which houses the famous Čandan jovo. We hope to visit it next time, as it is of the greatest import for our studies.

In the afternoon with a sad heart we bade goodby to Ulan-ude, and left for Chita, the Capital of the Chita Autonomous Region. The Aeroflot plan flew 5000 - 3000 meters high over the greenly clad mountains. The flying time from Ulan-ude to Chita is 55 minutes and the fare is 10 roubles. We reached Chita at 6.25 p.m. and had our meals at the airport restaurant. From Chita we left by cars to Aginsky.

Charming lakes, like Lake Kyenon, wooden houses of pre-revolutionary days, the majestically flowing River Ingada, the bracing breeze of the taiga forests — made our drive to Aginsky the finest hours of the trip. At midnight we reached Aginsky, dead tired. We were received in national style with yoghurt and honey in silver spoons from silver vessels. Aginsky is a legend for those who have taken interest in things Buryat, in her thought and her deep traditions. All the great Soviet and early Buddhologists enriched science by drawing upon the inexhaustible manuscript resources and unparalleled scholarship of the lamas of this monastery. Aginsky Datsan is the prime place in Russian Buddhological literature. The Bandida Hambo Lama has lived here all his life, studied here for 16 long years, and it is only for the last four years that he has moved to the Ivolginsky Monastery.

At the Aginsky monastery there are two temples. One of them is the historic temple of 1816 and the second was built in 1846. The second temple is situated at a distance from the first, outside the fence of the present complex. Picturesquely surrounded by pines, it is preserved as a monument of architectural importance. Nowadays it is used as a city sanatorium. Though it was built in 1846, it looks older than the functioning temple of 1816 which has been repainted in recent years.

On the morning of 14th June a special Service was held in honour of our Delegation. It was performed in the historic temple of 1816. Its entrance door bore the official Tibetan name: Chos sde chen po bde chen lhun grub gliṅ. The 69 year old Deputy Hambo Lama Talsan Zhimba Gonchikov presided over the ceremony. About twenty lamas took part. There are nearly thirty lamas at Aginsky, but all could not be present. The Itegel, Sixteen Arhats (naydan), and the stotra to Tsoh

kha pa from the mgzlam were recited. The serenity, grace and dignity of the worship amidst the clanging assonance of a variety of instruments scatters its illumination into the turbulences of the psyche.

As we came out of the temple the upper part of the inner side of the door was decorated with a lovely scroll of bskal rdzas. A large crowd of young and old, children and grownups had gathered outside. Predominantly composed of Buryats, it had a fair sprinkling of Russians some of whom have deep faith in Buddhism. We went around the temple in pradakṣiṇa or circumambulation with the temple to our right. There were a number of isolated shrinelets providing cover to single stone images of deities. One of them enshrined Siṁhanāda Ārya-valokiteśvara under which the mantra Oṁ āḥ hrīḥ Siṁhanāda hūṁ phaṭ was inscribed in Tibetan, Buryat and Lantsha scripts. A little further lay a stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Sharapov Yishidorje, built in 1963. Moving on, the Bandida Hambo Lama showed us a hundred year old Mañjuśrī - a century is a venerable age. A shrinelet covered Šayan übgen whose Sanskrit name was written down in my diary by an Aginsky lama as Bhūmipati Jvarasiddha. A few paces onwards was Acala Mahākāla (Mi gyo mgon po).

At the Aginsky Monastery also, the Bandida Hambo Lama has planted the Bodhi and Banyan trees. They have grown in the warmth of a pyechka or Russian heater, from seeds which the Bandida Hambo Lama brought from India in 1956. The banyan tree is nayagorda in Buryat, from Sanskrit nyagrodha. The Patriarch loves both the trees like his children. Thereafter, we were led to the wooden yurt which is the residence of the Patriarch when he comes to his alma mater of Aginsky. To honour a guest in the yurt is a "monument of our national culture." The Bandida Hambo Lama told us of real yurts in the countryside where cattle-keepers

live. They have separate winter and summer yurts. He narrated how he had passed his life at Aginsky and how deeply he was attached to this monastery surrounded on all sides by green mountains, and a rivulet that flows by in languid innocence. On 15 March 1967 his 70th anniversary had been celebrated. Every now and then he would roll us into laughter with anecdotes of his travels.

In the afternoon we visited the library of the Aginsky Monastery, situated on the second storey of the functioning temple. A steep and narrow wooden staircase led to the library. In the centre was the architectonic maṇḍala of Yamāntaka. A huge wooden gaṇḍī attracted our attention. It was made of aguru and sandal woods and was used to summon the people to the temple. All around, texts were stacked in colourful wooden shelves. The Aginsky Monastery has always been famous for its blockprints and they are prized treasures through-out the world of scholarship. To see hundreds of these priceless riches assembled at one place seemed unbelievable. In passing, we may mention that Lobsang dorje alias Sumativajra the VII Khampo of Aginsky wrote many works in Mongolian. All of them have been collected together in a sumbum. It was so popular that two editions were xylographed, one of them at Aginsky. We were able to get this sumbum alongwith its catalogue. There was a 34 folio chronicle of India, Tibet, Śambhala and China entitled Chos hbyuh ndor bsdus lzl ksa mahi me loh zhes bya ba bzhugs so. There was also the rare Hor chojung of Dharmatala in 281 folios. The sumbum of Śes rab rgya mtsho in ten volumes, fairy tales in Mongolian, yang yig or manuscripts of musical scores of worship, medical texts, philosophical treatises of the Gomang yigcha and hundreds of other subjects adorn the library. Big silken scrolls of the maṇḍalas of Āryāvalokitesvara, Sukhāvatī and Akṣobhya decorated the walls. The

librarian Lama Zhimba Jamso Erdeniyev is an old scholar of immense learning. He loves the books dearly.

At 4.00 p.m. we saw the breath-taking storage-collections of thankas at Aginsky. At 5.00 we were given a farewell reception by the Deputy Hambo Lama who said: "We are very glad that you have visited this distant corner of the world. We are happy much more so, as you come from the country of the origin of Buddhism. On 7th December 1966 we observed the 150th anniversary of this Temple. May the friendship between India and the USSR always flourish. Our most cherished wish is that there may always be peace all over the world. We wish that you may come here again and again, any time you like. We wish you a happy journey and every success in your excellent doings. Bkra śis śog." At 6.00 p.m. we left Aginsky, with heavy hearts and arms heavier still, laden with gifts of varied description. The main gate of the monastic complex bore the Lantsha inscription: "Oṁ padmoṣṇīṣavimale hūṁ phaṭ." The Zulur mountains flanked us on the left while Bandida Hamb Lama Zhambal dorje blessed our sad, tiresome return to Chita, en route to Irkutsk, Ulanbator, Leningrad and Moscow. We were fast flitting across this remote world of the Buryats, which had rippled before our gaze, to be lost again into looming horizons. The verdant mountains, the inviting taiga forests, the tranquil waters, and the fresh breeze - a twin sister to the spring - all had greeted us tenderly. The romance of the hard nomadic life has passed. Now it is replaced by life's deep, warm realities. Everywhere there were banners proclaiming slava or glory to mighty achievements of the Soviets. Let us add another slava to the great Soviet Union for preserving the historical monuments of the Buryat world of illumined thought and spiritual awareness.

Lokesh Chandra

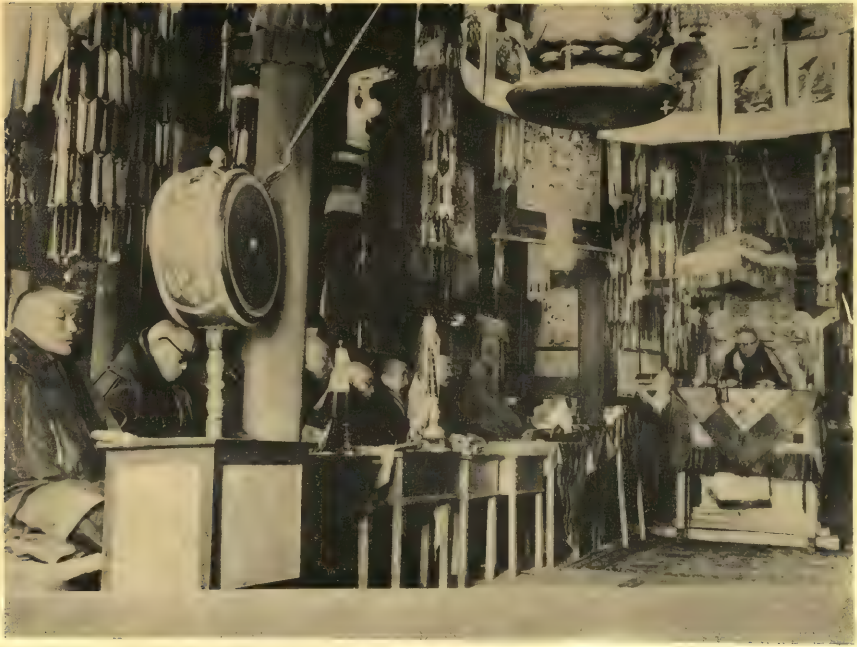
1. Bandida Hambo Lama welcomes Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, a member of the Delegation.

2. The Central Temple of the Ivolginsky Monastery.

3. Members of the Delegation in front of the Central Temple with Bandida Hambo Lama and others.

4. Near the Drepung Stupa with the monogram of *dasakaro vasi.*

5. Bandida Hambo Lama, the Buddhist Patriarch of the USSR.



6. Inside the Central Temple during Service. Bandida Hambo Lama on his abbatial see.

7. The Maidar Qural or the annual Festival of Maitreya held this winter of 1967. Lord Maitreya is being led in procession.

8. A throng of the faithful assembled from far and wide to participate in the Maitreya Festival at Ivolginsky.

9. A gigantic old vessel with the six-syllabled Sanskrit mantra *(sadaksari vidya)* inscribed in Tibetan and Lantsha scripts.

10. Childrens' theatre in national Buryat costumes.

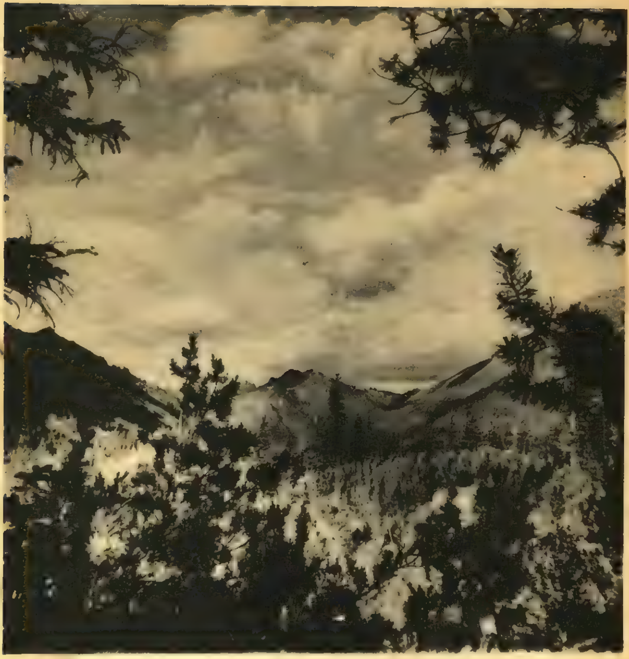
11. The central temple of the Aginsky monastery in the Chita Autonomous Region.

12. The Hambo Lama of Aginsky presiding over the special Service held in honour of our visit.

13. An old temple of the Aginsky Monastery, in the picturesque setting of mountains and pines.

14. A close-up of the old temple of the Aginsky complex. It is not functioning now.

15. One who holds the tomorrows of Buryatia.



16. The eternal mountains in the lap of the serene calm of the taiga forests.

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*

waren, die den Khālsā oder einen Sikh-Führer veranlaßt haben, den Gedenktag auf den Herbstmonat zu verlegen, kann nur vermutet werden. Das zur Pilgerfahrt günstigere Klima des November, die zeitliche Nähe des volkstümlichen Frühlingsfestes Baisākhī zum alten Gedenktag, mögen zu den wesentlichsten Gründen gehört haben, den Vollmond des Kattak zu bevorzugen, der sich in den Janamsākhīs des Bhāī Bālā damals als legitimes Datum anbot.

TIBETAN BUDDHIST TEXTS PRINTED BY THE MDZOD-DGE-SGAR-GSAR MONASTERY

by

LOKESH CHANDRA

New Delhi

As pointed out earlier[1] the handlists of the lamaist monastic printeries (*par-tho*) are a valuable peep into the vast literature of the lamaist world written in Tibetan by the numerous tribes of the Himalayan and Trans-himalayan regions going up to the Siberian steppes and even to the banks of the Volga. The local printeries attain greater significance as we can glean from them the opuscules and *magnum opus* of the local savants besides the collected works of eminent scholars whose fame roamed over the vast expanses of Lamaism and the xylographic boards of whose *opera omnia* lent a special significance to even not very major monastic printeries which had the privilege of preserving them. For instance, our monastery had attained special renown by publishing[2] the complete works of A-khu-rin-po-che Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho(4), who has rendered a signal service to the history of lamaist literature by his outstanding *tho-yig* or list of rare works classified subjectwise. It has been edited in part 3 of the author's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

The title of our *par-tho* on the cover-page is given as *Dgaḥ-ldan-rab-rgyas-gliṅ-gi dpar-tho bzhugs-so*, while at the beginning of the text the significant appellative *Mdzod-dge sgar-gsar* is added to the aforesaid title which makes it possible to identify the location of the monastery with precision. In the Amdo region, down the Ang-khor Valley are the two famous Mdzod-dge lamaseries, the Old and the New, known as *Mdzod-dge sgar-rñiṅ* (Chinese: Mo-wu chiu-ssu or the Old Mo-wu Monastery) and the *Mdzod-dge sgar-gsar* (Chinese: Mo-wu hsin-ssu or the New Mo-Wu Monastery).[3] Our *par-tho* pertains to the New Mdzod-dge monastery which was to the East of its old counterpart.

1 Andrew Vostrikov, "Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet", in *BSOS*, 8, p.55; Lokesh Chandra, "Les Imprimeries Tibétaines de Drepung, Derge et Pepung", *JA*, 1961, p. 504.

2 Vostrikov, p. 55 note 3.

The *par-tho* is handwritten. It is divided into two parts. The first part consists of books of long format, but there is no specification to this effect. The second part pertains to xylographs of small format (*sna-thuṅ-gi skor*).[4] The extent of the texts is normally given in folios, and occasionally in volumes (pothis) or chapters. The long format contains works of a fairly long extent like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (with adnotations, 1),[5] commentary on the *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (14), the piṇḍārtha of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (13). Besides commentarial works there are historical writings like the biographies of Atīśa (2) and his disciple Ḥbrom-ston (3) well known as the *Pha-chos* and *Bu-chos*, two biographies of the Gun-thaṅ Bstan-paḥi-sgron-ma (18, 19). In the Tantras, we meet with two scholia (5, 6) on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (*Tohoku*, 442) and Nam-mkhaḥ-grags' exposé of utpatti- and sampanna-kramas in the *Guhyasamāja*. Among philosophical items are *zin-bris* of Guṅ-thaṅ (9) and Ri-khrod-dbaṅ-po (10). Guruyoga texts, which form a very fundamental part of lamaist literature, are represented by a *zin-bris* of Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma. This part closes with a few texts, of shorter extent, on bali-vidhi, prativi-dhāna, homa and eulogia (16, 17, 20, 21, 22: these might well have been engraved on small size xylographs). The biggest and most important item are the collected writings of Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho or Prajñāsāgara[6] in eight volumes. The elucidation of the *Vajrāvalī* and of the abhiṣeka of Mitrayogin by Ḥbo-ra Don-grub lends a local colour to the *par-tho*.

The second part of the list contains xylographs of small format and as may be expected they contain works of daily recitation, ritualia and eulogia whose frequent or constant use demanded a handy size. Besides, their rather short extent also rendered the small format appropriate: most of them range between 1-23 small folios. We may draw attention to the fact that texts extending over 23 folios are only those canonical works which were used for daily recitation; like the *Saṁcayagāthā* (23), *Guhyasamāja* (26), *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (28), and the *Bhairavatantra*

[3] See J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions* (Rome, 1956), p. 26, and Map 3 (± 35°) in the flap at the end.

[4] Four sizes of xylographs are distinguished:
(i) long format or "arrow-length" (*mdaḥ-tshad-ma, par riṅ-po*)
(ii) medium format (*par ḥbriṅ*)
(iii) short format (*par thuṅ*)
(iv) very short format (*śin-tu-sna-thuṅ*)
Compare Vostrikov, p. 62 note 2.

[5] Figures in parantheses refer to the serial numbering of the items in the list given at the end of this article.

[6] *Prajñāsāgara* is written as *sâra* with the omission of intervocalic *-g-* which is a common feature of Mongol pronunciation (Mong. *ulayan* ~ *ulaan*).

(29). The guruparamparā (*bla-brgyud*) of the *Guhyasamāja* (24) and the special recitation to precede and to end this (?) Tantra, are followed by the first and last[7] chapters of the *Saṁvara-tantra* (Tohoku 368) which are specially holy: *ādi-* and *paryavasāna-kalyāṇa*. Two guruyoga texts are the *Gurupañcāśikā* (30) from the Canon and the Gurupūjā by a Panchen Lama. Later guruyoga texts are listed further on, under nos. 44-49. Praṇidhānas of the *Lam-rim* (35), Sukhāvatī (36, 37), Sarvavid (38); tea offering (39), short biographicals (41, 42), stotra (50), adhyeṣaṇā (51) and eulogia indicated by their opening words (52-57) are some of the types of minor texts in this part. Services to Mahākāla (61), Devī (62) Gñan (63), Dharmarāja and Lcam-sriṅ (65); bali to Vaiśravaṇa (66) and Vajrasādhu (67), water-bali (69); *glud* for cattle (70) and an agricultural dhāraṇī (75) - all are from the day-to-day life of the people. Finally, after leaving about three inches of blank space the *par-tho* lists illustrations of maṇḍalas and rakṣācakras which were to be had from the printery. The *par-tho* seems to follow a general pattern in listing the books according to their size and concluding with the illustrations – we find this pattern throughout the catalogue of the printing blocks of 31 Buddhist Transbaikalian monasteries from the archives of the N. E. Siberian Buddhist Patriarch the Paṇḍita Mkhan-po, edited by Academician Rinchen in *Four Mongolian Historical Records*,[8] pp. 71-121.

After these few general remarks we proceed to reproduce the *par-tho* in its original sequence, adding annotations to clarify the titles.

1. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa mtshan-daṅ-bcas-pa, Aṣṭasāhasrikā* with glosses, 448 folios.

2. *Bkaḥ-gdams-pha-chos*, the biography of Atīśa, in 26 chapters. *TWB*,[9] 7041.

3. *Bu-chos* in 20 chapters, the biography of Ḥbrom-ston Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas, the "Son" (*bu*) i.e. disciple of Atīśa. *TWB*, 7042.

4. *Ḥjam-mgon Pradzña-sāraḥi gsuṅ-ḥbum*, the collected works of *Prajñāsāgara* in eight volumes, complete with a dkar-chag or list of works included therein. He is A-khu-rin-po-che Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho who lived from 1803 to 1875 A.D. His works have been listed in Lokesh

[7] This concept is also typified in the great sādhana collection of Panchen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-gyal, known for short as *Rin-lhan*, whose first chapter aptly begins with the *ādi-kalyāṇa* deities and the last chapter closes with the *paryavasāna-kalyāṇa* deities: Lokesh Chandra, "The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ", *Oriens Extremus*, 8, 189.

[8] New Delhi, 1959 (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, 11, edited by Raghu Vira).

[9] *TWB* = *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai, 1953).

Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, part I, pp. 269-273. Also see Vostrikov, p. 55.

5. *Ḥgos-lo-tsa-baḥi*: *Gsaṅ-ḥdus stoṅ-thun*, a condensed commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* by the Ḥgos Lotsaba, in 270 folios.

6. *Rgyud-chen Brtson-ḥgrus-ḥphags-kyi Rgyud-ṭik*, in 297 folios. Commentary on the Tantra (*Guhyasamāja*) by Brtson-ḥgrus-ḥphags, the Master of the Tantra (*Rgyud-chen*, it was a title conferred on lamas who were distinguished for the wide range of their Tantric learning, i.e. those who had obtained the *luṅ* for a vast majority of the canonical Tantras. Their esoteric biographies or *gsan-yig* were extensive works).

7. *Dvags-po Nam-mkhaḥ-grags-kyi Gsaṅ-ḥdus bskyed-rim*, in 64 folios. The utpattikrama of the *Guhyasamāja* according to Nam-mkhaḥ-grags of Dvags-po.

8. *Deḥi rdzogs-rim*, in 87 folios. The sampannakrama of the foregoing. For the utpatti- and sampanna-kramas, the manifestation and reabsorption of phenomenal existence see D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, part I, p. 139-140.

9. *Guṅ-thaṅ-gsuṅ gras*: *Lta-baḥi zin-ḥbris, Thar-lam-snaṅ-ba*, in 23 folios. A résumé of the philosophy [of the Gelukpas], by Guṅ-thaṅ, entitled the *Thar*° (Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, 3447).

Ri-khrod-dbaṅ-po Mkhas-grub-bstan-ḥdzin-paḥi gsuṅ-gras[10] (nos. 10-12 have been authored by him):

10. *Lam-rim zin-bris*, section *KA* 47 folios, *KHA* 58 folios, *GA* 62 folios. A résumé of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim* by Mkhas-grub-bstan-ḥdzin. For Ri-khrod-phur-bu-lcog Monastery see Vostrikov p. 66.

11. *Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma daṅ skyabs-ḥjug sdom-paḥi zin-ḥbris*, in 20 folios. A synoptical treatment of the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma which is a fundamental teaching of the guru-yoga in the Dge-lugs-pa sect and the vow of taking refuge in the Triple Gem. Opuscules on the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma are very popular, see for instance TWB, 6620, 6626, 6632, 6645, 6668, 6693, 6696, 6698, 6700, 6701, 6704, 6710-17, 6757, 6989, 6998, 7021, etc., etc.

[10] *gras* "class, group" denotes that the texts mentioned hereafter are written by the author mentioned till the next specification. In the original manuscript it is further emphasised by using the sign at the beginning of the grouping. In no. 9 and 15 too we find the use of *gras* though there is only a single text of an author, but there is no ambiguity in these cases as the position is clarified by the aforesaid sign and the authorship of the following item is stated.

12. *Bkaḥ-rtsom daṅ-poḥi ḥgrel-pa*, 13 folios. Commentary on the first chapter of ?

Gu-śri Chos-ḥphel-paḥi gsuṅ-gras (13, 14 have been written by him).

13. *Byaṅ-saḥi bsdus-don*, in 28 folios. Epitomised explanation (piṇḍārtha) of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* by Gu-śri Chos-ḥphel. *Byaṅ-sa* is a short name of *Rnal-ḥbyor-spyod-paḥi-sa-las Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi-sa* (P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Mdo-ḥgrel, *ZHI*, part 3 p. 379). This abbreviated title is quoted from the original Tibetan Index under nos. 5, 6, 7 of pothi *YI* (Cordier p. 381-382) which are the vṛtti, bhāṣya and ṭīkā on sections of this text.

14. *Ḥjam-dpal-mtshan-brjod-kyi ḥgrel-pa*, 60 folios. Commentary on the *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti*. The quadrilingual (Skt., Tib., Mongolian and Chinese) edition of the text has been edited by Raghu Vira, *Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 18 (New Delhi, 1961).

15. *Ḥbo-ra Don-grub-kyi gsuṅ-gras: Rdo-rje-phreṅ-ba daṅ Mi-traḥi dbaṅ bśad*, 48 folios. An introduction to the *Vajrāvalī* and the consecrations (*abhiṣeka, dbaṅ*) of Mitrayogin by Ḥbo-ra Don-grub. On the location of the Ḥbo-ra Monastery see J. F. Rock, *The Ammye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*, p. 26, and Map 3. It was in the proximity of our Mdzod-dge Sgar-gsar Monastery. The *Vajrāvalī* was an oft-used abhiṣeka text (Lokesh Chandra, "The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ", in *Oriens Extremus*, VIII, 207 note 17). A synopsis of the consecrations of Mitrayogin appears in Lokesh Chandra, *The Biography of Mitrayogin* (=*Indo-Asian Studies*, II).

16. *Bde-gśegs so-lṅaḥi cho-ga Mkhan-chen gsuṅ ḥgrel gtor*, 11 folios. A bali extracted (?) from a commentary and the vidhi for the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession, by Mkhan-chen [Ṅag-dbaṅ-mkhas-grub]. Compare the *phan-yon* of the 35 Buddhas by Hu-re-chen-moḥi Mkhan-chen Ṅag-dbaṅ-mkhas-grub in Lokesh Chandra, *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, text p. 40 (vol. *GA*). For the illustrations of the 35 Buddhas see Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, part 3 p. 9. There are several works devoted to the 35 Buddhas (e.g. *Tohoku*, 1142, *TWB*, 5366 abhisamaya and painting-manual by Tsoṅ-kha-pa, *TWB*, 5429 anuśaṁsā of the names by Rgyal-tshab Darma-rin-chen, *TWB*, 6341 stotra by Dharmabhadra).

17. *Sdom goṅ-ma gñis-kyi phyir-bcos*, 6 folios. The pratividhāna of the first two saṁvaras. See *TWB*, 6958 for a *phyir-bcos* (pratividhāna) of bhikṣus.

18. *Bstan-paḥi-sgron-maḥi rnam-thar*, 5 folios. A short biographic sketch of Guṅ-thaṅ Bstan-paḥi-sgron-ma, whose list of works appears in *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, part 1, pp. 175-183.

19. *Yaṅ deḥi rnam-thar*, 49 folios. The biography of the foregoing Incarnate Lama.

20. *Thugs-rje-chen-poḥi sbyin-sreg*, 7 folios. The homa of Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara.

21. *Chos-sku stoṅ-ba-ma*, 2 folios. A stotra of Avalokiteśvara.

22. *Lcam-sriṅ*, 7 folios. A stotra to Lcam-sriṅ who is described in details by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, pp. 88-93.

SMALL FORMAT

(*sna-thuṅ-gi-skor-la:*)

23. *Mdo-sdud-pa*, 90 folios. The *Prajñāpāramitā-ratnaguṇa-saṁcayagāthā* (*Tohoku*, 13).[11] Its Sanskrit and Tibetan texts have been reprinted in *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, V by Edward Conze from E. Obermiller's edition (The Hague, 1960). Its English translation by Edward Conze appears in *Indo-Asian Studies* (ed. Raghu Vira) part, 1, pp. 128-178.

24. *Rgyud-gzhuṅ bla-brgyud*, 5 folios. A prayer to the teachers transmitting the teaching of the tantras. *Bla-brgyud* or guruparamparā-adhyeṣaṇās containing the genealogy of transmission of specific tantras, minor texts, abhiṣekas are of common occurrence. Compare, e.g., a *bla-ma-brgyud-pa* in *TWB*, 5862.

25. *Ḥdon-thabs*, 3 folios. A small book of recitation.

26. *Rgyud-gzhuṅ*, 97 folios. *Guhyasamāja-tantra.*

27. *Bde-mchog rtsa-rgyud leḥu thog mthaḥ gñis*, 9 folios. The first and last chapters of the *Saṁvara-tantra* for daily reading.

28. *Ḥjam-dpal-mtshan-brjod*, 51 folios. *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (*Tohoku*, 360).

29. *Ḥjigs-byed-rtog-bdun*, 39 folios; the *Vajramahābhairava-tantra* (*Tohoku*, 468). *Rtog-bdun* (*saptakalpa* "in seven chapters") to distinguish it from *Tohoku*, 469 in three chapters (*Rtog-gsum*) entitled *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantrarāja Trikalpa nāma.*

30. *Bla-ma-lṅa-bcu-pa*, 9 folios. *Gurupañcāśikā* [*Tohoku*, 3721, *TWB*, 7014, 5269 (expln.), 6416 (memo)].

31. *Bla-mchod*, 16 folios. It is a guru-pūjā, probably the one by Panchen Lama I Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (*TWB*, 5892).

32. *Dzam-lha*, a sādhana of Jambhala in three chapters (*le-tshan*) consisting of 23, 20, and 10 folios.

33. *Byin-bskul*, 2 folios. An adhiṣṭhāna-adhyeṣaṇā.

[11] (= *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*), Sendai, 1934.

34. *Zhi rgyas dbaṅ drag-ma*, 1 folio. A folio on the śānti, pauṣṭika, abhiṣeka, and raudra rites (?).

35. *Lam-rim-smon-lam*, 3 folios. A praṇidhāna of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim* (*TWB*, 5392).

36. *Zhiṅ-mchog-sgo-ḥbyed*, 3 folios. A praṇidhāna of Sukhāvatī.

37. *Bde-smon*, 7 folios. Sukhāvatī-praṇidhāna: *Bde* is short for *Bde-ba-can* "Sukhāvatī" and *smon* for *smon-lam* "praṇidhāna". It is probably by Tsoṅ-kha-pa [*TWB*, 5275 (69), 6944].

38. *Kun-rig-smon-lam*, 9 folios. A praṇidhāna of Sarvavid.

39. *Yon-tan-mchog-gnas-ma daṅ ja-mchod rgyas-pa gñis*, 3 folios. Two short opuscules, the latter pertaining to the Tea offering. Short booklets devoted to the Tea offering have been written by Dalai Lama I (*TWB*, 5572), Dalai Lama V (*TWB*, 5660-61), Dṅul-chu Dharmabhadra (*TWB*, 6292, 6311).

40. *Rgyal-sras-mtshan-brjod*, *Sdig-grib-dag-byed*, 5 folios. The names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. They correspond to the *nāma* genre of Sanskrit works like the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*.

41. *Rjeḥi gsaṅ-rnam*, 8 folios. A concise esoteric biography of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

42. *Sku-ḥphreṅ gsum-paḥi rnam-thar*, 15 folios. A biographic sketch of the Third Incarnation of ? (unspecified).

43. *Thugs-rje-chen-po-ḥgro-kun-gduṅ-sel*. 6 folios. A prayer to Avalokiteśvara.

44. *Byams-pa ḥjam-dbyaṅs-la brten-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor*, 3 folios. Guruyoga based on Maitreya and Mañjuśrī.

45. *Bskal-bzaṅ-rgyal-sras-ma*, 4 folios. A praṇidhāna.

46. *Sku-ḥphreṅ gsum-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor*, 3 folios. Guruyoga based on the Third Incarnation of ? (unspecified, cf. no. 42).

47. *Gsaṅ-ḥdus bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor*, 10 folios. Guruyoga based on the *Guhyasamāja*.

48. *Rje Btsoṅ-kha-pa-la brten-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor*, 9 folios. Guruyoga based on Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

49. *Thugs-rje-chen-po-daṅ ḥbrel-baḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor*, 3 folios. Guruyoga connected with Avalokiteśvara.

50. *Ḥjam-dkar-bstod-pa*, 1 folio. A stotra of Sita Mañjuśrī.

51. *Lho-brag-grub-chen-gyi gsol-ḥdebs*, 3 folios. A praṇidhāna to Nam-mkhaḥ-rgya-mtsho of Lho-brag in Tibet.

52. *Skal-bzaṅ-thar-ḥdod-ma*, 1 folio.

53. *Smad-byuṅ-srid-zhi-ma*, 5 folios.

54. *Mkhaḥ-khyab-bye-ba-ma*, 5 folios.

55. *Dpal-maṅ-rin-po-cheḥi-bkaḥ-drin-rjes-ma*, 11 folios.

56. *Skal-bzaṅ-stobs-bcu-ma*, 4 folios.

57. *Srid-zhi-gtsug-rgyan-ma*, 1 folio. The above six texts (nos. 52-57) are praṇidhānas, designated by their opening words.

58. *Bden-gtam-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, 7 folios. It appears to be a nīti text.

59. *Kha-mchu zhi-baḥi-mdo*, 5 folios.

60. *Yul-khrus char-ḥbebs gñis*, 8 folios. Two texts on (i) the ceremony of sprinkling water (cf. *TWB*, 6022) on the yul-lha and (ii) rain-making. Yul-lha are local protective deities (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, esp. pp. 231-252).

61. *Mgon-poḥi-bskaṅ thuṅ*, 2 folios. Religious services to Mahākāla, in brevior. For *bskaṅ-baḥi-mdos* and *bskaṅ-rdzas* see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 373, 395, 433.

62. *Lha-moḥi-bskaṅ thuṅ*, 7 folios. Religious services to ŚrīDevī.

63. *Gñan-bskaṅ*, 3 folios. Religious services to the class of minor deities known as Gñan, on whom see Nebesky-Wojkowitz pp. 288-290.

64. *Lhun-grub-bde-stoṅ-ma*, 5 folios. It is a *bskaṅ*, probably written by Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho.

65. *Chos-rgyal Lcam-sriṅ gñis*, 3 folios. Bskaṅ services to Dharmarāja and Lcam-sriṅ. On them see Nebesky-Wojkowitz p. 82 f. and p. 88 f.

66. *Rnam-sras gtor-ḥbul*, 1 folio. A vidhi for offering bali to Vaiśravaṇa.

67. *Dam-can gtor-ḥbul*, 5 folios. A bali-vidhi for Dam-can Rdo-rje-legs-pa or Vajrasādhu, the samayin. For Vajrasādhu one may consult F. D. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung*, p. 17, A Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 185 f., Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, part 7, p. 6 and plate 508. In *Kālacakra-tantra* 3.2 (ed. Raghu Vira) *dam-tshig-can* corresponds to Skt. *samayin*.

68. *Ḥjam-dpal zhi-khro-ma daṅ rluṅ bskyed bcas-pa*, 5 folios. A bali (?) for Mañjuśrī in its śānta and krodha epiphanies, with a vidhi for the *luṅ-rta* (?) banner.

69. *Chab-gtor*, 7 folios. A jalabali-vidhi. In the Tanjur there are two opuscules with the title *Chu-gtor-gyi cho-ga* (*Tohoku*, 3775, 3779). S. C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, renders *chu-gtor*, *chab-gtor* as *tarpaṇa*. *TWB*, 6928 is a *chab-gtor* to Śākyamuni (*TWB*, renders *chab-gtor* as arghapūjāvidhi).

70. *Phyug-glud*, 6 folios. It pertains to the rites of "substitute-offering" for averting harm to cattle (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 361-62). For the various *glud* see references in Nebesky-Wojkowitz, p. 639 (index).

71. *Rmad-byuṅ-srid-ma*, 5 folios.

72. *Mtshan-sṅags*, 1 folio. A composition eulogising the component letters of the name of a deity or guru (cf. *TWB*, 6482).

73. *Nor-rgyun-ma*, 2 folios. Vasundharā eulogium.

74. *Sgrol-ljaṅ*, 11 folios. A eulogy addressed to Green Tārā.

75. *Ḥbru-ḥphel-baḥi gzuṅs*, 5 folios. A dhāraṇī for the increase of grain-harvest.

ILLUSTRATIONS

76. *Kun-rig-gi dkyil-ḥkhor dpar:* A cosmographic representation or maṇḍala-illustration of Sarvavid.

77. *Bde Gsaṅ Ḥjigs gsum-gyi dkyil-ḥkhor dpar:* an illustration of the maṇḍala of the triad of Saṁvara, Guhyasamāja and Bhairava.

78. *So-sor-ḥbran-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Mahāpratisarā. For *sruṅ-ḥkhor* see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 504-505.

79. *Rnam-ḥjom bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Vajravidāraṇa. Rnam-ḥjoms is a short appellation of Vajrav° (e.g. G. de Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 538).

80. *Khro-bcuḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of the Ten Krodha Deities. On them see *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* part 2, p. 5; B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī* introd. p. 36; Raghu Vira, *Kālacakra-tantra* 3.23 (*krodha-vṛnda*)

81. *Ḥod-zer-can-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Mārīcī.

82. *Sgrol-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Tārā.

83. *Tsakra-bcu-gsum-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* rakṣācakra of the Trayodaśātmaka [Vajrabhairava]. See *TWB*, 5100 (Bu-ston), 5518 (Mkhas-grub Dge-legs-dpal-bzaṅ-po), 6272 (Dharmabhadra), 6441 (Dbyaṅs-can-grub-paḥi-rdo-rje).

84. *Thog bsruṅ:* a protective rite, or more probably a rakṣācakra, against-lightning. Consult Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 479-480.

CONTENTS

★

ARTICLES

JACQUELINE MANESSY-GUITTON, Les adjectifs simples en *-as-* dans la Ṛk-Saṃhitā . . . 259

VOLKER MOELLER, Die Lebensdaten des Glaubensstifters Nānak . . 284

LOKESH CHANDRA, Tibetan Buddhist Texts printed by the Mdzod-dge-sgar-gsar Monastery . . . 298

E. BENVENISTE, *Manth-* en iranien . . . 307

B. H. STRICKER, *Varəġna*, the Falcon . . . 310

REVIEWS

R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Fasc. 1, *a-uttapti* (F. B. J. KUIPER) . . . 318

M. B. Emenau, *Dravidian and Indian Linguistics*, Part One: *India and Historical Grammar: some problems of method;* Part Two: *Brahui Demonstrative Pronouns, New Brahui Etymologies, North Dravidian Velar Stops* (KAMIL ZVELEBIL) . . . 325

Hartmut Scharfe, *Die Logik im Mahābhāṣya* (J. W. DE JONG) 330

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

Contributors to this Issue . . . 332

★

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UNPUBLISHED GILGIT FRAGMENT OF THE PRĀTIMOKṢA-SŪTRA

by Lokesh Chandra

may be due to a dṛṣṭipluti in the original codex from which our manuscript was copied. The possibility of a second dṛṣṭipluti on the part of our scribe can also not be ruled out, because of the complexity of the transpositions and duplication.

< **Raghu Vira 1[2]), Banerjee p. 8, Finot p. 477** >

Pār. 2 [Yaḥ[3]) punar bhikṣur grāmagataṃ araṇyagataṃ vā pareṣām adattaṃ steyasaṃkh] < **line 1** > *yātam ādad*[ī]*ta yadrūpeṇādattādānena rājā vainaṃ gṛhītvā rājamātro vā ha*[nyād vā badhnīyād vā pravāsayed vā evaṃ cainaṃ vadet, tvaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa] < **line 2** > *bālo 'si mūḍho 'si steyo 'sīty evaṃrūpaṃ bhikṣur adattaṃ ādadāvaḥ ayam api bhikṣuḥ pārājayiko bhava*[ty asaṃvāsyaḥ].

Pār. 3 < **line 3** > [yaḥ punar bhikṣur manuṣyaṃ vā manuṣya]vigrahaṃ *vā svahastaṃ saṃcintya jīvitād vyaparopayec chastraṃ vainam ādhārayec chastrādhārakaṃ vāsya paryeṣe*[ta maraṇāya vainaṃ samādāpayen] < **line 4** > [maraṇava]*rṇnaṃ vāsyānusaṃvarṇayed evaṃ cainaṃ vaded dhaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa kiṃ te anena pāpakenāśucinā durjīvi*[tena mṛtaṃ te bho puruṣa jīvitād varam < **line 5** > iti cintā-] *numataiś cittasaṃkalpair anekaparyāyeṇa maraṇāya vainaṃ samādāpayen maraṇavarṇṇaṃ vāsyā*[nusaṃvarṇayet sa ca tena kālaṃ kuryād] < **line 6** > [a]*yam api bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ] ‖[4])

Pār. 4 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anabhijānann aparijānann asaṃtam asaṃvi-* [dyamānam . . .] < **line 7** > [viśeṣādhi]*gamaṃ jñānaṃ vā darśanaṃ vā sparśavihāratāṃ vā pratijānīyād idaṃ jānāmīdaṃ paśyāmīti sa* ·[pareṇa samayena]

< **Raghu Vira 2, Banerjee p. 8, Finot p. 478** >

< **line 1** > [samanuyujyamāno vā asamanuyujyamā]*no vā āpanno viśuddhi prekṣyevaṃ vaded ajānaty (?) evāham āyuṣmanto 'vocaṃ jānāmīty apaśyann evā* [. . .] < **line 2** > [ayam a] *pi bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ] ‖

uddiṣṭā me āyuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pārājikā dharmā yeṣāṃ bhikṣur a[nyatamānyatamaṃ āpattim adhyāpatya na labhate < **line 3** > bhikṣubhiḥ] *sardhaṃ saṃvāsaṃ bhogaṃ vā yathāpūrvaṃ tathāpaścāt pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ].

tatrāham ā[yuṣmantaḥ paripṛcchāmi . . .] <**line 4**> [dvir a]*pi trir api paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ pariśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto yasmāt tūṣṇīm evam e*[tad dhārayāmi].

<**line 5**> . . . *caryā saṃcarittaṃ kuṭikā mahallakaḥ amūlaka leśika saṃghabhedas tasyānuvartti kuladūṣaka daurva*[casya . . .] Saṃgh. 4—1[?]

<**line 6**> [ime khalv āyuṣmantas trayodaśa saṃghā]*vaśeṣā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśam āgacchanti.*

saṃcintya śukkravisṛṣṭi[r anya]*tra svapnā*[ntarāt saṃghāvaśeṣaḥ]. Saṃgh. 1

<**line 7**> [yaḥ punar bhikṣur avalavipariṇatena] *cittena mātṛgrāmeṇa sārdhaṃ kāyasaṃsargaṃ samāpadyeta. hastagrahaṇaṃ vā bā*[hu . . .] Saṃgh. 2

<Raghu Vira 3, Banerjee p. 22, Finot p. 509>

<**line 1**> *pāyantikā.* || *dvau trīn vā pātrapūrān pratigṛhya bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā santo bhikṣavaḥ saṃvibhaktavyā ātmanā ca paribhoktavyaṃ ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ* Pāy. 33

yaḥ puna <**line 2**> [r bhikṣu]*r bhuktavān pravāritaḥ akṛtaniriktaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā.* || Pāy. 34

yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānad bhikṣuṃ bhuktavantaṃ pravārim akṛta <**line 3**> [atiri]*ktena khādanīyabhojanīyenātyarthaṃ pravārayed idam āyuṣman khāda idaṃ bhuṅkṣva ity āsādanaprekṣī kaścid eṣa bhikṣur āsādito bhaviṣya* <**line 4**> *ty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā* || Pāy. 35

gaṇabhojanād anyatra samayāt pāyantikā | *tatrāyaṃ samayaḥ: glānasamayaḥ karmasamayo'dhvasamia* <**line 5**> *yo nāvādhirohaṇaṃ mahāsamājaḥ śramaṇabhaktam ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ* | Pāy. 36

yaḥ punar bhikṣur akāle khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā <**line 6**> *pāyantikā.* || Pāy. 37

yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ sannihitaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā. || Pāy. 38

yaḥ [punar bhikṣur a]*dattaṃ mukhābhyavahāryam āhāram ā*- <**line 7**> *hared anyatrodakadantakāṣṭhāt pāyantikā.* | Pāy. 39

yāni tāni bhagavatā bhikṣūṇāṃ praṇītabhoja[nāny ākhyātāni tadyathā kṣīraṃ dadhi] *navanītaṃ matsyo māṃsa*- Pāy. 40

<Raghu Vira 4, Banerjee p. 23, Finot p. 54>

<line 1> *vallūrā.* ‖ *yaḥ punar bhikṣur imāny evaṃrūpāṇi praṇīta-bhojanāny ātmārtham aglānaḥ parakulebhyo vijñā*[pya khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā] ‖o‖

Pāy. 41—50 uddānaṃ ~~*saprāṇa*~~ **<line 2>** *bhojane sthānaṃ niṣadyācela senayā. dvirātraudyūṣikāṃ gacchet prahārodgūra duṣṭhulāḥ* ‖o‖

Pāy. 41 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jāna*[n sa]*prāṇakam udakaṃ paribhuṃjīta pāya* **<line 3>** [nti]*kā* ‖

Pāy. 42 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan sabhojane kule anupraskandyāsane niṣadyāṃ kalpayet pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 43 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan sabhojane kule raha* **<line 4>** [si] *prati-cchanne 'titiṣṭhet pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 44 *yaḥ punaḥ bhikṣur acelakāya vā acelikāyai vā parivrājakāya vā pari* **<line 5>** [vrāji]*kāyai vāstamāstaṃ (?) khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ dadyāt pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 45 *yaḥ punaḥ* [sic] *bhikṣur udyuktāṃ senāṃ da* **<line 6>** [rśa]-*nāyopasaṃkrāmet pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 46 *syāt khalu bhikṣoḥ tadrūpaḥ pratyaya udyuktāṃ senāṃ darśanāyo-pasaṃkramitum* **<line 7>** [dvi]*rātraparamaṃ tena bhikṣuṇā tasyāṃ senāyāṃ vipravastavyaṃ tata uttari vipravaset pāyantikā.* | = ‖ = |

<Raghu Vira 5, Banerjee p. 24, Finot p. 512>

Pāy. 47 **<line 1>** *dvirātram api ced bhikṣus tasyāṃ senāyāṃ vipravasann udyūṣikāṃ vā gacche*[d] *dhvajāgraṃ vā balāgraṃ vā senāvyūham anīkasaṃdarśanaṃ vā pratyanubhavet pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 48 *yaḥ pu* **<line 2>** *nar bhikṣur abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś caṇḍībhūto nāt-tamanā bhikṣoḥ prahāraṃ dadyāt pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 49 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś caṇḍībhūto nāttamanā bhikṣoḥ prahāra* **<line 3>** *m udgūrayed antatas talaśaktikā.* |

Pāy. 50 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan bhikṣor duṣṭhulām āpattiṃ prati-cchādayet pāyantikā.* ‖o‖

Pāy. 51—60 uddānaṃ. *sparśo jyotiś chando 'nupa* **<line 4>** *sampādanena dharmavādī ca. śramaṇoddeśo daurvarṇṇyaṃ ratna paridāhasamayaś ca.* |o|

punar bhikṣur bhikṣum evaṃ vaded ehy āyuṣman kulāny upasaṃ- Pāy. 51
<**line 5**> *kramiṣyāvaḥ tatra te dāpayiṣyāmi praṇītaṃ khādanīya-bhojanīyaṃ yāvad āpta sa tasyādāpayitvā tataḥ paścād eva vaded gaccha tvam ā* <**line 6**> *yuṣman na ce*[t] *tvayā sārdhaṃ sparśo bhavati kathāyāṃ vā niṣadyāyāṃ vā api tv ekākina eva me sparśo bhavati kathāyāṃ vā niṣadyāyāṃ vā ity udyojanaprekṣī* <**line 7**> *kaścid eṣa bhikṣur udyojito bhaviṣyatīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā.* ‖

yaḥ pu[nar bhikṣur ātmārtham aglāno vitapana]*prekṣī jyotiḥ* Pāy. 52
samavadadhyāt sa-

<**Raghu Vira 6, Banerjee p. 24, Finot p. 513**>

<**line 1**> *mavadhāpayed vā pāyantikā.* |

yaḥ punar bhikṣur dhārmmike saṃghakaraṇīye bhikṣoś chandaṃ Pāy. 53
datvā [paścād abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś] *caṇḍībhūto nāttamanāḥ kṣepadha-* <**line 2**> *rmam āpadyeta āhara bhikṣo cchandaṃ na te dadāmīti pāyantikā.* ‖

yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃpannena pudgalena sārdhaṃ dvirātrād Pāy. 54
ūrdhvaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ prakalpaye <**line 3**> *t pāyantikā.* ‖

yaḥ punar bhikṣur evaṃ vadet tathāhaṃ bhagavato dharmaṃ Pāy. 55
deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikā dharmā uktā bhagavatā tenā-prati <**line 4**> *sevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. sa bhikṣur bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyo mā tvam āyuṣmann evaṃ vocas tathāhaṃ bhagavato dhaṃ* (= *dharmaṃ*) *deśitam ājānā* <**line 5**> *mi yathā ye āntarāyikā dharmā uktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti mā bhagavantam abhyācakṣu na sādhu bhavati bhagavato* <**line 6**> *'bhyākhyānaṃ na ca punar bhagavān evam āha. anekaparyāyeṇāyuṣmann āntarāyikā dharmmāḥ santa āntarāyikā evoktā bhagavatā te ca prati* <**line 7**> [sevya]*mānā alam antarāyā-yeti* ‖ *niḥsṛja tvam āyuṣmann idam evaṃrūpaṃ pāpakaṃ dṛṣṭigatam evam cet sa bhikṣur bhikṣubhir ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥ-*

<**Raghu Vira 8, Banerjee p. 26, Finot p. 514**>

<**line 1**> *sṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛje*[d] *dvir api trr api samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsitavyas tasya vastunaḥ prati-*

nihsargāya dvir api trr api samanuyu <**line 2**> *jyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad vastu pratiniḥsr̥jed idevaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsr̥jet pāyantikā.* ||

Pāy. 56 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānaṃs tathāvādinaṃ pudgalam a* <**line 3**> *kr̥tānudharmāṇam apratiniḥsr̥ṣṭe tasmin pāpake dr̥ṣṭigate ālapet saṃlapet saṃvaset saṃbhuṃjīta tena vā sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet pā* <**line 4**> *yantikā.* ||

Pāy. 57 *śramaṇoddeśaś cāpy evaṃ vadet tathāhaṃ bhagavato dharmaṃ deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikāḥ kāmā uktā bhagavatā tena pra* <**line 5**> *tisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyo mā tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa evaṃ vocas tathāhaṃ bha* <**line 6**> *gavato dharmaṃ deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikāḥ kāmā uktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. mā bhagavantam abhyācakṣu na* <**line 7**> *sādhu bhavati bhagavato 'bhyākhyānaṃ na ca punar bhagavān evam āha. anekaparyāyeṇa ya* [.....] *yikāḥ kāmāḥ santa āntarāyi-*

<**Raghu Vira 7, Banerjee p. 25, Finot p. 515**>

<**line 1**> *kā evoktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā alam antarāyāyeti niḥsr̥ja tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchrama*[ṇoddeśa .....] *pāpakaṃ dr̥ṣṭigatam evaṃ cet sa* <**line 2**> *śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥsr̥jed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsr̥je*[d] *dvir api trr api samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsi* <**line 3**> *tavyas tasya vastunaḥ pratiniḥsargāya dvir api trr api samanuyujyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad vastu pratiniḥsr̥jed ity evaṃ ku* <**line 4**> *śalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsr̥jet sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyaḥ adyāgreṇa te āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa nāsau bhagavāṃs ta-* <**line 5**> *thāgato 'rhat samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ śāstā vyapadeṣṭavyo nāpy anyatamānyatamo vijño gurusthānīyaḥ sabrahmacārī pr̥ṣṭhataḥ pr̥ṣṭhataḥ samanu* <**line 6**> *baddhavyo yad apy anye śramaṇoddeśā labhante kaścid asya bhikṣor muhūrtam apy asparśo bhaviṣyatīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kr̥tvā pāyantikā.* ||

Pāy. 63 *aṃgulipra* <**line 7**> *todanāt pāyantikā.* ||

Pāy. 64 *udakaharṣaṇāt pāyantikā* ||

yaḥ punar bhikṣur matṛgrāmeṇa sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet Pāy. 65
pāyantikā. ‖
yaḥ punar bhikṣu Pāy. 66

< Raghu Vira 10, Banerjee p. 27, Finot p. 518 >

[.....] **< line 1 >** *bhīṣayed bhīṣāpayed vā anantato hāsyaprekṣy api pāyantikā.* |

yaḥ punaḥ bhikṣur bhikṣor vā bhikṣuṇyā vā śikṣamāṇāyā vā Pāy. 67
śrāmaṇerakasya vā śrāmaṇerikā **< line 2 >** [yā vā] *pātraṃ vā cīvaraṃ*
vā śikyaṃ vā saritaṃ vā kāyabandhanaṃ vā anyatamānyatamaṃ
vā śrāmaṇakaṃ jīvitapariṣkāram upanidadhyād upanidhāpayed vā-
< line 3 > *nyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā* ‖

yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣoś cīvaraṃ dattvā tataḥ paścād apraty- Pāy. 68
uddhārya paribhuṃjīta pāyantikā. ‖

yaḥ punar bhi **< line 4 >** *kṣur dviṣṭo dveṣād apratītaḥ śuddhaṃ* Pāy. 69
bhikṣum anāpannam amūla [continued on folio 9 line 7]

sevyamānā alam antarāyāyeti niḥsṛja tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇod- Pāy. 57
deśa idam evaṃ **< line 5 >** *rūpaṃ pāpakaṃ dṛṣṭigatam evaṃ cet*
sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥsṛjed ity
evaṃ kuśalam no cet pratiniḥsṛje[d] *dvi* **< line 6 >** *r api tṛr api*
samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsitavyas tasya vastunaḥ pratiniḥsargāya
dvir api tṛr api samanuyujyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad va-
< line 7 > *stu pratiniḥsṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛjet sa*
śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyaḥ adyāgreṇa te
āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa nāsau

< Raghu Vira 9, Banerjee p. 26, Finot p. 516 >

< line 1 > *bhagavāṃs tathāgato 'rhat samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ śāstā*
vyapadeṣṭavyau nāpy anyatamānyatamo vijño gurusthānīyaḥ sabrah-
macārī pṛṣṭhataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ samanubaddhavyo yad apy anye śra-
< line 2 > *maṇoddeśā labhante bhikṣubhiḥ sārdhaṃ dvirātraparamaṃ*
sahāgāraśayyāṃ sāpi te 'dyāgreṇa nāsti cara pareṇa mohapuruṣa
naśya tvaṃ | *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānaṃs tathānāśitaṃ śra-* **< line 3 >**
maṇoddeśaṃ upasthāpayed upalāḍayet tena vā sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśay-
yāṃ kalpayet pāyantikā.

na ca cīvarapratilambhād bhikṣuṇā trayāṇāṃ **< line 4 >** *durvarṇṇī-* Pāy. 58

karaṇānām anyatamānyatamad durvarṇṇīkaraṇam nīlam vā kardamam vā kaṣāyam vā. anādāya ced bhikṣus trayāṇām durvarṇṇīkaka(?)raṇānā <**line 5**> [m anya]*tamānyatamaḥ durvarṇṇīkaraṇam nīlam vā kardamam vā kaṣāyam vā navam cīvaram paribhumjīta pāyantikā.* ‖

Pāy. 59 *yaḥ punar bhikṣu ratnam vā* <**line 6**> [ratna]*sammatam vā svahastam udgṛhṇīyād udgrāhayed vā anyatrādhyārāmagatād vā adhyāvāsagatād vā pāyantikā.* ‖ *adhyārāmagatena bhikṣu* <**line 7**> [. . . . .] *adhyāvāsa*

Pāy. 69 (contd.) *lakena saṃghāvaśeṣeṇa dharmeṇānudhvaṃsayet pāyantikā.* ‖

Pāy. 70 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur apuruṣayā striyā sārdham adhvānamārgam pratipadyeta*

<Raghu Vira 11, Banerjee p. 27, Finot p. 519>

<**line 1**> *tātato grāmāntaram api pāyantikā.* | o ‖

Pāy. 71—80 uddānam | *steyonaviṃśati khanet pravāraṇā śikṣitavyam. kalahānām tūṣṇīm viprakkrāmed anādarāt surāpānam akā* <**line 2**> *le ca.* ‖ o ‖

Pāy. 71 *yaḥ punar bhikṣu steyasārthena sārdham adhvamārgam pratipadyetāntato grāmāntaram api pāyantikā.*

Pāy. 72 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur ūnaviṃśativarṣam pudgalam bhikṣu-* <**line 3**> *bhāvāyopasampādayet pāyantikā.* | *sa ca pudgalo 'nupasampannas te ca bhikṣavo garhyā ayam tatra samayaḥ*

Pāy. 73 *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ svahastam pṛthi* <**line 4**> *vīmt khanet khānayed vā pāyantikā.* |

Pāy. 74 *cāturmāsikī bhikṣuṇā pravāraṇā svīkartavyā anyatra samayāt pāyantikā. tatrāyam samayaḥ pratyeka* <**line 5**> *pratyekapravāraṇā punaḥ punaḥ pravāraṇā atyarthapravāraṇā nityapravāraṇā ayam tatra samayaḥ* |

Pāy. 75 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣubhir ucyamā*<**line 6**>*no syāt te āyuṣmam cchikṣāyām śikṣitavyam sa evam vaden nāham yuṣmākam bālānām mūḍhānām avyaktānām akuśalānām vacanenāsyām śikṣāyām śikṣiṣye* [yāvan nāha] <**line 7**> *m anyān bhikṣūn prakṣyāmi sūtradharān vinayadharān matṛkādharān iti pāyantikā. ājñātukāmena bhikṣuṇā tasyām ca śikṣāyām śikṣitavyam bhi*[kṣavaḥ praṣṭavyāḥ]

<**Raghu Vira 12, Banerjee p. 28, Finot p. 520**>

<**line 1**> *sūtradharā vinayadharā mātṛkādharā ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ* ||

yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahajātānāṃ viharatāṃ bhaṇḍanajātānāṃ vigṛhītānāṃ vi[vādam āpannānāṃ] <**line 2**> *tūṣṇīm aupaśrutikayā tiṣṭhed yad ete bhikṣavo vakṣyanti tad ahaṃ śrutvā tathā tathā'nuvyavahariṣyāmīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā.* || Pāy. 76

yaḥ pu [nar bhikṣuḥ saṃgha] <**line 3**> *sya dharmyāyāṃ viniścayakathāyāṃ kathyamānāyāṃ tūṣṇīṃ viprakkrāmet santaṃ bhikṣum anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā.* || Pāy. 77

anādarāt pāyantikā. || Pāy. 78

surāmaireya <**line 4**> *madyapānāt pāyantikā* | Pāy. 79

yaḥ punar bhikṣur akāle grāmaṃ praviśet santaṃ bhikṣum anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā. || o || Pāy. 80

uddānaṃ. *sabhojane 'ruṇe dā* <**line 5**> *nīṃ (?) sūcīgṛhakapādakāḥ nahyān niṣadanaṃ kaṇḍū śāṭī sugatacīvaraṃ* | o || Pāy. 81—90

yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ sabhojane kule upanimantritaḥ pūrvabhakta paścā <**line 6**> *dbhaktaṃ kuleṣu cāritram āpadyeta santam gṛhiṇam anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā.* | Pāy. 81

yaḥ punar bhikṣur anirgatāyāṃ rajanyām anu <**line 7**> *dgate 'ruṇe anirhṛteṣu ratneṣu vā ratnasammateṣu vā rājñaḥ kṣatriyasya mūrdhābhiṣiktasyaindrakīlaṃ vā indrakīlasāmantakaṃ vā samabhiḥ-* Pāy. 82

<**Raghu Vira 13, Banerjee p. 30, Finot p. 524**>

[pa] <**line 1**> *riśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto yasmāt tūṣṇīm evam etad dhārayāmi.* || o ||

uddānaṃ | *grāmam antargṛhaṃ caiva śaikṣāṇy āraṇyakena ca. prātideśyāni coktāni buddhena hita* <**line 2**> *vādinā.* || o || Pratid 1—4

ime khalv āyuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pratideśanīyā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśam āgacchanti

yaḥ punar bhikṣur ajñātikāyā bhikṣuṇyā <**line 3**> *rathyāgatāyā grāmaṃ piṇḍāya caraṃtyā aṃtikāt svahastam khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhya khāded bhuñjīta vā. tena bhikṣuṇā bahir ārāmaṃ ga-* <**line 4**> *tvā bhikṣūṇām antike pratideśayitavyam. garhyam asmāyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmaṃ pratideśayāmy ayaṃ dharmaḥ* <**line 5**> *pratideśanīyaḥ* | Pratid. 1

Pratid. 2 *bhikṣavaḥ khalu saṃbahulāḥ kuleṣūpanimantritā bhuṃja tatra ced bhikṣuṇī vyapadiśati sthitā syād iha khādyakaṃ de* <**line 6**> *hi iha odanaṃ dehi iha sūpikaṃ dehi iha bhūyo dehīti. sā bhikṣuṇī tair bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyā āgamaya tāva*[t] *tvaṃ bhagini muhūrttaṃ tūṣṇī yā* <**line 7**> *vad ime bhikṣavo bhuṃjate ekabhikṣor api ce*[n]*na*(?) *pratibhāyantāṃ bhikṣuṇīm evaṃ vaktuṃ sarvais tair bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīya* (?) *bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā bhikṣūṇām aṃ-*

<**Raghu Vira 14, Banerjee p. 30, Finot p. 525**>

<**line 1**> *tike pratideśayitavyaṃ. garhyaṃ vayam āyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpannā āsātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ dharmaṃ pratideśayāmo 'yam api dharmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ*

Pratid. 3 *yāni tāni saṃ* <**line 2**> *ghasya śaikṣāṇi kulāni bhavanti śikṣāsaṃvṛtisammatāni.* || *yaḥ punar bhikṣus tadrūpeṣu saṃghasya śaikṣeṣu kuleṣu śikṣāsaṃvṛtisammateṣu pūrvam apravāritaḥ* <**line 3**> *san upasaṃkramya svahastaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhya khāded bhuṃjīta vā tena bhikṣuṇā bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā bhikṣūṇām antike pratideśa* <**line 4**> *yitavyaṃ . garhyam asmy āyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno 'sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmmaṃ pratideśayāmy ayam api dharmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ* .

Pratid. 4 *yāni tāni* <**line 5**> *saṃghasyāraṇyakāni śayanāsanāni* . *bhavati sāśaṃkasammatāni sabhayasammatāni sapratibhayabhairavasammatāni. yaḥ punar bhikṣu* <**line 6**> *s tadrūpeṣu saṃghasyāraṇyakeṣu śayanāsaneṣu sāśaṃkasammateṣu sabhayasammateṣu sapratibhayabhairavasammateṣu. sarvam apratisaṃvidite* <**line 7**> *vane bahir ārāmasya khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhyānte ārāmasya khāded bhuṃjīta vā tena bhikṣuṇā bhikṣūṇām aṃtike pratideśayitavyaṃ garhyam asmy ā-*

<**Raghu Vira 15, Banerjee p. 31, Finot p. 526**>

<**line 1**> *yuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno 'sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmaṃ pratideṣayāmy ayam api dharmmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ* ||

uddiṣṭā me āyuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pratide[śanīyā dharmā-] <**line 2**> *s tatrāham āyuṣmantaḥ paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ dvir api trir api paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ*

pariśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto [*yasmāt tūṣṇī*] <**line 3**> *m evam etad dhārayāmi.* ‖o‖

uddānaṃ. *nivāsanena sapta syus trayaś copari cīvare. samvṛtod-* Śaikṣ. 1—30
gunṭhikollaṃghikayā kāyena [.....] <**line 4**> |o‖

ime khalv āyuṣmantaḥ saṃbahulāḥ śaikṣā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśam āgacchanti. ‖

parimaṇḍalaṃ nivāsanaṃ ni <**line 5**> *vāsayiṣyāma iti śikṣā* Śaikṣ. 1
karaṇīyā. ‖

nātyutkṛṣṭaṃ nātyapakṛṣṭaṃ na hastiśuṇḍakaṃ na tālavṛndakaṃ Śaikṣ. 2—7
na kulmāṣapiṇḍakaṃ na nāgaśīrṣakaṃ <**line 6**> *nivāsanaṃ nivāsayiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.* ‖

parimaṇḍalaṃ cīvaraṃ prāvariṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā. ‖ Śaikṣ. 8

nātyutkṛṣṭaṃ nātyapakṛṣṭaṃ cīvaraṃ <**line 7**> *prāvariṣyāma iti* Śaikṣ. 9. 10
śikṣā karaṇīyā. ‖

susaṃvṛtāḥ supraticchannā alpaśabdā anutkṣiptacakṣuṣo yugamātra- Śaikṣ. 11—15
darśino 'ntargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti

<**Raghu Vira 16, Banerjee p. 32, Finot p. 530**>

<**line 1**> *śikṣā karaṇīyā* ‖

nodgunṭhikā notkṛṣṭikayā notsaktikayā na vyastikayā na paryasti- Śaikṣ. 16—20
kayā antargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā. |

nollaṃghika <**line 2**> *yā nojjaṃghikayā notkuṭukikayā na niku-* Śaikṣ. 21—25
ṭotkuṭukikayā na khambhākṛtā antargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā. ‖

na kāyapracālakaṃ na bāhu <**line 3**> *pracālakaṃ na śīrṣapro-* Śaikṣ. 26—30
cālakaṃ nāṃsotḍhau (?) kikayā na hastasaṃlagnikayā antargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā. ‖o‖

uddānaṃ. *ku* <**line 4**> *ryān na viniṣatsyāmīty aṣṭau cāpi prati-* Śaikṣ. 31—60
grahe. paṃca catus sapta paṃca satkṛtyādi tu bhojane. |o‖

nānanujñātā antargṛhe āsane niṣatsyā <**line 5**> *ma iti śikṣā* Śaikṣ. 31
karaṇīyā. ‖

nāpratyavekṣyāsanaṃ sarvakāyaṃ samavadhāya na pāde pādam Śaikṣ. 32—39
ādhāya na gulphe gulpham ādhāya na [sakthani sakthi ā-] <**line 6**> *dhāya na saṃkṣipya pādau na vikṣipya pādau na vidaṃgikayā antargṛha āsane niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.* ‖

Śaikṣ. 40 *satkṛtya piṇḍapātaṃ prati*[grahīṣyāma] <**line 7**> *iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.* ‖

Śaikṣ. 41—43 *na samatittikaṃ samasūpikaṃ sāvadānaṃ pātrasaṃjñinaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.* ‖ [.....]

[1]) The Gilgit manuscripts consist of 62 items whose tentative list of names follows. The entire collection is being reproduced in facsimile by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira and the author in the Śatapiṭaka series published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 16.

Serial No.	Title	No. of leaves
1	Vinayavastu	182
2	Prātimokṣa-sūtra	8
3	Prātimokṣa-sūtra	38
4	Sūtravibhaṅga (?)	29
5	Sūtravibhaṅga (?)	3
6	Mahāvidyārājahṛdaya	50
7	Mahāsannipātadharmaparyāyāḥ	66
8	Viśvantarāvadāna	9
9	Māndhātāvadāna (sic), and Dharmarucyavadāna	15
10	Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā and Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra, etc. (cf. serial nos. 31, 32, 34, 57)	27
11	Kūṭāgārasūtra	3
12	Kāraṇḍavyūha	50
13	Māndhātāvadāna (cf. no. 9) Mahāsudarśanāvadāna, Maitreyavyākaraṇa	78
14	Mahāvidyādhāraṇī	9
15	Mahāvidyārājñīkavaca (cf. no. 17)	9
16	Avikalpapraveśa nāma mahāyānasūtra	8
17	Mahāvidyārājñī (cf. no. 15)	12
18	Tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇasūtra	4
19	(?)	8
20	Annapānavidhi	3
21	Prasenajidgautamagāthā (cf. no. 59)	5
22	Maṇḍanavidhisādhana and Mudrāvidhāna	5
23	Vajradharma° (?)	6
24	Prajñāpāramitā (Pañcaviṃśati°- and Aṣṭādaśa°-sāhasrikā)	152
25	Prajñāpāramitā	45
26	Prajñāpāramitā	20
27	Prajñāpāramitā	43
28	Prajñāpāramitā	54
29	Mahāsannipātamahāyānasūtra	17
30	Sarvatathāgata° (cf. no. 35)	35

Serial No.	Title	No. of leaves
31	Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra	14
32	Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra	1
33	Ekādaśamukha nāma hṛdaya and Hayagrīvavidyā	22
34	Āryabhaiṣajyaguru nāma mahāyānasūtra	41
35	Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna° (cf. no. 30)	22
36	Saṅghāṭamahādharmaparyāya	63
37	Saṅghāṭasūtra	91
38	Saṅghāṭadharma	23
39	Saṅghāṭadharma	15
40	Ajitasenavyākaraṇanirdeśa nāma mahāyānasutra	41
41	Tantrasadbhāvasāra	1
42	(?)	1
43	Praṇāmastava	2
44	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	18
45	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	125
46	Samādhirājasūtra	162
47	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	34
48	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra	41
49	Saddharmapuṇḍarīkadharmaparyāya	2
50	Prajñāpāramitā	10
51	Fragments from various mss.	28
52	Fragments from various mss.	22
53	Dārikagāthā	4
54	Mekhalavidyā	2
55	Rājadṛḍhanemigāthā	2
56	Fragments from different mss.	15
57	Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra (cf. nos. 10, 31, 32, 34)	1
58	Traidhātukīprāpti	1
59	Prasenajidgāthā (cf. no. 21)	6
60	Leaves of three different mss.	4
61	Fragmentary leaves of a ms.	4
62	Cūrṇa ("minute fragments")	

[2]) The figures after Raghu Vira refer to the serial cliché numbers in the Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition) part I (New Delhi, 1959).

[3]) Portions within [ ] are reconstructions.

[4]) The punctuation marks, |, ‖ o ‖, ‖ = ‖ = ‖ are all from the original manuscript.

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LOKESH CHANDRA, NEW DELHI (INDIA)

VAIŚRAVAṆA/KUVERA IN THE SINO-JAPANESE TRADITION*

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NAME

Bishamon = Skt. Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, Pali Vessavaṇa; Tib. rnam-thos-bu, rnam-thos-sras 'son of one who is fully-heard' (that is to say, of the glorious, Skt. Viśravas, name of the father of Kuvera). Other transcriptions are: (1) Beishirabana T 1298, Bisharabana Gog. 19, T 2129.6, which corresponds to Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; (2) but most of the transcriptions correspond to Skt. Vaiśramaṇa: Beishiramana T 1246, Beisharamana T 901.11, Heishiramana T 665.6, T 1246, Beishiramana T 2129.6, Bishiramanō Eog. 1, etc.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME

Name of one of the four Lokapālas (Jap. Tennō). He presides over the north over yakṣas and over riches, war, etc. Most of the translations of his name rest on the Sanskrit name Vaiśravaṇa (root *śru* 'to listen'): the most common form is *Tamon* 'well-heard' which is interpreted in different ways: many people speak of his richness Gog.19, T 2129.6, he oftenl istens to the preaching of the Dharma Eog. 1, T 1721.12. The same interpretations are attached to the translation *Fumon* 'vastly-listened,' *Hemmon* 'heard on all sides' Gog.19, T 2129.6. Gog.19 gives a translation *Rimon* 'separately heard' where the Skt. prefix *vi°* (from which is derived *Vai°*) is taken in a separative sense. Eog. 1 gives a queer gloss on the form Vaiśramaṇa: *Vai* is an exclamation preceding the word *śramaṇa* 'monk'; in the origin this king was termed Kuvera (Kukotsura, correctly Kubira), but he arrived one day donning the robes of a monk to listen to the preaching of the Buddha; and when he entered the assembly of listeners (śrāvaka) they said to one another: 'Vai, śramaṇa! vai, śramaṇa! He! here is the monk, here is the monk!' hence his new name.

REGENT OF THE NORTH

As regent of the north Vaiśravaṇa figures not only in the series of the Four Lokapālas but also in those of the Gods of the Eight Directions (Happōten), among the Twelve Gods (Jūniten), etc. He lives in the north of mount Sumeru on the northern flank of the mountain at mid-height, T 24.6, and 25.6, T 2121.1 (on the summit of Yugandhara, at 42,000 leagues from the earth), T 1644.5

*Adapted from the *Hōbōgirin*, ed. Sylvain Lévi and J. Takakusu, Tokyo 1929, s.v. Bishamon, 1.79-83.

(between the two summits of Yugandhara), T 1558.11 (K. Lav. 3.160: on the fourth terrace, at the mid-height of Sumeru, at the level of the summit of Yugandhara, where there are the castles of the Sun and the Moon); or at 1000 leagues to the north of Sumeru T 1.20, or at 4000 leagues T 23.3.

It has three *cities*, a park and a pool whose names differ in the texts: first city, T 1.20 Kai 'redoubtable', T 23.3 Shama, T 24.6 Bisharaba; second city, T 1.20 Tenkyō 'venerated by the gods', T 23.3 Hakaraotsu, T24.6 and 25.6 Gabahattei; third city, T 1.20 Shūki 'all the refuges' (or: 'refuge of assemblies'), T 23.3 Aniban, T 24.6, 25 Adabanta (and compare the following transcriptions designating one of the cities of Vaiśravaṇa: T 310.3 Atabattei, T 1245 Anakabatei, 999 Anakabatei = Skt. Aṭakavatī, Alakavatī; T 982.2, T 2128.11 Anabanta, T 984.1 Atabanta, 985.2 Katabanta, T 190.2 Araka, 190.12 Arakabanta, T 1644.5 Arakamanda.

The name of the *park* is: T 1.20 Kabientō, T 23.3 Kabienta, T 24.6, 25.6 Kabien. The name of the pool is: T 1.20 Narinni, T 23.3 Nari, T 24.6 Natsuini, T 25.6 Nacini (Skt. Nalinī, Naḍinī). Vaiśravaṇa, who is the most important of the Four Kings, alone has a park and a pool (and the other three Kings only one city each); but his residence communicates by flight of steps with those of the other three, who come to visit him and to promenade in his park. T 1644.5 describes in detail his city as well as his kingdom.

It is he who protects the continent situated to the north of Sumeru, Uttaravatī T 397.51, or moreover, to the south of Sumeru, the northern part of Jambudvīpa T 397.52: that is in effect, adds the latter text, in Jambudvīpa where appear the Buddhas, and that is why Vaiśravaṇa keeps vigil over the four kingdoms of Ogamagada, Bōgamagadha, Abanta and Shidai; he has received the mission of Buddha himself: with his 91 sons who traverse the ten directions, mounted on animals, men, women, and with the yakṣas, rākṣasas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, piśācas, nāgas, devas, constellations who form his army. He defends Buddhism and reprimands the bad; to the pious he assures five advantages: increment of life, of riches, of health, of pleasure, of fame; but he abandons disciples perverse to royal justice.

In T 2043.6 and T 2042.6 it is from Indra that Vaiśravaṇa receives, after the passing away of Buddha, the mission to protect Buddhism in the region of the north, specially against the attacks of three cruel kings: Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava. And it is in the countries of the north that Hsüan-tsang encountered the cult of Vaiśravaṇa T 2087.1, 12: the great monastery of Balkh was protected by his image, which had miraculously warded the armed attack of a Turk

Khan; and the kings of Khotan claimed descent from Vaiśravaṇa, their first ancestor had been born in front of the statue (on this latter legend, cf. Kse.45). T 2126.2 asserts 'very close' connections that existed between Vaiśravaṇa and Khotan, and claims that his name, Bishamon was taken from one of the names of the country of Khotan, Bishabu. Compare also T 982, 984, 985 (JA 1915, 1.53), which assign as residence to Vaiśravaṇa the country of Tukhāra.

HEAD OF YAKṢAS

He *presides over yakṣas*. Mahāmāyūrī (T 982, 984, 985) mentions him as a yakṣa, in two places, first under the name of Vaiśravaṇa, and then under that of Vaiśramaṇa (JA 1915,1.53 and 58). T 279.67 he is the head of the multitude of yakṣas. T 1644.5 from Yugandhara upto northern Cakravāḍa, all the yakṣas depend on him. In T 1331.4 he pronounces this stanza: at another time cultivating awakening, I became the king of yakṣas for the benefit of beings, to those who dwell in the darkness of ignorance, I open their eyes with my hatchet of gold; and I save them from transmigrations, and elevate them to nirvāṇa. In T 1245, a late text which is specially consecrated to him, he pronounces a sūtra entitled Adanôtei (= Pali Āṭānāṭiyasutta of Dīgha-nikāya 32 which does not figure in the Chinese translations of the Āgamas; cf. also Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, 24 sq.), by the grace of which the disciples of Vaiśravaṇa can defend themselves against those yakṣas dependent on Vaiśravaṇa who are faithless and malevolent. In reality this sūtra treats of the Four Kings, and the fourth, who rules over the north, is designated here Yakṣa Kuvera; he has 91 sons named Taishaku (a name designating ordinarily Devendra Śakra= Indra), who are amenable to Vaiśravaṇa, and who by their example stimulate all the yakṣas to protect the north. In the same text T1245, Vaiśravaṇa pronounces dhāraṇīs destined to subjugate malevolent gandharvas, piśācas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, nāgas, etc.

In T 999.1-2 (= Skt. Mahāsāhasrapramardinī), Vaiśravaṇa teaches a dhāraṇī to subjugate yakṣas who seduce men, bewilder them, dement them, devour them: it is me who am their king, he declares, and they adore the holy image placed inside the stūpa which I hold in the hand. In the same text Buddha teaches the 'dhāraṇī of king Brahmā' which enables one to subdue the eldest son of Kuvera, the grand yakṣa Saṁjaya who rides a man, and his other sons Janika, Daimi 'grand demon' and Ufuku 'Jar-belly'. According to T 1509.54 and T 2129.6, at times he presides over yakṣas and over rākṣasas. T 1297: when Vaiśravaṇa is joyous the yakṣas do not hurt men; when he is angry they

cause disorders. T 1.20 (= T 2121.1) and T 24.6 (= 25.6): he is always accompanied by five yakṣas who guard his person: (1) T 1 Hanjarō, T 24 Gojô = Pañcāla; (2) T 1 Dandara, T 24 Kōya 'Brushwood' (this translation corresponds to Skt. Āṭavaka, cf. Atabaku); (3) T 1 Keimabatsuda = Skt. Haimavata, T 24 Konsen 'Mountain of gold' (Skt. hema 'gold'); (4) T 1 Daigera, T 24 Jōshin 'long-body'; (5) T 1 Shuitsuroma, T 24 Shimmō = Skt. Sūciloma. Moreover, according to another list given by Bdjt. 1487: (1) Zenniki, (2) Dokken, (3) Nata = Skt. Naḍa, (4) Skt. Kubatsura = Kubāra, (5) Kanro = Skt. Amṛta.

FAMILY

T 850.2 attributes to him eight brothers, a mother and a grandmother. According to Std. 1 his father is called Rabada or Bananda, and his mother Mitsujaru or Sofu. His eight brothers are none else but the eight yakṣa generals who surround him in the Garbhamaṇḍala. T 1796.5: Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Pāñcika, Śātagiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Āṭavaka, Pañcāla. The text adds that in ancient times the third Pāñcika was named Sañjaya (for the restitution of these names in Sanskrit compare JA 1915:1). According to the afore-cited T 1245 his brothers are gandharvas. As for his sons the number and the names vary in the texts. The eldest is most often designated Nata = Skt. Naḍa (cf. Naḍakūbara, name of the son of Kubera in Hindu mythology). It is he who had transmitted to the Chinese master Dōsen, a tooth of Buddha stolen from India by the rākṣasas (T 2061). It is recounted in the Zen sect that he broke the bones and tore the hair for reinstating them to his father and mother and then preached the Dharma unto them Gte. 2; but this legend is not attested in the canonical texts Stj. 6. According to Bdjt. 1297 Naḍa has three faces and eight arms; but a ritual which is consecrated to him (T 1297) says that he holds a tooth in his left hand, a three-pointed lance in his right, is of blue black colour, blended with red and tramples on a yakṣiṇī; and according to this ritual Naḍa is not the son of Vaiśravaṇa but his grandson, more precisely the third son of his second son (called Hanshika = Skt. Pāñcika Hmjr 813); he is a terrible demon who protects the state and Buddhism putting down wicked, tearing away their eyes and their hearts, breaking their heads with his baton of diamond, etc.

GOD OF WEALTH

As we have seen in many of the passages cited before, Vaiśravaṇa is often identified with Kubera, the Hindu god of riches; under this title he presides over riches (cf. Kubira). In T 397.52 he is regularly designated under the double

name Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa (Kubira-Bishamon); and while the Aśokāvadāna T 2042.6 terms him Bishamon, the corresponding passage of Aśokasūtra T 2043.6 names him Kubira. His wealth is proverbial: the fortune of a gṛhapati of Rājagṛha is compared to his T703; T279.77 compares the Zennu (kalyāṇamitra) to Vaiśravaṇa, the dharma to his treasures, the practices to his fortunes and once again in T 279.78 the spirit of awakening to Vaiśravaṇa which suppresses the suffering of poverty. In T 190.12 he is termed the 'proprietor of the grand depository of treasures' daikozōshu; in T 201.2 (tr. Hüber 59), Indra and Vaiśravaṇa are cited as generous rich persons. In a story of T 202.4 he appears to lay woman Upasenā (or Mahāsenā) at the moment when she recites the Dharmapada on the top of her house: she hears a voice in the air; it is Vaiśravaṇa who goes to Virūpākṣa, accompanied by his thousand yakṣas; he says to Upasenā: if I give you celestial joys what will you do with them; I am going to give you a good boon......

Ekottarāgama (T 125.26) narrates the history of Keizu 'head of the cock', a brahmin who was very poor to offer food to the Buddha and his followers who were invited to Kapilavastu, having been expelled by the local cofraternity of Brahmins. He borrowed money from a notable of the city, and promised that he could be sold as a slave for paying the debt. The brahmins accepted his money, but refused to lift the pronounced expulsion. On the order of the Buddha, Indra and Vaiśravaṇa went to his assistance. Vaiśravaṇa sought in the Sandal Forest a grand cuisine where his 500 yakṣas prepared the meals for the Buddha. He sent to the brahmin a bar of gold which when flung to the ground was transformed into a hundred thousand ounces of gold. With this gold the brahmin purchased the food cooked by the yakṣas, and could offer a magnificent feast to the Buddha, to his monks and to all the arhats who were miraculously present.

In the Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra T 665.6 (this passage is lacking in the other recensions T 663 and 664; a very late special sūtra T 1244 is based on this text), Vaiśravaṇa teaches the Cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī, which when pronounced according to certain rites, makes appear before the faithful the son of Vaiśravaṇa, Zennishi (T 1244 Shanisa). He asks the faithful: why have you invoked my father? The faithful replies: I want riches for offering to the Triratna. Vaiśravaṇa enjoins his son to assure to the faithful a daily endowment of hundred kārṣāpaṇa (T 1244 'pieces of gold'). The faithful can offer them to the Triratna and alms to the poor. Then the Devarāja adds: if the faithful wishes to see me in person while he finishes the image of Buddha (T 1244:

Śākyamuni preaching the Dharma), with Kichijoten = Śrī to his left and myself to his right, and all kinds of assistants of both sexes.... While he performs certain rites before this image, pronounces a long dhāraṇī......, then I appear before him in the form of a young person or of an old mendicant monk (T 1244 of a lay person) holding a cintāmaṇi (T 1244 in my right hand) and a bag of gold (T 1244 a box of gold in my left hand) and grant all his wishes, and make him rich......

GOD OF WAR

And finally, Vaiśravaṇa was venerated in China and Japan as a *god of war.* T 1248 gives a dhāraṇī entitled 'Dhāraṇī of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who watches over armies for protecting the Dharma': if one pronounces this dhāraṇī before an image of Vaiśravaṇa—which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect, dressed in armour plate, holding a lance in his left and his right resting on his hip, a stūpa which he offers to Buddha Śākyamuni, and treading on two black yakṣiṇīs—he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the dhāraṇī a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites nonstop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the army which will render the enemy ineffectual.

A ritual of the same title T 1247 very specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies; only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia in the end of the reign of Hsüan-tsang during the T'ang dynasty and by the "Five Kingdoms" are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the 'Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa' T 1249 (= T 2126.2 whose text is more correct): in the first year of T'ien-pao 742 A.D., the five kingdoms of Seiban= Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Kōko=Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: Professor, the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops

to arrive there, and I do not know what to do. —I-hsing replied: Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the north, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops? — How can I invoke him? — By the intervention of the Serindian monk Daikōchi (T 2126 and Std.1 Amoghavajra). —The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a dhāraṇī (taken from T 246, adds T 2126) twenty-seven times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in armour plates of gold; they heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth. The troops of the five kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor. In consequence of these events, continues T 2126.2, an imperial edict directed all its provincial functionaries to place in the north-west angles of cities, images of Vaiśravaṇa and of his assistants, and all the Buddhist monasteries to consecrate a special edifice to him. Since then, this text which dates to the tenth century adds, it has been a usage in the prefectures to make offerings to Vaiśravaṇa on the first of every lunar month, while executing chants and dances: this is what is termed *rakutennō* 'rejoicing of the Devarāja'.

T 1249 citing the words of the same monk Daikōchi (Amoghavajra), gives a monthly programme of deeds and exploits of Vaiśravaṇa: on the first day of every lunar month he makes a reunion with the gods and demons; on the second day he takes leave of his second son Dokken who departs on a tour of inspection; on the 15th day, he makes a reunion with three other devarājas; on the 12th day he exchanges a stūpa with his son Naḍa: on this day one should offer glutinous rice with milk or with honey.

In mediaeval Japan, Vaiśravaṇa was the patron (Mamori honzon) of warriors who received now and then in their infancy the surname of Tamommaru, as was the case of a celebrated hero of the 14th century, Kusunoki Masashige.

In Mantrayāna, his bīja is VAI, his symbolic form the baton or the stūpa,

numerous are his dhāraṇīs: the most usual is simply his name preceded by *Namo.* His principal mudrā is as follows: the ring fingers are raised one against the other, the index fingers are bent like hooks, the other fingers are intersecting inside the palm T 1244; but there are several other mudrās.

ICONOGRAPHY

Vaiśravaṇa is figured in Japan like an armoured warrior; his attributes are generally a baton (daṇḍa) and a stūpa. This type confirms to the following texts: T 1244 on the palm of his left hand he holds a stūpa which he beholds, and in his right hand a baton. T 1293 (colour blue black, dress red, hair violet). T 1298 adds that his body is golden, he is armoured, standing on two demons and flanked by two goddesses offering him flowers (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2244). T. 908 omits the goddesses (Asabashō 6.2026). It is this latter type which is reproduced in the maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu (north portal of the exterior vajrāvalī) and of the Vajradhātu (where Vaiśravaṇa presides over yakṣas in the west); his seat is always a lotus instead of the two demons and the armour differs in the two maṇḍalas (Bzss. fig. 327-328).

Often the baton is replaced by a long lance, generally with triple points and a pennant: T 1248 he holds in his left hand a lance, his right is placed on his hip; he treads on two black yakṣiṇīs and offers a stūpa to Buddha Śākyamuni. T 901.11 his left hand holds a lance, his right a stūpa (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2242; it is under this aspect that he is generally figured in the popular series of the seven divinities of good luck, Shichifukujin; compare also the statue preserved at Hōryūji, where he treads a unique demon). T 1246 he holds in his left a lance with three points; his right is on his hip (fig. Asabashō 6.2026; this type is preserved at Kuramadera near Kyoto, a temple consecrated to Vaiśravaṇa; cf. Renondeau, BEFEO 26.259 sq.). This text and T 1251.1 mention a type holding a stūpa in the left and treading on three yakṣas of which the central is either Goddess of the Earth (Pṛithvī, Jiten), or Vināyaka (Binayaka), the other two are identified as Biramba and Niramba. Compare T 1203: he is mounted on a demon, holds a stūpa in the right and rests the left on the hip.

Other attributes: T 1067 stūpa in the left, sword in the right, armour, young face, coiffure of jewels, angry aspect. T 1068 stūpa in the left, vajra [club] in the right, colour violet. T 951.1 lance in the left, vajra in the right. Kakuzenshō 6.2241 (fig. 2243) lotus in the left, triple-pointed lance in the right, golden body, armour, sabre; a red bird in the coiffure. T 926 his body is green and he holds a fork.

In the *Lamaist* tradition, Vaiśravaṇa holds a banner in his right hand and in his left a rat spitting jewels (Grünwedel, Myth. 181).

In *China*, modern usage attributes to him a banner and a stūpa, perhaps a compromise between the Chinese classical tradition attested by the texts cited above and preserved in Japan (cf. also BEFEO 25.440 sq.) and the lamaist tradition.

Aberrant types. In the Taimitsu sect (esoteric branch of Tendai) the rite called Hūmkhaḍaya (cf. T 2151) is celebrated in honour of a 'Double-bodied Vaiśravaṇa' (Sōshin Bishamon) who is a combination of Vaiśravaṇa and the goddess Kichijōten/Śrī, Asabashō 6; the two personages are represented back to back, with red faces and three eyes, black dress, armour; one holds a vajra, the other a cakra (fig. Asabashō 6.2046). This iconographic type known in Japan since 1264 (Asabashō 6.2047) seems to be connected with the text of T 665.6 where Vaiśravaṇa is associated with Śrī; moreover, Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī figure frequently side by side in the esoteric texts, for example, T 1249, T 850 etc. Later, the two personages were considered as the metamorphoses of Vairocana, on the one hand in the Garbhadhātu and on the other in the Vajradhātu, their combination symbolising the identity of the two dhātus (Hmjr. 892).

Tobatsu-Bishamon is a form of Vaiśravaṇa who appeared to the king of a country of Tobatsu or Topara, Asabashō 6.2028-2029; he is represented either under the normal aspect of Vaiśravaṇa, holding a stūpa in his left hand, standing on the Goddess of the Earth who sustains his feet and is flanked by two demons (statue of Tōji of Kyoto, Bdjt. pl. 97; cf. above the text of T 1246); or astride a lion, and with four heads and ten hands of which eight hold sabres (tōhachi for tobatsu; fig. Bdji. 3517).

Another form with ten hands is mentioned in Asabashō 6.2054-5, which goes back to the 11th century: the skin is red, the dress black; two of the ten hands are joined, the others hold, to the left: (1) stūpa (2) bell (3) cakra (4) arrow and the string, to the right: (1) sickle (2) sabre (3) bow (4) vajra.

LITERATURE CITED

The following texts have been cited above by numbers of the titles in the Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese Tripiṭaka. Their titles, translators and date of translation is indicated below:

T 1 (Nj 545) Dīrghāma, tr. Buddhayaśas and Fo-nien in 412-413

T23 (Nj 551) *Lokadhātu-sūtra, tr. Fa-li and Fa-chü during the Western Tsin dynasty (265-316)
24 (Nj 550) Kisekyō, tr. Jñānagupta (523-600)
25 (Nj 549) Kisekyō, tr. Dharmagupta (in China 590-616)
125 (Nj 543) Ekottarāgama, tr. Dharmanandin in 384-385
190 (Nj 680) Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra, tr. Jñānagupta in 587
201 (Nj 1182) Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, tr. Kumārajīva in 405
246 (Nj 965) Kāruṇikarājasūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
279 (Nj 88) Avataṁsakasūtra, tr. Śikṣānanda in 695-699
310 (Nj 23) Mahāratnakūṭa, tr. Bodhiruci in 713
397 (Nj 61) [Mahāvaipulya-mahā]sannipāta-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa (w. 265-313)
663 (Nj 127) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa
664 (Nj 130) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra
665 (Nj 126) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. I-tsing (635-713)
703 (Nj 720) *Śreṣṭhiputra-Dīpāṅguli-avadāna, tr. Kumārajīva
850 Shōdaigiki, tr. Śubhakarasiṁha
892 (Nj 1060) Hevajra-[ḍākinījālasambara]tantra, tr. Fa-hu during 1004-1058
901 (Nj 363) Dhāraṇīsaṅgraha, tr. Atikūṭa in 653-654
908 (Nj 1443) *Yoga-homa-kalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
926 *Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabharāja-sapta-buddha-kalpa, tr. Bhadrapāla and Sharapa (in China 1311-1314)
951 (Nj 532) *Ekākṣara-Cakravarti-sūtra, tr. Bodhiruci in 709
982 (Nj 307) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
984 (Nj 308) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Saṅghavarman in 516
985 (Nj 306) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. I-tsing in 705
999 (Nj 784) Mahāsāhasrapramardinī, tr. Dānapāla during 980-1000
1067 Shōdaigiki, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1068 *Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara-kalpa, tr. Śubhakarasiṁha during 716-735
1203 Fudōanchinki
1244 (Nj 849) Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Fa-t'ien during 973-981
1245 (Nj 974) *Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1246 *Vaiśravaṇadhāraṇīkalpa. tr. Prajñācakra during 847-860
1247 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1248 *Vaiśravaṇamantra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1249 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771

T1251 *Hum-kaḍaya-kalpa, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-741 var. 731)
1293 Jūrokuzenjinnō-gyōtai, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-741 var. 731)
1297 Kuyō-jūni-dai-toku-ten-hō-ombon, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1298 *Dvādaśadevakalpa
1331 (Nj 167) Saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇidhānaviśeṣavistara, tr. Śrīmitra (worked 317-322)
1509 (Nj 1169) Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, tr. Kumārajīva in 402-405
1558 (Nj 1267) Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu, tr. Hsüan-tsang in 651-654
1590 (Nj 1240) Viṁśatikā Kārikā of Vasubandhu, tr. Hsüan-tsang in 661
1644 (Nj 1297) *Lokasthiti-abhidharma-śāstra, tr. Paramārtha in 558
1721 Hokke-gisho, tr. Ki-tsang (549-623)
1796 Daishō, a commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra by I-hsing (683-727)
2026 (Nj 1465) Sensan-zō-gyū-zō-zō-kyō 'Record of the collection of Tripiṭaka and Saṁyukta-piṭaka', tr. under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420)
2042 (Nj 1459) Aśokarājāvadāna, tr. Fa-chin (w. 281-306)
2043 (Nj 1343) Aśokarājasūtra, tr. Saṅghavarman in 512
2046 (Nj 1460) Life of Aśvaghoṣa, by Kumārajīva in about 405
2061 (Nj 1495) Memoirs of eminent priests, compiled by Tsan-ning in 988
2087 (Nj 1503) Records of the Western World, written by Hsüan-tsang in 646
2121 (Nj 1473) A collection of extracts on different subjects from sūtras and vinaya works, compiled by Sang-min, Pao-ch'ang and others in 516
2126 So-shi-ryaku, by Sannei (w. 977-1001)
2128 Erin-ongi, by Huei-lin of Kashgar (737-820)
2129 Zoku-issaikyō-ongi, by monk Hi-lin (Jap. Kirin) who worked around 1090
2151 (Nj 1487) A record of the pictures of the events of ancient and modern translations of the sūtras etc., compiled by Ching-mai (Jap. Seimai) in 664-665.

ABBREVIATIONS

Asabashō, by Jōchō (1205-1282), Dai-nihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.

Bdji. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-i, compiled by the Buddhist University of the Nishi-Honganji at Kyoto, Tokyo, 1914-1922.

Bdjt. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-ten, by Oda Tokunō, Tokyo (Ōkura shoten), 1917.

Bzss. = Butsu-zō-shin-shū, by Gonda Raifu and Ōmura Seigai, Tokyc (Heigo-sha), 1919.

Eog. = Eon-on-gi, by Huai-yuan of the T'ang dynasty, Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 41.10.

Gog. = Gennō-on-gi, by Hsuan-ying (ca. 650), Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 39.6-7.

Gte. = Gō-tō-egen, by P'u-tsi of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.11.1-4.

Hmjr. = Hi-mitsu-ji-rin, ed. Tomita Kōjun, Tokyo (Kajisekaisha), 1911.

Kakuzenshō, by Kakuzen (12th cent.), Dainihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.

Std. = Sho-ten-den, by Hing-t'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.23.2.

Stj. = So-tei-jion, by Chan-k'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.18.1.

T = Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese Tripiṭaka.

THE 108 FORMS OF LOKEŚVARA IN HYMNS AND SCULPTURES

श्री सृष्टिकान्त लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ५७ ॥
57 Sṛṣṭikānta Lokeśvara

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This preliminary note is intended to draw attention to the urgency of a full-scale study of the texts, paintings/miniatures and sculptures bearing on the ever evolving forms of Lokeśvara-Avalokiteśvara. From an attendant acolyte of Amitābha in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Avalokiteśvara gained independence as a separate deity in his own right while the worship of his prototype Brahmā ceased, until the great Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya resurrected Brahmā (masc.) as the abstract Brahmā (neut.). The Potala Lokeśvara holds the mysteries of Harihara, the Devarāja cult and a key to the enigmatic faces at Angkor. Entire systems of thought lie embedded in the silent enigmas of Avalokiteśvara.

The Macchandar Vahal series of 108 Lokeśvaras (dealt herein) endows the orb of words of the text with the life of form. The whole being of a hymn stringing 108 epithets is incarnated into statues to become things of this earth, to celebrate the cosmos in the surety of living, to carry the eternal depth to the eyes of the faithful of the earth: beauté (fem.) or beauty sculpted in the round, to give birth to a state of open symbolism. These psychotrophic images open imagined worlds of well-being, happiness and bliss so that the human possesses all becomings. Common men exalt their being in the vision of these images sublimed by words of the hymn. Folk literature and plastic arts draw their vitality in the imaginings and images, reveries and substances of the flowering of transcendant experience and creativity.

Lokesh Chandra

The illustrations and descriptions of 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara were published for the first time by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (1958:394-431) from their statues in the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu the capital of Nepal. The drawings are strikingly crude. To check their original statues I visited Kathmandu in 1959, but they were no longer in the monastery. They had been replaced by pictures painted by the renowned Nepalese artist Mr. Siddhimuni Sakya. These pictures have been reproduced by Mr. Min Bahadur Shakya, the Chairman of the Publication Sub-Committee of the Young Men's Buddhist Association. They are line copies by Mr. Tantrikmuni Bajracharya, Mr. Ang Gelbu Sherpa and Mr. Gawang Tashi Sherpa under the supervision of late Amoghavajra Bajracharya. Each sketch is captioned below in Newari script. Comparison of the two sets yields surprising results.

1. The sequence of the numeration of Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (B) is the opposite of Shakya (S). Fig. 108 in B is Ārya Avalokiteśvara, while it the first form in S. The first form in B is Hayagrīva Lokeśvara while it is the last (no.108) in S. The sequence of S is more logical: it rightly begins with the primal form of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara. There are several aberrations in the reverse sequence of the two, for example: B 106 Mahāsthāmaprāpta Lokeśvara is S 65. The precise sequence of the Lokeśvara's can be determined by the text on which this series is based.

2. The Newari captions in S help us to correct a number of names in B:

B.	S.
2 Mojaghāñjabala	Halāhala
9 Potapāda	Pītapaṭṭa
14 Preta-santarpaṇa	Preta-santarpita
18 Lokanātha Raktāryāvalokiteśvara	S omits Lokanātha
19 Triloka-sandarśana	Trailokya-
24 Pupala (?)	Pravara
25 Utnauti (?)	Unnati
26 Vṛṣṇācana	Kṛṣṇācala
28 Acāta (?)	Acintya
30 Viśvahana	Viśvahara
31 Śākyabuddha (Śākyabuddha is B 92=S 18)	Śākyadhātu
32 Sāntāsi	Śāntaśrī
35 Vajrahuntika	Vajranṛtya
44 Avalokita L.	Avalokiteśvara
59 Mahāpaṭala	Mahāśīla
66 Mahāviśva-śuddha	Mahāviśva-bhūpa
75 Ratnadala	Ratnadatta
76 Viṣṇupāṇi	Bindupāṇi
78 Vajrakhaṇḍa	Vajradaṇḍa
93 Cittadhātu	Caityadhātu
100 Vajrasṛṣṭa	Vajrasphoṭa
103 Nityanātha	Nṛtyanātha

Chinese version

There is a Chinese translation of the Avalokiteśvara-nām-āṣṭasataka, done by T'ien Hsi-tsai in A.D. 985 (Ta-Chung-lu 4 p. 17a:18b)[1], under the title: Shêng kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa i-pai-pa ming ching (Jap. Shō kan-ji-zai bo-satsu ip-pyaku-hachi myō kyō). T'ien Hsi-tsai came from Kashmir (var. Jalandhara) to China along-with Dānapāla in A.D. 980. In this work, the 108 Sanskrit names, or more appropriately epithets, of Avalokiteśvara are transliterated into Chinese characters and are numbered from 1 to 108. These serial numbers make it easier to restore the 108 Sanskrit names. In 1758 Lcaṅ-skya Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje re-transcribed them into his system of Chinese transliteration in the quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs entitled: Yü chih man han meng-ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch'üan chou[2]. The Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan transliterations were added. Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje made an effort to restore the 108 Sanskrit names (STP.11.3462-3475).

Tibetan version

The Avalokiteśvarasya nām-āṣṭaśatakaṁ was translated into Tibetan, under the title Ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-gi mtshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa (Toh.705=900, Ot.381=523). Translator's

[1] Nj.816, T.1054(vol.20), K.1122.

[2] Edited by Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking (STP), parts 1-22.

name is lost. It is found in the Tibetan Kanjur in the tantra section, as well as in the volume of dhāraṇīs:

Narthang edition -- Rgyud PHA 438a-440b

Derge edition -- Rgyud-ḥbum TSA 171b-173a (Toh.705)
TSA 173b-175a (Toh.706)
= Gzuṅs-ḥdus E 215b-217b (Toh.900)

Chone edition -- Rgyud YA 256b-258b
=TSA 47b-49b

Peking edition -- Rgyud TSA 43a-45a (Ot.381)
=HA214a-216a(Ot.525)

The Chinese and Tibetan translate the same Sanskrit text. The Tibetan version translates all the Sanskrit names, unlike the Chinese which transliterates them. They represent a different set of 108 names of Avalokiteśvara and thus are of not any immediate use for the Macchandar Vahal series. They show an earlier tradttion. The first eight names are cited below from the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka as well as from the quadrilingual transliteration of Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje, as specimens of the epithets. The Tibetan division of the names differs from the Chinese. We have followed the numbers of the Chinese transliteration. The Chinese text is given in Japanese pronunciation, as read out by Prof. Zuiryū Nakamura of the Rissho University, Tokyo. The Chinese text has also been written out by Professor Nakamura. It is followed by the reconstituted Sanskrit equivalents. The next line transcribes the Tibetan text from the Narthang Kanjur.

ཏ	[illegible]	答	[illegible]
དྱ	[illegible]	鸋	[illegible]
ཐཱ	[illegible]	搭。	[illegible]
ཧེ	[illegible]	呵	[illegible]
བྷ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ག	[illegible]	噶	[illegible]
ཝཱཾ	[illegible]	汪	[illegible]
ཀྲི	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ཏ	[illegible]	達	[illegible]
ཀྲི	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ཏྱ	[illegible]	低。	[illegible]

怛儞野二合他引

哂婆嚩曩半音

訖哩二合哆訖哩二合怛野二合 一

Tanniyata shi babakun

Tadyathā he! bhagavan !

(Tib) - kye bcom-ldan-hdas

1. kirita-kiritanya

=kṛta-kṛtya

Tib. bya-ba byas śiṅ

蕎達

賀哩二合哆婆引囉 三

蕎達囉嚕呢囉鴉。

訖哩二合哆迦囉抳野 二

2. kirita-karaniya

=kṛta-karaṇīya

Tib. byed-la mkhas/

3. garita-bara

=gṛ [hī] ta-bhāra ?

Tib. khur-por (Tib. tags it on to no. 4)

波哩訖叉二合拏婆嚩三喻

惹曩五

9

拏喇嗒。舒蓋達。

巴哩囉那麻必桑岳藹。

阿努鉢囉二合鉢哆二合婆嚩二合

迦引囉他二合四

4. anuparapata-sabakarata

=anuprāpta-svakārtha

Tib. bdag don rjes-su-brñes/

5. harikishanu-baba-sanyujano

=parikṣīṇa-bhava-saṁyojana

Tib. srid-pa sbyor-ba yoṅs-su-zad/

蘇尾目訖哆二合唧哆七

蘇畢穆虔谷齎。

薩鵽覃縛孌。

娑弭野二合誐引蒽拏二合

曩六

Compare samyag-ājñā-vimukta in Mahāvastu 1.59.7,9,12, and ājñā-suvimukta-cittaiḥ in Sukhāvatī-vyūha 1.14. ājñā means 'perfect, esoteric knowledge' (Edgerton, BHSD. p.90 s.v. ājñā)

6. bamiya kajanuno

=samyag-ājñāna
Tib. yaṅ-dag bkah-la
(Tib. takes nos.6 & 7 as one entry)

7. sobimokukita-cita

=suvimukta-citta
rnam-grol sems/

[illegible]

蘇畢穆[illegible][illegible][illegible]。

[illegible]

[illegible]

蘇尾目訖哆二合鉢囉二合

惹拏二合八

8. sobimokukita-parajanu
=suvimukta-prajña
Tib. śes-rab śin-tu rnam-par-grol/

Sanskrit manuscripts

A Sanskrit text called "Avalokiteśvarasya aṣṭottara-śata-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra" is mentioned by Matsunami as part of a manuscript comprising a collection of dhāraṇīs[3] and he refers to another manuscript in the Darbar Library. Its relationship to the Chinese and Tibetan versions requires investigation.

RaghuVira Manuscript

There is a Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal in the Prof. RaghuVira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture (referred to as M). Its first folio is lost (alas! a casualty to the beauty of its lovely! illustration). Its second folio begins with the 6th name: Śaṅkhanātha (S 8, B 101). Names 6-108 are given in appendix II. Out of these 102, 62 names are common to the Macchandar Vahal sèries. The remaining 41 names are different:

M21	Suprasārtha L.	M23	Jñānaṁdhārī L.
M33	Vasanta L.	M35	Brahmādideva L.
M37	Kramacandra L.	M38	Karajali L.
M42	Nīlahma L.	M43	Śrīmanta L.

[3]Seiren Matsunami, A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library (Tokyo 1965) (No.418-34 folios 82b4-85b1); Hara Prasad Sastri, A Catalogue of Palmleaf & Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal (Calcutta 1905) also lists it (vol. 2 p.244, appendix A36).

M45	Lokanātha L.	M47	Patelokeśuvarnasaṃsara ? L.
M49	Nīlakaṇṭha L. (occurs as no. 11)	M51	Dharatī L.
M52	Dharmasaṅkhara L.	M54	Nityayacana L.
M58	Gandhavibhu L.	M59	Karuṇāvatāra L.
M62	Kāntinavatāra? L.	M68	Īndragati L.
M69	Sāgarabhira? L.	M72	Śatavaradāyaka L.
M73	Āviciśasvadhana L.	M74	Ratnavṛṣṭi L.
M75	Sanadaśa? L.	M76	Ṣutṛpana? L.
M77	Guhyagūpta L.	M79	Meghapati L.
M81	Aśvatthahasta L.	M83	Bhaiṣaryyava? L.
M85	Susukha L.	M87	Saṃṣataviha? L.
M89	Valāhamukha L.	M92	Mahāpratyaṅgirā L.
M93	Jalabindu L.	M95	Paramākāra? L. (ra inserted above)
M96	Dhātupūjā L.	M98	Vajramukuṭī L.
M99	Dharmarāja L.	M100	Dundubhi L.
M101	Liṣiṣurṇa? L.	M102	Daśajāti L.
M107	Vajrasahasra L.	M108	Nāmasaṅgīti L.

The RaghuVira ms. presents different or better readings of the following names:

Ānandādi (S102, B7)	Ānanda (M67)
Bindupāṇi (S32, B76 Viṣṇupāṇi)	Bindupātra (M40)
Brahmadaṇḍa (S96, B27)	Brahmadatta (M31)
Dharmadhātu (S25, B90)	Dharmapīṭha (M94)
Preta-santarpita (S95, B14)	Pretagati (M57)

Śākyabuddha (S18, B92)	Ādibuddha (M100)
Unnati (S84, B25)	Uṣṇīṣa (M12)
Viśvahara (S79, B30-hana)	Viśvanātha (M90)

Certain names of the Macchandar Vahal series which are not found in the RaghuVira ms., seem to be later accretions from the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the yoga tantras. Vajradharma (Esot.422), Vajrasphoṭa (Esot.441),Pratibhānakūṭa (Esot.506), Sarvaśoka-tamo-nirghāta-mati (Esot.512), Amitaprabha (Esot.517), Jālinīprabha (Esot.519), and Candraprabha (Esot.520), occur in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala in close proximity. Another interesting fact is that the 17 names beginning with mahā are not to be found in the RaghuVira ms. except Mahāvajrasattva (M24), while three of these names Abhayaṅkara (M53), Candravarṇa (M64 for Mahācandrabimba), Sūryavarṇa (M65 for Mahāsūryabimba) are without the prefix mahā. The prefix mahā indicates that the Macchandar Vahal series depict a more developed version of the stotra of 108 names of Lokeśvara.

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Appendix I

108 NAMES OF LOKEŚVARAS IN THE SEQUENCE OF S

1 Āryāvalokiteśvara
2 Vajranātha Lokeśvara
3 Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara
4 Nṛtyanātha Lokeśvara
5 Vajrasphoṭa Lokeśvara
6 Vidyāpati Lokeśvara
7 Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara
8 Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara
9 Viṣṇukāntā Lokeśvara
10 Mañjunātha Lokeśvara
11 Kṛtāñjali Lokeśvara
12 Viṣṇucakra Lokeśvara
13 Śāntamati Lokeśvara
14 Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara
15 Caityadhātu Lokeśvara
16 Viśvavajra Lokeśvara
17 Vajrasattvadhātu Lokeśvara
18 Śākyabuddha Lokeśvara
19 Amitābha Lokeśvara
20 Vajradhātu Lokeśvara
21 Dharmacakra Lokeśvara
22 Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara
23 Viśvabhūta Lokeśvara
24 Harivāhana Lokeśvara
25 Dharmadhātu Lokeśvara
26 Harihara Lokeśvara
27 Kharakhiri Lokeśvara
28 Vajradaṇḍa Lokeśvara
29 Acalaketu Lokeśvara
30 Khirikharā Lokeśvara
31 Ratnadatta Lokeśvara
32 Bindupāṇi Lokeśvara
33 Kamalarudra Lokeśvara
34 Devadevatā Lokeśvara
35 Sārthavāha Lokeśvara
36 Piṇḍapātra Lokeśvara
37 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara
38 Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara
39 Mahāvajrapāṇi Lokeśvara
40 Mahāvajradhṛk Lokeśvara
41 Mahāvajradhātu Lokeśvara
42 Mahāviśvabhūpa Lokeśvara
43 Mañjubhūta Lokeśvara
44 Mahāabhayasthūla Lokeśvara
45 Mahāabhayaṅkarī Lokeśvara
46 Mahāsūryabimba Lokeśvara

47 Mahācandrabimba Lokeśvara

48 Mahāmañjudatta Lokeśvara

49 Mahāśīla Lokeśvara

50 Mahāratnakula Lokeśvara

51 Mahāsahasrasūrya Lokeśvara

52 Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara

53 Mahāratnakīrti Lokeśvara

54 Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara

55 Akṣayamati Lokeśvara

56 Samantabhadra Lokeśvara

57 Sr ṣṭikānta Lokeśvara

58 Kṣitigarbha Lokeśvara

59 Ākāśagarbha Lokeśvara

60 Gaganagañja Lokeśvara

61 Ratnapāṇi Lokeśvara

62 Sāgaramati Lokeśvara

63 Vajragarbha Lokeśvara

64 Avalokiteśvara Lokeśvara

65 Mahāsthāmaprāpta Lokeśvara

66 Candraprabha Lokeśvara

67 Jālinīprabha Lokeśvara

68 Amitaprabha Lokeśvara

69 Pratibhānakūṭa Lokeśvara

70 Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati Lokeśvara

71 Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhī Lokeś.

72 Kāraṇḍavyūha Lokeśvara

73 Jñānadhātu Lokeśvara

74 Padmanṛtya Lokeśvara

75 Vajroṣṇīṣa Lokeśvara

76 Śākyadhātu Lokeśvara

77 Śāntaśrī Lokeśvara

78 Yamadaṇḍa Lokeśvara

79 Viśvahara Lokeśvara

80 Mahāvajrasattva Lokeśvara

81 Kr ṣṇācala Lokeśvara

82 Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara

83 Acintya Lokeśvara

84 Unnati Lokeśvara

85 Pravara Lokeśvara

86 Vajradharma Lokeśvara

87 Vaśyādhikāra Lokeśvara

88 Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara

89 Siṁhanātha Lokeśvara

90 Trailokyasandarśana Lokeśvara

91 Raktāryāvalokiteśvara

92 Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara

93 Sugati-sandarśana Lokeśvara

94 Māyājālakrama Krodha Lokeśvara

95 Preta-santarpita Lokeśvara

96 Brahmadaṇḍa Lokeśvara

97 Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara
98 Varada Lokeśvara
99 Kamaṇḍalu Lokeśvara
100 Maṇipadma Lokeśvara
101 Pītapaṭṭa Lokeśvara
102 Ānandādi Lokeśvara
103 Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara
104 Māyājālakrama Lokeśvara
105 Harihariharivāhana L.
106 Hālāhala Lokeśvara
107 Halāhala Lokeśvara
108 Hayagrīva Lokeśvara

Appendix II

108 NAMES OF LOKEŚVARAS IN THE RAGHUVIRA MANUSCRIPT

1-5 Folio 1 of the ms. is lost
6 Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara
7 Vajrahetu Lokeśvara
8 Kṛtāñjali Lokeśvara
9 Vajroṣṇīṣa Lokeśvara
10 Sṛṣṭikāntā Lokeśvara
11 Nī[la]kāntā ? Lokeśvara
12 Uṣṇīṣa Lokeśvara=Unnati Lokeśvara
13 Mañjudatta Lokeśvara
14 Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara
15 Jñānadhātu Lokeśvara
16 Śākyadhātu Lokeśvara
17 Vajradhātu Lokeśvara
18 Mañjubhūta Lokeśvara
19 Viśvabhūta Lokeśvara
20 Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara
21 Suprasārtha ? Lokeśvara
22 ...Sārthavāha Lokeśvara
23 Jñānaṁdhāri Lokeśvara
24 Mahāvajrasattva Lokesvara
25 Siṁhanātha Lokeśvara
26 Harihara Lokeśvara
27 Dharmacakra Lokeśvara
28 Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara
29 Ṣarasiri Lokeśvara
30 Sṛṣṭikāntā Lokeśvara
31 Brahmadatta Lokeśvara =Brahmadaṇḍa Lokeśvara
32 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

33 Vasanta Lokeśvara

34 Kamalavadha ? Lokeśvara (Is it Kamalarudra L.)

35 Brahmādideva Lokeśvara

36 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

37 Kramacandra Lokeśvara

38 Karajali ? Lokeśvara

39 Lamadi Lokeśvara (Is it Anādi Lokeśvara)

40 Bindupātra Lokeśvara

41 Īndrapātra Lokeśvara (Is it Piṇḍapātra Lokesvara)

42 Nilahma ? Lokeśvara

43 Śrīmanta Lokeśvara

44 Śrayanna Lokeśvara

45 Lokanātha Lokeśvara

46 Padmanṛtya Lokeśvara

47 Patelokeśuvarṇasaṃṣara ? L.

48 Varada Lokeśvara

49 Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara

50 Māyājāla Lokeśvara

51 Dharatī Lokeśvara

52 Dharmasaṁkhara Lokeśvara

53 Abhayaṁkara Lokeśvara(Mahā-)

54 Nityayacana ? Lokeśvara

55 Ratnapāṇi Lokeśvara

56 Śramatidaśa ? Lokeśvara

57 Pretagati Lokeśvara

58 Gandhavibhu Lokeśvara

59 Karu[ṇā]vatāra Lokeśvara

60 Vilañcitu ? Lokeśvara

61 Sārthavāha Lokeśvara

62 Kāntinavatāra ? Lokeśvara

63 Jogācata ? Lokeśvara

64 Candravarṇa Lokeśvara

65 Sūryavarṇa Lokeśvara

66 Gaṅganagañja Lokeśvara

67 Ānanda Lokeśvara

68 Īndragati Lokeśvara

69 Sāgarabhira ? Lokeśvara

70 Siṁhamukhī Lokeśvara (see Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara)

71 Vṛkṛtita ? Lokeśvara (cf. Viṣṇukāntā Lokeśvara)

72 Śatavaradāyaka Lokeśvara

73 Avicisasvadhana Lokeśvara

74 Ratnavṛṣṭi Lokeśvara

75 Sanadaśa ? Lokeśvara

76 Ṣutṛpana ? Lokeśvara

77 Guhyagupta Lokeśvara

78 Ākāśagarbha Lokeśvara

79 Meghapati Lokeśvara

80 Atidīpta Lokeśvara=Amitaprabha L.

81 Aśvatthahasta Lokeśvara

82 Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhī Lokeśvara

83 Bhaiṣaryyava ? Lokeśvara

84 Sāgaramati Lokeśvara

85 Susukha Lokeśvara

86 Ratnakīrtti Lokeśvara=Mahā-

87 Saṁṣataviha ? Lokeśvara

88 Hayati Lokeśvara=Hayagrīva Lokeś.

89 Valāhamukha Lokeśvara

90 Dadi Viśvanātha Lokeśvara

91 Saptamukhī Lokeśvara

92 Mahāpratyaṅgirā Lokeśvara

93 Jalabindu Lokeśvara

94 Dharmapīṭha Lokeśvara=
Dharmadhātu Lokeśvara

95 Paramārakāra ? Lokeśvara

96 Dhātupūjā Lokeśvara

97 Candravīra Lokeśvara=
Candraprabha Lokeśvara

98 Vajramukuṭī Lokeśvara

99 Dharmarāja Lokeśvara

100 Dundubhi Lokeśvara

101 Liṣiṣurṇa ? Lokeśvara

102 Daśajāti Lokeśvara

103 Sarvajñaśīla Lokeśvara

104 Dhvajāgra Lokeśvara=Acalaketu L.

105 Nityanātha Lokeśvara=
Nṛtyanātha Lokeśvara

106 Ādibuddha Lokeśvara=Śākyabuddha L.

107 Vajrasahasra Lokeśvara

108 Nāmasaṅg[ī]ti Lokeśvara

Appendix III

INDEX

Abhayamkara L. M53=Mahā-

abhayankarī see Mahā-

abhayasthūla see Mahā-

Acala see Krsn-

Acalaketu L. S29, B79, M104 (Dhvajāgra L.)

Acintya L. S83, B28

Ādibuddha L. M106=Śākyabuddha L.

Ākāśagarbha L. S59, B49, M78

Akṣayamati L. S55, B51, M56 (Thamatidaśa L. ?)

Amitābha L. S19, B87, M39 (Lamadi L.)

Amitaprabha L. S68, B41, M80 (Atidīpta L.)

Amoghapāśa L. S37, B71, M32,36 (twice!)

Ānanda L.=Ānandādi L.

Ānandādi L. S102, B7, M67 (Ānanda L.)

Āryāvalokiteśvara S1, B108. See Rakt-

Aśvatthahasta L. M81

Atidīpta L. M80 see Amitaprabha

Avalokiteśvara L. S64, B44

Aviciśasvadhana ? L. M73

Bhaiṣaryyava ? L. M83

bimba see Mahācandra-, Mahāsūrya-

Bindupāṇi L. S32, B76 (Viṣṇupāṇi), M40 (Bindupātra)

Bindupātra L. M40=Bindupāṇi L.

Brahmadaṇḍa L. S96, B27, M31 (Brahmaḍatta)
Brahmadatta L. M31 = Brahmadaṇḍa L.
Brahmādideva L. M35
Buddha see Śākya-
Caityadhātu L. S15, B93
cakra see Dharma-, Viṣṇu-
candrabimba see Mahā-
Candraprabha L. S66, B43, M97 (Candravīra)
Candravarṇa L. M64
Candravīra L. M97 = Candraprabha L.
Cintāmaṇi L. S14, B94, M14
daṇḍa see Brahma-, Yama-
Daśajāti L. M102
Devadevatā L. S34, B72
Dharatī L. M51
Dharmacakra L. S21, B81, M27
Dharmadhātu L. S25, B90, M94 (Dharmapīṭha L.)
Dharmapīṭha L. M94 = Dharmadhātu L.
Dharmarāja L. M99
Dharmasaṁkhara L. M52
dhātu see Caitya-, Dharma-, Jñāna-, Śākya-, Vajra-, Mahāvarja-, Vajrasattva-
Dhātupūjā L. M96
Dhvajāgra L. M104 = Acalaketu L.
Dundubhi L. M100
Gaganagañja L. S60, B48, M66
Gandhavibhu L. M58
Guhyagupta L. M77
Halāhala L. S106, B3
Harihara L. S26, B84, M26
Hariharihariharivāhana L. S105, B4
Harivāhana L. S24, B82
Hayagrīva L. S108, B1, M88 (Hayati L.)
Hayati L. = Hayagrīva L.
Indragati L. M68

Indrapātra L. M41 = Piṇḍapātra L.
Jalabindu L. M93
Jālinīprabha L. S67, B42
Jaṭāmukuṭa L. S97, B12
Jñānadhātu L. S73, B36, M15
Jñānaṁdhāri L. M23
Jogācata L. M63
Kamalarudra L. S33, B77 (Kamalacandra), M34 (Kamalavadha ?)
Kamaṇḍalu L. S99, B10, M60 (Vilañcitu ?)
kāntā see Sṛṣṭi-
Kāntinavatāra ? L. M62
Karajalī ? L. M38
Kāraṇḍavyūha L. S72, B37
Karuṇāvatāra L. M59
ketu see Acala-
Kharākhiri L. S27, B83 (Ṣarasiri)
Khasarpaṇa L. S88, B21
Khirikharā L. S30, B80 (Ṣiriṣarā), M29 (Ṣaraṣirī)
Kramacandra L. M37
krodha see Māyājālakrama-krodha L.
KṛṣṇAcala L. S81, B26, M63 (Jogācata ? L.)
Kṛtāñjali L. S11, B98, M8
Kṣitigarbha L. S58, B50
Lamadi ? L. M39 Is it Anādi L.
Lisiṣurṇa ? L. M101
LokanāthaL. M45
Mahā-abhayaṅkarī L. S45, B64, M53 (Abhayaṅkara L.)
Mahā-abhayasthūla L. S44, B63 (-abhayaphalada)
Mahācandrabimba L. S47, B61, M64 (Candravarṇa L.)
Mahāmañjudatta L. S48, B60
Mahāpratyaṅgirā L. M92
Mahāratnakīrti L. S53, B55, M86 (Ratnakīrtti L.)
Mahāratnakula L. S50, B58
Mahāsahasrasūrya L. S51, B57

Mahāśankhanātha L. B56
Mahāśīla L. S49, B59 (Mahāpaṭala)
Mahāsthāmaprāpta L. S65, B106
Mahāsūryabimba L. S46, B62, M65 (Sūryavarṇa L.)
Mahāvajradhātu L. S41, B67
Mahāvajradhṛk L. S40, B68
Mahāvajranātha L. S38, B70
Mahāvajrapāṇi L. S39, B69
Mahāvajrasattva L. S80, B29, M24
Mahāviśvabhūpa L. S42, B66
Maṇipadma L. S100, B22
Mañjubhūta L. S43, B65, M18
Mañjudatta M13 see Mahā-
Mañjunātha L. S10, B96
Māyajalakrama L. S104, B5, M50 (Mayajāla L.)
Māyājālakrama-krodha L. S94, B15
Meghapati L. M79
mukuṭa see Jaṭā-
Nāmasaṅgīti L. M108
Nilahma ? L. M42
Nīlakāntā L. M11
Nīlakaṇṭha L. S92, B17, M49
Nityanātha L. M105 = Nṛt yanātha L.
Nityayacana ? L. M54
nṛtya see Padma-
Nṛtyanātha L. S4, B103, M105 (Nityanātha L.)
padma see Maṇipadma
Padmanṛtya L. S74, B35 (Vajrahuntika), M46
Padmapāṇi L. S3, B104
Paramārakāra L. M95
Patelokeśuvarnasaṃsara L. M47
Piṇḍapātra L. S36, B73, M41 (Indrapātra L.)
Pītapaṭṭa L. S101, B9 (Potapāda)
prabha see Amita-, Candra-, Jalini-

Pratibhānakūṭa L. S69, B40
Pravara L. S85, B24, M44 (Śrayanna)
Pretagati L. M57 = Preta-santarpita L.
Preta-santarpita L. S95, B14, M57 (Pretagati L.)
Raktāryāvalokiteśvara S91, B18
Ratnadatta L. S31, B75 (Ratnadala)
Ratnakīrti L. M86 = Mahā-
ratnakula see Mahā-
Ratnapāṇi L. S61, B47, M55
Ratnavṛṣṭi L. M74
rudra see Kamala-
Ṣaḍakṣarī L. S103, B6, M28
Sāgarabhira L. M69
Sāgaramati L. S62, B46, M84
Sahasrabhuja L. S54, B54
Sahasrabhuja L. S52, B53 (Samantabhadra)
sahasrasūrya see Mahā-
Śākyabuddha L. S18, B92, M106 (Ādibudha L.)
Śākyadhātu L. S76, B31, M16
Samantabhadra L. B53 = Sahasrabhuja L. S52
Saṁṣataviha ? L. M87
Sanadaśa ? L. M75
saṁdarśana see Trailokya-, Sugati-
Śaṅkhanātha L. S8, B101, M6
Śāntamati L. S13, B95, M91 (Saptamukhī L.)
santarpita see Preta-
Śāntaśrī L. S77, B32
Saptamukhī L. M91
Ṣaraṣirī L. M29 = Kharakhirī L.
Sārthavāha L. S35, B74, M22,61
Sarvajñaśīla L. M103
Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhī L. S71, B38, M82
Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati L. S70, B39
Śatavaradāyaka L. M72

śīla see Mahā- S49, B59(Mahāpaṭala)
Siṁhamukhī L. M70 = Siṁhanāda L.
Siṁhanāda L. S22, B85, M70 (Siṁhamukhī L.)
Siṁhanātha L. S89, B20, M25
Ṣiriṣarā see Khirikhara
Śrayanna L. M44
Śrīmanta L. M43
Sr̥ṣṭikāntā L. S57, B52, M10,30
Sugati-sandarśana L. S93, B16
Sukhāvatī L. S82, B13, M20
Suprasārtha ? L. M21
sūrya see Mahāsahasra-
sūryabimba see Mahā-
Sūryavarṇa L. M65
Susukha L. M85
Ṣutr̥pana L. M76
Thamatidaśa L. M56
Trailokya-sandarśana L. S90, B19
Unnati L. S84, B25, M12 (Uṣṇīṣa L.)
uṣṇīṣa see Vajroṣṇīṣa
Uṣṇīṣa L. M12 = Unnati L.
vajra see Viśvavajra
Vajradaṇḍa L. S28, B78 (Vajrakhaṇḍa)
Vajradharma L. S86, B23
Vajradhātu L. S20, B91, M17, see Mahā- (S41, B67)
vajradhr̥k see Mahā-
Vajrágarbha L. S63, B45
Vajrahetu L. M7
Vajrahuntika L. B35 = Padmanr̥tya L. S74
Vajramukuṭī L. M98
Vajranātha L. S2, B107, Mahā- S38, B70
Vajrapāṇi L. S7, B105, Mahā- S39, B69
Vajrasahasra L. M107
vajrasattva see Mahā-

Vajrasattvadhātu L. S17, B88
Vajrasphoṭa L. S5, B100
Vajroṣṇīṣa L. S75, B34, M9
Valāhamukha L. M89
Varada L. S98, B11, M48
Vasanta L. M33
Vaśyādhikāra L. S87, B8
Vidyāpati L. S6, B102
Vilañcitu ? L. M60
Viṣṇucakra L. S12, B97
Viṣṇukāntā L. S9, B99, M71 (Vṛkṛtita ? L.)
Viśvabhūpa see Mahā-
Viśvabhūta L. S23, B89, M19
Viśvahara L. S79, B30 (-hana), M90 (Dadi Viśvanātha ?)
Viśvanātha L. M90 (Dadi ?~)
Viśvavajra L. S16, B86
Vṛkṛtita ? L. M71 cf. Viṣṇukāntā L.
Yamadaṇḍa L. S78, B33

The 108 statues of Lokesvara at Macchandar Vahal, Kathmandu are illustrated on the following pages 29-55. These drawings were done by three artists named earlier on p. 3 under the supervision of Amoghavajra Bajracharya.

श्रीमदार्यावलोकितेश्वराय नमः॥ १॥

1 ĀryĀvalokiteśvara

श्री वज्रनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २॥

2 Vajranātha Lokeśvara

श्री पद्मपाणि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३॥

3 Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara

श्री नृत्यनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४॥

4 Nṛtyanātha Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रस्फोट लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
5 Vajrasphoṭa Lokeśvara

श्री विद्यापति लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
6 Vidyāpati Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रपाणि लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
7 Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara

श्री शङ्खनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
8 Śaṅkhanātha Lokeśvara

श्री विष्णुकान्त लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९ ॥

9 Viṣṇukānta Lokeśvara

श्री मञ्जुनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १० ॥

10 Mañjunātha Lokeśvara

श्री कृताञ्जलि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ११ ॥

11 Kṛtāñjali Lokeśvara

श्री विष्णुचक्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १२ ॥

12 Viṣṇucakra Lokeśvara

श्री शान्तमति लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १३॥ श्री चिन्तामणि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १४॥

13 Sāntamati Lokeśvara 14 Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara

श्री चैत्यधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १५॥ श्री विश्ववज्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १६॥

15 Caityadhātu Lokeśvara 16 Visvavajra Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रसत्वधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १७॥ श्री शाक्यबुद्ध लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १८॥

17 Vajrasattvadhātu Lokeśvara18 Śākyabuddha Lokeśvara

श्री अमिताभ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १९॥ श्री वज्रधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २०॥

19 Amitābha Lokeśvara 20 Vajradhātu Lokeśvara

श्री धर्मचक्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २१॥
21 Dharmacakra Lokeśvara

श्री सिंहनाद लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २२॥
22 Simhanāda Lokeśvara

श्री विश्वभूत लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २३॥
23 Viśvabhūta Lokeśvara

श्री हरिवाहन लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २४॥
24 Harivāhana Lokeśvara

श्री धर्मधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ २५ ॥

25 Dharmadhātu Lokeśvara

श्री हरिहर लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ २६ ॥

26 Harihara Lokeśvara

श्री खरखिरि लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ २७ ॥

27 Kharakhiri Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रदण्ड लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ २८ ॥

28 Vajradaṇḍa Lokeśvara

श्री अचलकेतु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ २९॥
29 Acalaketu Lokeśvara

श्री खिरिखरा लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३०॥
30 Khirikharā Lokeśvara

श्री रत्नदत्त लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३१॥
31 Ratnadatta Lokeśvara

श्री बिन्दुपाणि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३२॥
32 Bindupāṇi Lokeśvara

श्री कमलरुद्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३३॥

33 Kamalarudra Lokeśvara

श्री देवदेवता लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३४॥

34 Devadevatā Lokeśvara

श्री सार्थवाह लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३५॥

35 Sārthavāha Lokeśvara

श्री पिण्डपात्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३६॥

36 Piṇḍapātra Lokeśvara

श्री अमोघपाश लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३७॥
37 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

श्री महावज्रनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३८॥
38 Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara

श्रीमहावज्रपाणि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ३९॥
39 Mahāvajrapāṇi Lokeśvara

श्रीमहावज्रधृक् लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४०॥
40 Mahāvajradhṛk Lokeśvara

श्री महावज्रधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४१॥

41 Mahāvajradhātu Lokeśvara

श्री महाविश्वभूप लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४२॥

42 Mahāviśvabhūpa Lokeśvara

श्री महामञ्जुभूत लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४३॥

43 Mañjubhūta Lokeśvara

श्री महाअभयस्थूल लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४४॥

44 Mahāabhayasthūla Lokeśvara

श्री महाअभयङ्करी लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४५॥
45 Mahāabhayaṅkarī Lokeśvara

श्री महासूर्यबिम्ब लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४६॥
46 Mahāsūryabimba Lokeśvara

श्री महाचन्द्रबिम्ब लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४७॥
47 Mahācandrabimba Lokeśvara

श्री महामञ्जुदत्त लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४८॥
48 Mahāmañjudatta Lokeśvara

श्री महाशील लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ४९॥
49 Mahāśīla Lokeśvara

श्री महारत्नकुल लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५०॥
50 Mahāratnakula Lokeśvara

श्री महासहस्रसूर्य लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५१॥
51 Mahāsahasrasūrya Lokeśvara

श्री सहस्रभुज लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५२॥
52 Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara

श्री महारत्नकीर्ति लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५३॥

53 Mahāratnakīrti Lokeśvara

श्री सहस्रभुज लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५४॥

54 Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara

श्री अक्षयमति लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५५॥

55 Akṣayamati Lokeśvara

श्री समन्तभद्र लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ५६॥

56 Samantabhadra Lokeśvara

श्री सृष्टिकान्त लोकेश्वराय नमः ५७

57 Sṛṣṭikānta Lokeśvara

श्री क्षितिगर्भ लोकेश्वराय नमः ५८

58 Kṣitigarbha Lokeśvara

श्री आकाशगर्भ लोकेश्वराय नमः ५९

59 Ākāśagarbha Lokeśvara

श्री गगनगञ्ज लोकेश्वराय नमः ६०

60 Gaganagañja Lokeśvara

श्रीरत्नपाणि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६१ ॥

61 Ratnapāṇi Lokeśvara

श्री सागरमति लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६२ ॥

62 Sāgaramati Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रगर्भ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६३ ॥

63 Vajragarbha Lokeśvara

श्री अवलोकितेश्वर लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६४ ॥

64 Avalokiteśvara Lokeśvara

श्री महास्थामप्राप्त लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६५॥

65 Mahāsthāmaprāpta L.

श्री चन्द्रप्रभ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६६॥

66 Candraprabha Lokeśvara

श्री जालिनीप्रभ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६७॥

67 Jālinīprabha Lokeśvara

श्री अमिताप्रभ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ६८॥

68 Amitaprabha Lokeśvara

श्री प्रतिभानकूट लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ६९ ॥ श्री सर्वशोकतमोनिर्घातनमति लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ७० ॥

69 Pratibhānakūṭa L. 70 Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati L.

श्री सर्वनीवरणविष्कम्भी लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ७१ ॥ श्री कारण्डव्यूह लोकेश्वराय नमः ॥ ७२ ॥

71 Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhī L. 72 Kāraṇḍavyūha Lokeśvara

श्री ज्ञानधातु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७३॥

73 Jñānadhātu Lokeśvara

श्री पद्मनृत्येश्वर लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७४॥

74 Padmanṛtya Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रोष्णीष लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७५॥

75 Vajroṣṇīṣa Lokeśvara

श्री शाक्यधातु-लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७६॥

76 Śākyadhātu Lokeśvara

श्री शान्तश्री लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७७॥

77 Śāntaśrī Lokeśvara

श्री यमदण्ड लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७८॥

78 Yamadaṇḍa Lokeśvara

श्री विश्वहन लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ७९॥

79 Viśvahara Lokeśvara

श्री महावज्रसत्त्व लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८०॥

80 Mahāvajrasattva Lokeśvara

श्री कृष्णाचल लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८१॥
81 Kṛṣṇācala Lokeśvara

श्री सुखावती लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८२॥
82 Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara

श्री अचिन्त्य लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८३॥
83 Acintya Lokeśvara

श्री उन्नति लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८४॥
84 Unnati Lokeśvara

श्री प्रवर लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८५॥
85 Pravara Lokeśvara

श्री वज्रधर्म लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८६॥
86 Vajradharma Lokeśvara

श्री वश्याधिकार लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८७॥
87 Vaśyādhikāra Lokeśvara

श्री खसर्पण लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८८॥
88 Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara

श्री सिंहनाथ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ८९ ॥

89 Simhanātha Lokeśvara

श्री त्रैलोक्य संदर्शन लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९० ॥

90 Trailokyasandarśana L.

श्री रक्तार्यावलोकितेश्वर लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९१ ॥

91 Raktāryāvalokiteśvara L.

श्री नीलकण्ठ लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९२ ॥

92 Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara

श्री सुगतिसंदर्शन लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९३॥

93 Sugati-sandarśana L.

श्री मायाजालक्रमक्रोध लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९४॥

94 Māyājālakrama krodha L.

श्री प्रेतसंतर्पित लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९५॥

95 Preta-santarpita Lokeśvara

श्री ब्रह्मदण्ड लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९६॥

96 Brahmadaṇḍa Lokeśvara

श्री जटामुकुट लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९७॥

97 Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara

श्री वरद लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९८॥

98 Varada Lokeśvara

श्री कमण्डलु लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ ९९॥

99 Kamaṇḍalu Lokeśvara

श्री मणिपद्म लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १००॥

100 Maṇipadma Lokeśvara

श्री पीतपट्ट लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०१ ॥
101 Pītapaṭṭa Lokeśvara

श्री आनन्दादि लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०२॥
102 Ānandādi Lokeśvara

श्री षडक्षरी लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०३॥
103 Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara

श्री मायाजालक्रम लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०४॥
104 Māyājālakrama Lokeśvara

श्री हरिहरिहरिहरिवाहन लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०५॥

105 Hariharihariharivāhana L

श्री हालाहल लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०६॥

106 Hālāhala Lokeśvara

श्री हलाहल लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०७॥

107 Halāhala Lokeśvara

श्री हयग्रीव लोकेश्वराय नमः॥ १०८॥

108 Hayagrīva Lokeśvara

CONTENTS

2 Preface
3 Comparison of the 108 Lokeśvaras in B and S
5 Chinese version
Tibetan version
7 Reconstruction of the first 8 epithets of Avalokiteśvara in the Chinese and Tibetan versions
12 Sanskrit manuscripts
RaghuVira manuscript
15 Literature cited
16 Appendix I: 108 names of Lokeśvaras in the sequence of S
18 Appendix II: 108 names of Lokeśvaras in the RaghuVira manuscript
21 Appendix III: Index
29 Illustrations of 108 Lokeśvaras in S